

OPVS EPISTOLARVM  
DES. ERASMI ROTERODAMI

DENVO RECOGNITVM ET AVCTVM

PER

P. S. ALLEN, M.A.

COLLEGII MERTONENSIS SOCIVM ET BIBLIOTHECARIVM

ET

H. M. ALLEN

TOM. IV

1519-1521

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MMXV



## PREFACE

SINCE the third volume of this edition appeared, the republic of learning, worldwide and international, has been shattered into fragments by a war more devastating than any of those which disturbed the sixteenth century. Seeking, not for itself, that knowledge which leadeth unto wisdom—wisdom ‘the worker of all things’, ‘which in all ages maketh men friends of God’—the republic seemed to exhibit a pattern for a larger commonwealth, in which the nations of the world might willingly recognize the rights of others and the duties of each one to all the rest. That was the dream of Erasmus; and he looked for its fulfilment to a union of kings, leading after them the peoples they protected. Now in the twentieth century a war is over; once more the work of reconstruction must be attempted, and the world is hoping for a league of free nations, relieved, as are private men, from the anxieties and suspicions which accompany the necessity of self-defence. Nowhere is it more possible to begin welding up the fragments than in the sphere of learning; which cannot abate its international character without losing its inspiration. The task is not easy, especially for those who have suffered grievously; but it will be undertaken, and with hope it will be carried through.

In most countries the material difficulties are great. The War caused of necessity a great diminution of printing; and even now the costs of production—papermaking and printing and publishing—remain much higher than they were. This is a serious hindrance to all learned work; for it profits little to make researches, if the fruits cannot be multiplied and diffused to long life and usefulness through the medium of print. On all sides may be heard lamentations over work delayed or even abandoned. There is therefore every reason for me to express my gratitude to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for continuing this edition and allowing me to bring it further on its way to completion.

These nine years which have elapsed, have cut off from me

the aid of three friends to whom I am infinitely indebted. It is difficult to express the large share that INGRAM BYWATER took in this work, especially in whatever concerned the history of scholarship, the attention with which he considered the proofs, and the frequent enrichment of the commentary which he supplied from his great erudition, reinforced by the library which he had himself collected, and the choicest books of which, many thousands, he destined for and bequeathed to the Bodleian. It is impossible to forget, though it is not easy to live up to, the standard of severe and exact scholarship that he set as indispensable in an edition of this kind. CHARLES CANNAN, as Secretary to the Delegates, gave me from my first beginning every encouragement. At his side it was almost a pleasure to have difficulties arise: from the sure and certain sense which he always imparted, not only that the difficulties were to be faced at once, but that they would in the end be surmounted. A keen and penetrating scholar, with the patience of a leader who is master of himself and of those around him, he was rightly placed at the head of an institution whose care it is to provide for the great aims of a University—sound education and useful learning. I am bound also to mourn for WILLIAM OSLER, most brilliant and inspiring of men, *πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων*; indeed 'the Wellbeloved', the fire of whose enthusiasm warmed the hearts and quickened the intelligence of those to whom he extended his very present help. It is a matter of the keenest regret to me to be able to testify my gratitude to them only at a distance.

To the names of the friends and allies mentioned in previous volumes I am happy to add more, not without pleasant recollection in many cases of charming hospitality:

in Belgium, Prof. Cauchie and his devoted secretary M. Isidore Versluys in the Collège du Saint-Esprit, and Prof. De Vocht (who has been especially generous in communicating to me his latest discoveries, and above all, the Letters to Cranevelt which he is about to publish) in the Collège du Pape, at Louvain; M. Paul Bergmans, Director of the University Library, and Canon Claeys-Bouwaert of the Séminaire, at Ghent; and M. Henry Vercruyse at Courtray.

in France, M. Georges Gazier, one of the re-captors of Fort Vaux, Director of the Bibliothèque Publique at Besançon; M. Julien Feuvrier, Archiviste of Dole; M. Louis Polain of Paris; and M. Renaudet, now Professor at Bordeaux.

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in Holland, Dr. J. Berg of Amsterdam, Dr. A. A. J. Karthon of Heusden, Father Kruitwagen of Woerden, and Dr. J. A. Vor der Hake, Director of the Public Library of Rotterdam. in Italy, Monsignor Ugolini and Monsignor Mercati at the Vatican, and Signor Marco Besso (†) of Rome.

in Switzerland, Dr. Bernoulli's able assistants in the Basle University Library, Dr. Carl Roth and Dr. Philip Schmidt; at the Basle Staatsarchiv, Dr. Rudolf Wackernagel and his successor, Dr. August Huber; and Dr. Ernst Stähelin of Basle.

in this country, Dr. Hutton, Dean of Winchester and lately Canon of Peterborough; Canon Wordsworth, Librarian to the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury; Mr. A. W. Pollard, Keeper of the Printed Books at the British Museum, and Dr. Henry Thomas of the same Department; Sir John Sandys and Mr. W. F. Smith (†) of St. John's College, Cambridge; Dr. William Hunt of Trinity College and Mr. C. E. Freeman (†) of Pembroke College, Oxford; Mr. Thomas Loveday, jun., of Williamscothe, Vice-Chancellor elect of Bristol University; the Rev. E. P. Gough, lately Vicar of Spalding; Mr. A. W. Reed; and Mr. C. S. B. Buckland of the Public Record Office. I wish also to record my especial obligations to Dr. Seebohm's family, who have allowed me the freest access to his library at Hitchin, and prolonged use of some of his books. *Inter amicos bene actum est.*

The only change of principle in the editing of this volume is that I have decided for the future to discard notice of variants—usually mere lapses—in the text of Lond. which have no authority and which are corrected in LB. They afford evidence of the care taken with the Leiden text; but there are too many of them. The comparatively few cases in which LB. repeats the misreadings of Lond. are preserved: as supplying indisputable proof that Lond. served as the basis of LB., perhaps in the same way as it does for the present edition.

P. S. ALLEN.

23 MERTON STREET, OXFORD.  
22 January 1922.

## BRIEF TABLE OF EDITIONS OF ERASMUS' LETTERS

(A fuller description will be found in vol. i, app. 7)

- A = Iani Damiani Senensis Elegeia. 4°. Basle. J. Froben. Aug. 1515.  
 B = Epistole aliquot ad Erasmum. 4°. Louvain. Th. Martens. Oct. 1516.  
 C = C<sup>1</sup> C<sup>2</sup>  
 C<sup>1</sup> = Epistole sane quam elegantes. 4°. Louvain. Th. Martens. Apr. 1517.  
 C<sup>2</sup> = Idem. 4°. Basle. J. Froben. Jan. 1518.  
 D = D<sup>1</sup> D<sup>2</sup>  
 D<sup>1</sup> = Auctarium selectarum epistolarum. 4°. Basle. J. Froben. Aug. 1518.  
 D<sup>2</sup> = Idem. 4°. Basle. J. Froben. March 1519.  
 E = Farrago noua epistolarum. Fol. Basle. J. Froben. Oct. 1519.  
 F = Epistolae ad diuersos. Fol. Basle. J. Froben. 31 Aug. 1521.  
 G = Selectae epistolae. 4°. Basle. J. Herwagen & H. Froben. 1528.  
 H = Opus epistolarum. Fol. Basle. H. Froben, J. Herwagen & N. Episcopus. 1529.  
 J = Epistolae floridae. Fol. Basle. J. Herwagen. Sept. 1531.  
 K = Epistolae palaeonaei. Fol. Freiburg. J. Emmeus. Sept. 1532.  
 L = De praeparatione ad mortem. 4°. Basle. H. Froben & N. Episcopus. *(c. Jan.)* 1534.  
 M = De puritate tabernaculi. 4°. Basle. H. Froben & N. Episcopus. *(c. Feb.)* 1536.  
 N = N<sup>1</sup> N<sup>2</sup> N<sup>3</sup>  
 N<sup>1</sup> = Operum tertius tomus. Fol. Basle. H. Froben & N. Episcopus. 1538.  
 N<sup>2</sup> = Idem. Fol. Ibid. 1541.  
 N<sup>3</sup> = Idem. Fol. Ibid. 1558.  
 O = O<sup>1</sup> O<sup>2</sup>  
 O<sup>1</sup> = Vita Erasmi. 4°. Leiden. T. Basson. 1607.  
 O<sup>2</sup> = Idem. 12°. Leiden. G. Basson. 1615.  
 P = Pirckheimeri opera. Fol. Frankfort. J. Bringer. 1610.  
 Q = Epistolae familiares. 8°. Basle. C. A. Serin. 1779.  
 Lond. = Epistolarum libri xxxi. Fol. London. M. Flesher & R. Young. 1642.  
 LB. = Opera omnia. Tomus tertius. Fol. 2 vols. Leiden. P. Vander Aa. 1703.

NOTE.—I have printed at the head of each letter a list of the editions in which it is found, with the necessary references. The references to Lond. serve also for H and N. Sources, printed or ms., other than the editions above catalogued, are indicated, when necessary, by Greek letters.

In the critical notes any of these editions or sources which is not specified by the sigla must be understood to follow the reading of its immediate predecessor. Thus, in Ep. 106. 1, E stands for E, F, H, N<sup>1</sup>, N<sup>2</sup>, N<sup>3</sup>, Lond. and LB. Similarly, with the Greek alphabet this principle is generally followed; but occasionally, when the sources are diverse or there is some special reason for it, e.g. in Ep. 296, all the authorities are specified by their sigla.

The Corrigenda found in some of the volumes of letters have usually been treated as the true readings of those editions; but occasionally the uncorrected text and the correction have both been given; the latter following immediately after the former.

The small superior figures attached to letter-numbers refer to letters answered, the inferior to letters answering.

Angular brackets < > denote additions by an editor, square brackets [ ] denote omissions.

## TABLE OF LETTERS

[\* Not in LB.      \*\* Printed here for the first time.      ‡ Autograph.  
Letters indented are written to Erasmus.]

## 1519

993. Priccard. Sciebam . .	1 July 1519	Louvain.
994. Beraldus. Ego . .	1 July (1519)	Paris.
995. Campegio. Reuerende . .	4 July 1519	London.
996. Campegio. Reuerendissime . .	14 July 1519	Louvain.
997. Chapter of Metz. Ornatissimi . .	14 July 1519	Louvain.
998. Lee. Quod a me . .	15 July 1519	Louvain.
999. Hutten. Quod Thomae . .	23 July 1519	Antwerp.
1000. L. Pucci. In tam . .	31 July 1519	Louvain.
1001. Spalatinus. Si quid . .	7 Aug. 1519	Antwerp.
1002. Beraldus. Vt tribus . .	9 Aug. (1519)	Antwerp.
1003. Hué. Agit hoc . .	9 Aug. (1519)	Antwerp.
1004. Budaëus. Kai πολλοί . .	<c. 9 Aug. 1519	Antwerp.)
1005. Zutpenius. Video . .	10 Aug. 1519	Antwerp.
1006. Hochstrat. Antehac . .	11 Aug. 1519	Antwerp.
1007. Leo X. Beatissime . .	13 Aug. 1519	[Louvain.]
1008. Hack. Allatum . .	13 Aug. 1519	Antwerp.
1009. Albert of Brandenburg. In tam . .	15 Aug. 1519	Antwerp.
*1010. The Reader. Me plane . .	1 Sept. 1519	<Bruges ?>
1011. Budaëus. 'Hδύ μοι . .	<Sept. 1519>	Marly.
1012. Fevinus. Facit hoc . .	9 Sept. (1519?)	Louvain.
‡1013. Tutor. Quemadmodum . .	10 Sept. 1519	Louvain.
(? 660. Lister. Imo . .	11 Sept. (1519)	Louvain.)
*1014. B. Rhenanus. Iubet . .	<Sept. 1519	Louvain.)
1015. Budaëus. Ti φῆς; . .	15 Sept. (1519)	Marly.
1016. Poncher. Reuerendissime . .	2 Oct. 1519	Louvain.
1017. Grimani. Reuerendissime . .	2 Oct. 1519	Louvain.
1018. Flor. of Egmont. Clarissime . .	2 Oct. 1519	Louvain.
**1019. Lypsius. S. P. Crede . .	<Oct. 1519 ?	Louvain.)
**‡1020. Bo. Amerbach. Videor . .	7 Oct. 1519	Basle.
1021. Slechta. Redditae . .	10 Oct. 1519	Kosteletz.
*‡1022. Gratus. S. Iam . .	15 (Oct.) 1519	<Louvain.)
1023. Budaëus. Longolius . .	15 Oct. 1519	Louvain.
1024. Beraldus. Longolius . .	15 Oct. 1519	Louvain.
1025. Pace. Videor mihi . .	16 Oct. 1519	Louvain.
1026. Lupset. Triginta . .	16 Oct. 1519	Louvain.
1027. Dancaester. O nos . .	16 Oct. 1519	Louvain.
1028. Mountjoy. Eximie . .	16 Oct. 1519	Louvain.
1029. Tunstall. Cum catalalis . .	16 Oct. 1519	Louvain.
1030. Fisher. Eximie . .	17 Oct. 1519	Louvain.

1031. Wolsey. Quod proximas . .	17 Oct. 1519	Louvain.
1032. Guildford. Vides . .	18 Oct. 1519	Louvain.
1033. Albert. Salutem . .	19 Oct. 1519	Louvain.
**1034. Carinus. Perge . .	<Oct. 1519?	Louvain?
*1035. Lypsius. Mox vbi . .	<Oct. ? 1519	Louvain.)
*1036. Lypsius. Oro te . .	<Oct. ? 1519	Louvain.)
*1037. Lee. En nunc . .	<Oct. ? 1519	Louvain.)
1038. E. de la Marck. Iam plus . .	<Oct. fin. 1519	Louvain.)
1039. Slechts. Ad prolixam . .	1 Nov. 1519	Louvain.
*1040. Lypsius. Quod ille . .	<c. Nov. 1519	Louvain.)
*1041. The Reader. Rursus . .	<c. Nov. 1519	Louvain.)
1042. ? Quomodo . .	<Nov. 1519	Louvain.
1043. Philip of Burgundy. Cum hisce . .	<Nov. 1519	<Louvain.)
*1044. Dorp. Miror . .	28 Nov. 1519	The Hague.
*1045. Brixius. Heri . .	<Dec. 1519	Paris.
1046. Robyns. Vir eximie . .	1 Dec. 1519	Louvain.
1047. J. Turzo. Explicari . .	1 Dec. 1519	Breslau.
1048. Lypsius. Charissime . .	<Dec. ? 1519	<Louvain.)
1049. Lypsius. S. P. Tot . .	<Dec. ? 1519	<Louvain.)
1050. Barland. Non libet . .	<Dec. init. 1519	Louvain.)
1051. <Barland. > Nunquam . .	7 Dec. <1519	Antwerp.
1052. Lypsius. S. P., charissime . .	<Dec. 1519?	Antwerp.)
1053. Lupset. Ex literis . .	13 Dec. 1519	Louvain.
1054. Nic. Praepositus. Vir . .	19 Dec. 1519	Louvain.
*1055. Hutten. Curubo . .	<1519	Louvain.)

## 1520

1056. Lypsius. Vt ad . .	<c. 1 Jan. 1520?	Louvain.)
1057. Jod. Vander Noot. Ornatissime . .	7 Jan. 1520	Louvain.
*1058. Beraldus. ne quid . .	<c. Jan. 1520	Louvain.)
1059. <Latomus? > Eximie . .	<Jan. 1520?	Louvain.)
1060. Wolsey. Nunc meritas . .	1 Feb. 1520	Louvain.
*1061. Lee. Eam statuo . .	1 Feb. 1520	Louvain.
1062. Campegio. Quoties . .	5 Feb. 1520	Louvain.
*1063. B. Rhenanus. Hic adhuc . .	5 Feb. 1520	Louvain.
*1064. Oecolampadius. se . .	<c. 5 Feb. 1520	Louvain.)
1065. Ant. de la Marck. Persuaserat . .	16 Feb. 1520	Louvain.
1066. Budaus. Cum multis . .	17 Feb. 1520	Louvain.
*1067. Wimpfeling. S. D. P. Opto . .	19 Feb. 1520	Schlettstadt.
1068. Fisher. Si tua . .	21 Feb. 1520	Louvain.
*1069. Lypsius. Mi Martine . .	<c. 22 Feb. 1520	Louvain.)
1070. Lypsius. Non queror . .	<c. Feb. 1520	Louvain.)
*1071. Nic. of Luxemburg. Humanissime . .	<Feb. 1520?	Louvain.)
*1072. The Reader. Prodiit . .	<Feb. fin. 1520	Louvain.)
1073. Budaus. Heri . .	26 Feb. <1520	Marly.
*1074. Capito. Tandem erupit . .	<Feb. fin. 1520	Louvain.)
1075. Volz. Difficile . .	<c. March 1520	<Louvain.)
1076. Gruntgen. Brevis . .	7 March 1520	Louvain.
*1077. Berselius. Est hic . .	8 March <1520	Louvain.
*1078. Herm. of Neuenahr. Prodiit . .	14 March 1520	Cologne.
1079. Gigli. Reuerendissime . .	15 March 1520	Antwerp.
1080. Chiericato. Humanissime . .	15 March 1520	Antwerp.
1081. Campegio. Reuerendissime . .	15 March 1520	Antwerp.
*1082. Herm. of Neuenahr. Mirum . .	<c. 15 March 1520	Antwerp.)
*1083. Capito. Scripsi . .	17 March 1520	Basle.
*1084. Bo. Amerbach. Vid. . .	19 March 1520	Basle.
1085. Pirckheimer. S. P., charissime . .	19 March <1520	Louvain.
*1086. Lypsius. Ille quisquis . .	<c. 25 March 1520	Louvain.)

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*1087. More. Ecquid . .	< March-April 1520 Greenwich? >	
*1088. Jonas. S. Accepi . .	9 April 1520	Louvain.
*1089. Pace. Epistolio . .	April <1520>	Greenwich.
1090. More. Tametsi . .	< April 1520 >	Greenwich? >
1091. Algoet. Inciderunt . .	13 April 1520	Antwerp.
1092. Everard. Magnifice . .	17 April <1520>	Antwerp.
1093. More. Sperabam . .	26 April 1520	Antwerp.
*1094. deHondt. Venerande . .	28 April 1520	Courtray.
*1095. Pirckheimer. S.P.Suum . .	30 April <1520>	Nuremberg.
1096. More. Antimorus . .	< May init. > 1520 < Greenwich? >	
1097. More. Non ignorabam . .	2 May 1520	Antwerp.
1098. Henry VIII. Serenissime . .	< 3 May > 1520	Antwerp.
1099. Foxe. Reuerende . .	5 May 1520	Louvain.
*1100. The Reader. Quoniam . .	< May 1520 >	Louvain. >
1101. Albert. Subinde . .	15 May 1520	Louvain.
1102. Oecolampadius. Vtinam . .	15 May 1520	Louvain.
1103. Botzheim. Hoc mihi . .	16 May <1520>	Louvain.
1104. Vives. Quid te . .	< May? 1520 >	Louvain.
*1105. P. Engentinus. Non . .	24 May 1520	Freiburg.
1106. More. De puero . .	26 May <1520>	Canterbury.
1107. More. Nae ad . .	< June 1520 >	Louvain. >
1108. Vives. Progresso . .	4 June <1520>	Bruges.
1109. Busch. Conuenit . .	5 June <1520>	Mainz.
1110. Sapidus. Miram . .	< c. June 1520 >	Louvain.
1111. Vives. Subtristem . .	< June 1520 >	Louvain.
1112. Wolsey. Cum frequenter . .	< c. June 1520 >	Louvain.
*1113. Melanchthon. S. P.		
Sanctis . .	< a. 21 June 1520 >	Louvain.
1114. Marlianus. Maiorem . .	< a. 21 June 1520 >	Louvain. >
1115. Halewin. Mihi vero . .	21 June 1520	Louvain.
*1116. Kloster. Ornatissime . .	< c. 21 June 1520 >	Louvain. >
1117. Brixius. Dum curru . .	25 June 1520	Antwerp.
1118. Pace. Sero mihi . .	< c. 25 June? > 1520	Antwerp.
1119. Spalatinus. Alexander . .	6 July 1520	Louvain.
**1120. C. Frick & L. Esinger.		
S. P. D. Animauit . .	12 July <1520>	Freiburg.
*1121. Zasius. Quid censes . .	13 July 1520	Freiburg.
1122. Meyner. Felicitatem . .	30 July 1520	Louvain.
1123. Mosellanus. Redditae . .	31 July 1520	Louvain.
1124. Conrad of Thuengen. S. P.,		
ornatissime . .	< c. 31 July 1520 >	Louvain. >
1125. George of Saxony. Illustris-		
sime . .	31 July 1520	Louvain.
1126. Busch. Miseret . .	31 July 1520	Louvain.
*1127. Platz. Vir eximie . .	31 July <1520>	Louvain.
*1128. Lang. S. P., vir . .	2 Aug. <1520>	Louvain.
1129. Fisher. Reuerende . .	2 Aug. <1520>	Louvain.
*1130. Merliberch. Carmen . .	< Aug. 1520? >	Louvain. >
1131. H. Hermann. Eruditissime . .	< c. Aug. 1520 >	Louvain.
1132. Wolsey. Tanto . .	7 Aug. 1520	Antwerp.
1133. Budaëus. Amicorum . .	9 Aug. 1520	Antwerp.
1134. Rotenhan. Consuetudinis . .	13 Aug. 1520	Louvain.
*1135. Hutten. Audisti . .	15 Aug. 1520	Steckelberg.
1136. Leontius. Boni . .	< c. 29 Aug.? > 1520	Brussels.
1137. J. Turzo. Cur ita . .	31 Aug. 1520	Louvain.
1138. Burbank. Is denum . .	1 Sept. 1520	Louvain.
1139. Pirckheimer. Non deerant . .	5 Sept. 1520	Louvain.
*1140. Lypsius. Si non . .	< Sept.? 1520 >	Louvain. >
1141. Geldenhauer. Brugis . .	9 Sept. 1520	Louvain.
*1142. Schirn. S. D. Nulla . .	10 Sept. 1520	Milan.

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1143. Leo x. Tametsi . .	13 Sept. 1520	Louvain.
1144. Chierogato. Animum . .	13 Sept. 1520	Louvain.
1145. Cranevelt. Non possum . .	19 Sept. 1520	Bruges.
*1146. Brassicanus. Gratulor . .	26 Sept. 1520	Antwerp.
1147. Manius. Mihi sane . .	1 Oct. 1520	Louvain.
1148. C. Frick & L. Esinger. Zasius . .	1 Oct. (1520)	Louvain.
1149. Villinger. Quod de . .	3 Oct. 1520	Louvain.
1150. Gattinara. Magnifice . .	4 Oct. 1520	Louvain.
1151. E. de la Marek. Salutem . .	8 Oct. 1520	Louvain.
†1152. Albert. S. P., reuerendissime . .	8 Oct. 1520	Louvain.
1153. Rosemond. Non arbitror . .	18 Oct. 1520	Louvain.
†1154. Artl. of Boskowitz. Salutem . .	(c. Oct. ? 1520)	Znaim.
1155. Reuchlin. Reuerend. . .	8 Nov. 1520	Cologne.
1156. Peuting. Sciebam . .	9 Nov. 1520	Cologne.
1157. Jonas. Vir optime . .	11 Nov. 1520	Cologne.
1158. Oecolampadius. Epistolam . .	11 Nov. 1520	Cologne.
1159. Sbrulius. Parum . .	13 Nov. 1520	Cologne.
1160. Ritius. Libellus . .	(Nov.) 1520	Cologne.
*1161. Hutten. Male mihi . .	13 Nov. 1520	Ebernburg.
1162. More. Quae tibi . .	(c. Nov.) 1520	Louvain.
*1163. Barland. Non dubito . .	30 Nov. 1520	Louvain.
1164. Rosemond. Inuitus . .	(Dec. 1520)	Louvain.)
*†1165. Capito. S. P. Hollandi . .	6 Dec. 1520	Louvain.
1166. ? Quo magis . .	(Dec. 1520)	Louvain.)
1167. Campegio. Decretum . .	6 Dec. 1520	Louvain.
1168. Hegendorfer. Tam ego . .	13 Dec. 1520	Louvain.
1169. Scarpinellus. Tale iter . .	13 Dec. 1520	Louvain.
1170. Priccard. Eruditissime . .	(Dec. 1520 ?)	Louvain.
1171. Schinner. Iam videbar . .	16 Dec. 1520	Louvain.
1172. Rosemond. Magnifice . .	(c. 17 Dec.) 1520	Louvain.
1173. Cranevelt. Nimirum . .	18 Dec. 1520	Louvain.
*1174. Lypsius. Non dubito . .	20 Dec. (1520)	Louvain.
1175. P. Vergil. O te . .	23 Dec. 1520	Louvain.
1176. Bedill. De Praesulis . .	31 Dec. 1520	Louvain.
1177. Knopken. Ex tribus . .	31 Dec. 1520	Louvain.
1178. Rhodus. Vt serius . .	1520	Louvain.
1521		
1179. Schinner. Nuper . .	6 Jan. (1521)	Louvain.
*1180. Leo x. Dilecte . .	15 Jan. 1521	Rome.
*1181. Gigli. Meretur . .	17 Jan. 1521	Louvain.
1182. Pirckheimer. S. P., ornatissime . .	26 Jan. (1521)	Louvain.
1183. Artl. of Boskowitz. Vir . .	28 Jan. 1521	Louvain.
1184. Budaus. En . .	16 Feb. 1521	Louvain.
1185. Beraldus. Quantum . .	16 Feb. 1521	Louvain.
**†1186. Everard. S. P., vir . .	25 Feb. 1521	Louvain.
1187. L. Bartolini. Non semel . .	1 March 1521	Louvain.
1188. Everard. Si Lutherus . .	(c. March 1521)	Mechlin.
*1189. Lypsius. Amice . .	(March 1521)	Louvain.)
*1190. Lypsius. Frater . .	(March 1521)	Louvain.)
1191. Louis of Flanders. Vir non . .	(c. March) 1521	Louvain.
1192. Schweiss. Cognatus . .	13 March (1521)	Louvain.
*1193. The Reader. Impudenter . .	(March ?) 1521	Louvain.
1194. The Reader. Saepe . .	(March ? 1521)	Louvain.)
1195. Marlianus. Ex amicorum . .	25 March 1521	Louvain.
1196. Vinc. Theodorici. Est illud . .	(c. March) 1521	(Louvain.)
1197. Gattinara. Praestantissime . .	5 April 1521	Worms.
1198. Marlianus. Quanti . .	7 April 1521	Worms.
1199. Marlianus. Ingratissimus . .	15 April 1521	Antwerp.



## TABLE OF LETTERS

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1200. W. Frederici. De iuvene . .	30 April 1521	Louvain.
**†1201. Bo. Amerbach. Iam vnus . .	<May init. 1521	Basle.)
1202. Jonas. Hic iam . .	10 May 1521	Louvain.
1203. Ber. Eruditissime . .	14 May 1521	Louvain.
*1204. Barland. Nae tu . .	<May? 1521	Louvain.)
1205. Warham. De animo . .	24 May 1521	Antwerp.
1206. B. Rhenanus. Quod scribis . .	27 May (1521)	Louvain.
**†1207. Ba. Amorbach. Perbelle . .	30 May 1521	Basle.
1208. Max. of Hornes. Vir . .	31 May 1521	Anderlecht.
1209. Goclenius. Velim te . .	8 June 1521	<Anderlecht.)
1210. Pace. Ex officina . .	11 June 1521	Anderlecht.
1211. Jonas. Quod tam . .	13 June 1521	Anderlecht.
1212. Guillard. Nae mihi . .	17 June 1521	Anderlecht.
1213. Bombasius. Quod tam . .	18 June 1521	Rome.
1214. L. Hugenoys. Quae praeter . .	21 June 1521	Anderlecht.
1215. Harst. Bis igitur . .	22 June 1521	Anderlecht.
1216. Barbirius. Tandem . .	26 June 1521	Anderlecht.
1217. Theologians of Louvain. Reuerendi . .	<June? 1521	Anderlecht.
†1218. Pace. S. Vtinam . .	5 July 1521	Brussels.
1219. Mountjoy. Quo syncerior . .	<c. 5 July? 1521	Anderlecht.
1220. More. Maiorem . .	<c. 5 July? 1521	Anderlecht.
1221. Tayspil. Reuerende . .	5 July 1521	Anderlecht.
1222. Vives. Nunc primum . .	10 July 1521	Bruges.
1223. Goclenius. Equidem . .	12 Aug. (1521)	Bruges.
1224. Thale. Quando desines . .	13 Aug. 1521	Bruges.
1225. Barbirius. Amantissime . .	13 Aug. 1521	Bruges.
1226. H. Froben. Mihi gratias . .	14 Aug. 1521	Bruges.
1227. Pace. De nostris . .	23 Aug. 1521	Bruges.
1228. Warham. Vbi cognouissem . .	23 Aug. 1521	Bruges.
1229. Lupset. Vt acerbus . .	23 Aug. (1521)	Bruges.
1230. Linacre. Non sine . .	24 Aug. 1521	Bruges.
1231. Wychman. Qui deplorare . .	<c. 29 Aug.) 1521	Bruges.
1232. Nic. of Hertogenbosch. Omnes . .	31 Aug. (1521)	Anderlecht.
1233. Budaeus. Cum proxime . .	<c. Sept.) 1521	Anderlecht.
1234. Schudelinus. Gabriel . .	4 Sept. 1521	Anderlecht.
1235. Barbirius. Aurula . .	23 Sept. 1521	Anderlecht.
1236. Bombasius. Quid ego . .	23 Sept. 1521	Anderlecht.
1237. Bucho. Vir optime . .	24 Sept. 1521	Anderlecht.
1238. Everard. Si patriae . .	<Oct. ? 1521	Anderlecht.
1239. G. Ofhuys. A studiis . .	14 Oct. (1521)	Anderlecht.
1240. Rescius. Ni tam . .	<Oct. ? 1521	Anderlecht.
1241. Capito. Scripsi nuper . .	14 Oct. 1521	<Halle).
1242. S. Turzo. Miro quodam . .	<c. 21 Nov. 1521	Basle.)
1243. S. Turzo. Vix superiores . .	22 Nov. 1521	Basle.
1244. Pirckheimer. S., ornatissime . .	29 Nov. 1521	Basle.
*†1245. P. Barbirius. Salue . .	29 Nov. 1521	Vittoria.
*†1246. Tate. Iam ad . .	4 Dec. 1521	Richmond.
*†1247. Peuting. Tuae . .	9 Dec. 1521	Augsburg.
1248. Schinner. Tandem ausus . .	14 Dec. 1521	Basle.
1249. Schinner. Sumus . .	14 Dec. 1521	Basle.
1250. Alciati. Eruditissime . .	14 Dec. 1521	Basle.
*†1251. Sapidus. Qui tibi . .	30 Dec. 1521	(Schlettstadt.)

App. 14. Eppendorff's copy of the *Epistolae ad diuersos* (F) . . . p. 615

App. 15. The Heine Collection . . . . . p. 620

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS COMMONLY USED

(For A, B, C, . . . Q, Lond., LB., denoting editions of Erasmus' letters, see p. vi and vol. i, pp. 599-602.)

## COLLECTIONS OF LETTERS

- AE.* = Les correspondants d'Alde Manuce, 1483-1514; par P. de Nolhac (Studi e documenti di storia e diritto, 1887, 8). Rome, 1888.
- Agr. E.* = Epistolae Henrici Cornelii Agrippae ad familiares et eorum ad ipsum: pp. 681-1061 in Agrippae . . . Operum pars posterior. Lugduni per Beringos fratres, s. a. (c. 1601).
- Al. E.* = i. Lettres familières de Jérôme Aléandre, 1510-40; par J. Paquier. Paris, 1909.  
ii. Jérôme Aléandre et la principauté de Liège; par J. Paquier. Paris, 1896.
- Am. E.* = Bonifacius Amerbach und die Reformation; von Th. Burckhardt-Biedermann. Basel, 1894.
- BE.<sup>1</sup>* = Epistolae Gulielmi Budaei. Paris, J. Badius, 20 Aug. 1520.
- BE.<sup>2</sup>* = Epistolae Gulielmi Budaei posteriores. Paris, J. Badius, March 1522.
- BE.<sup>3</sup>* = G. Budaei Epistolarum Latinarum lib. v, Graecarum item lib. i. Paris, J. Badius, Feb. 1531.
- BE.<sup>4</sup>* = Répertoire de la correspondance de Guillaume Budé; par L. Delaruelle. Toulouse—Paris, 1907.
- Bemb. E.* = Petri Bembi Card. Epistolarum familiarium libri vi. Eiusdem Leonis x Pont. Max. nomine scriptarum lib. xvi. Venetiis apud Gualterum Scottum, 1552.
- Bl. E.* = Briefwechsel der Brüder Ambrosius und Thomas Blaurer, 1509-1567; bearbeitet von T. Schiess (Badische historische Kommission). t. 3. Freiburg i. Br., 1908-12.
- Boh. E.* = i. Listář Bohuslava Hasišteinského z Lobkovic: ed. J. Truhlar. Praze, 1893.  
ii. Dva Listáře Humanistické: (a) Dra. Racka Doubravského, (b) M. Václava Piseckého s Doplnkem Listáře Jana Šlechty ze Všeherd: ed. J. Truhlar. Praze, 1897.  
(Sbírka Pramenův ku Poznání Literárního Života v Čechách, na Moravě a v Slezsku. Skupina Druhá: Korrespondence a Cizojazyčné Prameny, číslo 1, 3.)
- BRE.* = Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus; herausg. von A. Horawitz und K. Hartfelder. Leipzig, 1886.
- Bugen. E.* = Dr. Johannes Bugenhagens Briefwechsel, 1512-58, herausg. durch O. Vogt. Stettin, 1888.
- Bun. E.* = Petri Bunelli Galli praeceptoris et Pauli Manutii Itali discipuli Epistolae Ciceroniano stylo scriptae (Parisiis), H. Stephanus, 1581.
- Calc. E.* = Epistolicarum quaestionum et Epistolarum familiarium libri xvi, pp. 1-217 in Caelii Calcagnini Ferrariensis . . . Opera aliquot. Basileae, H. Froben & Nic. Episcopus, March 1544.

- Calv. E.* = Thesaurus epistolicus Caluianus (1528-64), ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz, E. Reuss (CR. xxxviii-xlviii). t. 11. Brunsvigae, 1872-79.
- Cam. E.* = i. Ioachimi Camerarii Bapenbergensis Epistolarum familiarium libri vi, . . . a filiis editi. Francofurti, haer. A. Wecheli, 1583.  
ii. Ioachimi Camerarii Pabepergensis Epistolarum libri quinque posteriores. A filiis . . . editae. Francofurti, Palthen, 1595.
- Cat. E.* = Epistole Cataldi Siculi. Pt. 1, Vlyxbone, (Val. Fernandez), 21 Feb. 1500; Pt. 2, s. l. et a.
- CE.* = i. Claude Chansonnette, jurisconsulte Messin, et ses lettres inédites, par A. Rivier (Mémoires couronnés par l'Académie royale de Belgique, t. xxix). Bruxelles, 1878.  
ii. Briefe des Claudius Cantiuncula und Ulrich Zasius von 1521-1533; von A. Horawitz (Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, xciii, 1879). Wien, 1879.
- Cog. E.* = Epistolae aliquot G. Cognati et amicorum: t. i, pp. 295-322, t. iii, p. 207 in Gilberti Cognati Nozereni Opera. t. 3. Basileae, H. Petri, 1562.
- DGE.* = Damiani a Goes, equitis Lusitani, aliquot Opuscula. . . . Item aliquot Epistolae Sadoleti, Bembi, et aliorum clarissimorum virorum . . . ad ipsum Damianum. Louanii, R. Rescius, Dec. 1544.
- EE.* = Briefe an Desiderius Erasmus von Rotterdam; herausg. von J. Förstemann und O. Günther (xxvii. Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen). Leipzig, 1904.
- EE.<sup>2</sup>* = Briefe an Desiderius Erasmus von Rotterdam; herausg. von L. K. Enthoven. Strassburg, 1906.
- EHE.* = Helii Eobani Hessi . . . et amicorum ipsius Epistolarum familiarium libri xii. Marpurgi Hessorum, C. Egenolphus, March 1543.
- FE.* = Caroli Fernandi Brugensis, musici regii, . . . Epistole familiares. s. l. et a.
- GE.* = Roberti Gaguini epistole et orationes; ed. L. Thuasne. t. 2. Paris, 1904.
- GHE.* = Georg Helts Briefwechsel; herausg. von O. Clemen (Archiv für Reformations-Geschichte. Ergänzungsband II). Leipzig, 1907.
- Gryn. E.* = In librum octauum Topicorum Aristotelis Simonis Grynaei commentaria doctissima. Adiectae sunt ad libri calcem selectiores aliquot eiusdem S. Grynaei Epistolae. Basileae, Jo. Oporinus, Oct. 1556.
- HE.* = Epistolae Vlrichi Hutteni; ed. E. Böcking. t. 2. Lipsiae, 1859.
- Hor. E.* = N. Horii Remensis praefecti auxiliaris Epistolarum liber: ff. lz (= k) v<sup>o</sup> - p<sup>e</sup>. Bk. 14 in Nic. Horii Opus, Lugduni, J. Sacon, 27 Sept. 1507.
- Hos. E.* = Acta historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia, iv, ix. Card. Hosii Epistolae, 1525-58, t. 3, edd. F. Hipler & V. Zakrzewski, Cracouiae, 1879-1888.
- JE.* = Der Briefwechsel des Justus Jonas; herausg. von G. Kawerau (Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen, xvii). t. 2. Halle, 1884, 5.
- La. E.* = Lasciana; herausg. von H. Dalton. Berlin, 1898.
- LE.* = Dr. Martin Luthers Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken; herausg. von W. M. L. de Wette. t. 5. Berlin, 1825-8.
- LE.<sup>2</sup>* = Dr. Martin Luther's Briefwechsel; bearbeitet von E. L. Enders, fortgesetzt von G. Kawerau. t. 16. Frankfurt am Main, 1884-1915.

xiv LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS COMMONLY USED

- Lo. E.* = Epistolarum libri quatuor: ff. 65-163 in Christophori Longolii Orationes duae. Florentiae, haer. Ph. Iuntae, Dec. 1524.
- Ma. E.* = Briefe des Dr. Daniel Mauch; von A. Naegele. Römische Quartalschrift xxv, 139\*-161\*, 203\*-225\*. Rom, 1911.
- Man. E.* = Ioannis Manardi Ferrariensis Epistolae medicinales, Basileae, M. Isingrin, March 1540.
- Marin. E.* = Lucii Marinei Siculi Epistolarum familiarium libri decem et septem. Vallisoleti, A. G. Brocarius, 28 Feb. 1514.
- Mart. E.* = Opus Epistolarum Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis. Amstelodami, Elzevir, 1670. (The first edition, Alcala de Henares, 1530, is not readily accessible to me.)
- Mas. E.* = Briefe von Andreas Masius und seinen Freunden, 1538-1573, herausg. von M. Lossen. Leipzig, 1886.
- ME.* = Philippi Melanthonis epistolae, praefationes, consilia, iudicia, schedae academicae; ed. C. G. Bretschneider (CR. I-X). t. 10. Halis, 1834-42.
- MHE.* = i. Michael Hummelberger; von A. Horawitz. Berlin, 1875.  
 ii. Analecten zur Geschichte des Humanismus in Schwaben; von A. Horawitz. Wien, 1877.  
 iii. Analecten zur Geschichte der Reformation und des Humanismus in Schwaben; von A. Horawitz. Wien, 1878.  
 iv. Zur Biographie und Correspondenz Johannes Reuchlin's; von A. Horawitz. Wien, 1877.  
 (ii, iii, iv in Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 85, 86, 89.)
- MRE.* = Der Briefwechsel des Mutianus Rufus; bearbeitet von C. Krause (Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte, N. F., ix. Supplement). Kassel, 1885.
- MRE.<sup>2</sup>* = Der Briefwechsel des Conradus Mutianus; bearbeitet von K. Gillert (Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen, xviii). t. 2. Halle, 1890.
- NE.* = Epistolarum miscellaneorum ad Fridericum Nauseam Blancicampianum . . . libri x. Basileae, J. Oporinus, March 1550.
- OE.* = Oláh Miklós Levelezése; közli Ipolyi Arnold (Monumenta Hungariae historica: diplomataria, xxv). Budapest, 1875.
- Oec. E.* = DD. Ioannis Oecolampadii et Huldrici Zuinglii Epistolarum libri quatuor, Basileae, T. Platter & B. Lazius, March 1536.
- Oec. E. ii.* = Das Leben Johannes Oekolampads; beschrieben von J. J. Herzog, Basel, 1843, ii. 263-304.
- Pl. E.* = Correspondance de Christophe Plantin, 1558-1586; publiée par M. Rooses & J. Denucé. t. 7. Antwerpen, 1883-1918.
- RE.* = Johann Reuchlins Briefwechsel: herausg. von L. Geiger (Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart. cxxvi). Tübingen, 1875.
- Ra. E.* = Religiosissimi viri fratris Ioannis Raulin, artium et theologiae professoris scientissimi, Epistolarum . . . opus eximium. Lutetiae Parisiorum, A. Ausurdus expensis I. Petit, 1 Jan. 1521.
- Sad. E.* = i. Iacobi Sadoleti Epistolae (pontificiae). Romae, 1759.  
 ii. Iacobi Sadoleti Epistolae (familiares). t. 3 & app. Romae, 1760-7.
- Sch. E.* = Korrespondenzen und Akten zur Geschichte des Kardinals Matth. Schiner; herausg. von A. Büchi. t. 1 (1489-1515), Basel, 1920.
- SE.* = Christoph Scheurl's Briefbuch; herausg. von F. von Soden und J. K. F. Knaake. t. 2. Potsdam, 1867-72.

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS COMMONLY USED xv

- Sep. E.* = Epistolarum libri vii: t. iii, pp. 71-389 in Ioannis Genesii Sepuluedae Cordubensis Opera. t. 4. Matrili, 1780.
- TE.* = Ioannis Tritemii, abbatis Spanhemensis, Epistolarum familiarium libri duo. Haganoae, P. Brubachius, 1536.
- VE.* = Vadianische Briefsammlung; herausg. von E. Arbenz und H. Wartmann (Mitteilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte, 24, 25, 27-30: 6 parts and 5 supplements, s<sup>1</sup>-s<sup>6</sup>). St. Gallen, 1890-1908.
- Vi. E.* = Ioannis Lodouici Viuis Valentini Epistolarum . . . Farrago. Antuerpiae, G. Simon, 1556.
- VZE.* = Viglii ab Aytta Zuichemi Epistolae selectae ad diuersos: t. ii, pt. i in C. P. Hoyneck van Papendrecht's Analecta Belgica, Hagae Comitum, 1743.
- WE.* = Epistolae . . . Georgii Wicelii, Lipsiae, Nic. Vuolrab, 1537.
- ZE.* = Vdalrici Zasii epistolae; ed. J. A. Riegger. t. 2. Vlmae, 1774.
- Zw. E.* = Huldrici Zuinglii Opera, voll. vii, viii, Epistolae; ed. M. Schuler & J. Schulthess. t. 2. Turici, 1830-42.
- Zw. E.*<sup>2</sup> = Zwingli's Briefwechsel; bearb. von E. Egli, herausg. von G. Finsler und W. Köhler (CR. xciv, xcv). t. 2 (1510-26). Leipzig, 1911-14.

## OTHER SOURCES

- ADB.* = Allgemeine deutsche Biographie. t. 56. Leipzig, 1875-1912.
- Agric.*<sup>1</sup> = Rodolphi Agricolae opuscula; ed. Petro Aegidio. Anuerpiae, T. Martinus, 31 Jan. 1511.
- Agric.*<sup>2</sup> = Rodolphi Agricolae lucubrationes, tomus posterior; ed. Alardo Aemstelredamo. Coloniae, J. Gymnicus, (1539).
- Agric.*<sup>3</sup> = Unedierte Briefe von Rudolf Agricola; von K. Hartfelder (Festschrift der badischen Gymnasien). Karlsruhe, 1886.
- AHVN.* = Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein. Köln, 1855- .
- Val. Andreas* = Fasti Academici studii generalis Louaniensis, edente Valerio Andrea Desselio. Louanii, H. Nempaeus, 1650.
- ANGB.* = Acta nationis Germanicae vniuersitatis Bononiensis; ed. E. Friedländer et C. Malagola. Berolini, 1887.
- Athenae Cantab.* = Athenae Cantabrigienses, 1500-1609; by C. H. Cooper and T. Cooper, and by G. J. Gray. t. 3. Cambridge, 1858-61, 1913.
- Balan* = Monumenta Reformationis Lutheranae, 1521-5, collegit P. Balan. Ratisbonae, 1884.
- Balan ii* = Monumenta saeculi xvi historiam illustrantia, edidit P. Balan. Oeniponte, 1885.
- BEr.*<sup>1</sup> = Bibliotheca Erasiana, listes sommaires. Gand, 1893.
- BEr.*<sup>2</sup> = Bibliotheca Erasiana; extrait de la Bibliotheca Belgica, publiée par F. Vander Haeghen, R. Vanden Berghe, T. J. I. Arnold, et A. Roersch. Adagia. Gand, 1897. Enchiridion militis Christiani. 1911. Admonitio etc. 1900. Moriae Encomium. 1908. Apophthegmata. 1901. Ratio verae theologiae. 1914. Colloquia. t. 3. 1903-7.
- Bergenroth* = Calendar of letters, despatches, and state papers, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the archives at Simancas and elsewhere, 1485-1603; edited by G. A. Bergenroth, and

xvi LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS COMMONLY USED

- continued by P. de Gayangos and M. A. S. Hume. t. 21. London, 1862-1899.
- BN.* = Biographie nationale (A-S). t. 21. Bruxelles, 1866-1913.
- Böcking* = Index biographicus et onomasticus; cur. E. Böcking (Vlrichi Hutteni Operum supplementum: tomi posterioris pars altera). Lipsiae, 1870.
- Brewer* = Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII, 1509-46; arranged by J. S. Brewer, and continued by J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie. t. 33. London, 1862-1910.
- Brodie* = Brewer i; 2nd edit., by R. H. Brodie. t. 3. London, 1920.
- Brown* = Calendar of State Papers and MSS. relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice and in other libraries of Northern Italy, 1202-1629; edited by Rawdon Brown and continued by G. C. Bentinck, H. F. Brown, and A. B. Hinds. t. 23. London, 1864-1916.
- Bulaeus* = Historia vniuersitatis Parisiensis; authore C. E. Bulaeo. t. 6. Parisiis, 1665-73.
- Burchard* = Iohannis Burchardi Argentinensis, capelle pontificie sacrorum rituum magistri, Diarium (1483-1506); ed. L. Thuasne. t. 3. Paris, 1883-5.
- Butzbach* = Beiträge zur Geschichte des Humanismus am Niederrhein und in Westfalen; von C. Kraft und W. Crecelius (Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins, VII, pp. 213-88, XI, pp. 1-68). Heft 1, 2. Elberfeld, 1870, 1875.
- Butzbach*<sup>2</sup> = Zur Kritik des Johannes Butzbach; von G. Knod (AHVN, lii, pp. 175-234). Köln, 1891.
- Butzbach*<sup>3</sup> = Beiträge zur Geschichte des Humanismus in Schwaben und Elsass; von W. Crecelius (Alemannia, VII, pp. 184-9). Bonn, 1879.
- BWN.* = Biographisch] woordenboek der Nederlanden. t. 21. Haarlem, 1852-78.
- Caballero* = Alonso y Juan de Valdés, por Don Fermin Caballero. Madrid, 1875.
- Chevalier* = Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge: Bio-bibliographie; par U. Chevalier. 2<sup>e</sup> édition. t. 2. Paris, 1905-7.
- Ciaconius* = Vitae et res gestae Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium, opera A. Ciaconii; ab A. Oldoino recognitae. t. 4. Romae, 1677.
- Clerval* = Registre des procès-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris; publié par A. Clerval. t. 1 (1505-23), Paris, 1917.
- Copinger* = Supplement to Hain's Repertorium bibliographicum; by W. A. Copinger. 2 parts. London, 1895-1902.
- CPR.* = Das Chronikon des Konrad Pellikan; herausg. durch Bernhard Rüggenbach. Basel, 1877.
- CR.* = Corpus Reformatorum. Voll. 1-28. Melanthonis Opera; ed. C. G. Bretschneider et H. E. Bindseil. Halis et Brunsvigae, 1834-60. Voll. 29-87. Caluini Opera; ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz, E. Reuss. Brunsvigae et Berolini, 1861-1900. Voll. 88- . Zwingli's Werke; herausg. von E. Egli und G. Finsler. Berlin, 1904- .
- Creighton* = A history of the Papacy during the period of the Reformation; by M. Creighton. t. 5. London, 1887-94. (Vols. 1 and 2; new edition. London, 1892.)

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS COMMONLY USED xvii

- de Jongh* = L'ancienne Faculté de Théologie de Louvain au premier siècle de son existence (1432-1540); par H. de Jongh. Louvain, 1911.
- Delisle* = Un Registre des procès-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris, 1505-33; par L. Delisle. Notices et Extraits xxxvi: Paris, 1899.
- de Nolhac* = Érasme en Italie; par P. de Nolhac. 2<sup>e</sup> édition. Paris, 1898.
- de Reiffenberg* = Histoire de l'ordre de la Toison d'Or; par le Baron de Reiffenberg. Bruxelles, 1830.
- DNB.* = Dictionary of national biography. t. 69. London, 1885-1912.
- DRA.* = Deutsche Reichstagsakten, jüngere Reihe, bearbeitet von A. Kluckhohn und A. Wrede. t. 4. Gotha, 1893-1905.
- Ducange* = Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis, conditum a Carolo du Fresne, domino Du Cange; ed. L. Favre. t. 10. Niort, 1883-7.
- EAL.* = Epistolae aliquot eruditorum, nunquam antehac excusae, multis nominibus dignae quae legantur a bonis omnibus, quo magis liqueat quanta sit insignis cuiusdam sycophantae virulentia, s. a. (See p. 210.)
- ESV.* = Epistolae aliquot eruditorum virorum, ex quibus perspicuum quanta sit Eduardi Lei virulentia. Basle, J. Froben, Aug. 1520.
- EHR.* = The English Historical Review. London, 1886- .
- Eor.* = Epistolae obscurorum virorum, ed. E. Böcking. t. 2. Lipsiae, 1864-70.
- Fredericq* = Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae, 1025-1528, ed. P. Fredericq. t. 5. Gent, 1889-1906.
- Gachard* = Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas; publiée par L. P. Gachard et C. Piot (Collection de Chroniques Belges inédites). t. 4. Bruxelles, 1874-82.
- Gams* = Series episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae; ed. P. B. Gams. Ratisbonae, 1873.
- GC.* = Gallia Christiana; opera D. Sammarthani, monachorum congregationis S. Mauri, et B. Hauréau. t. 16. Parisiis, 1715-1865.
- Goethals* = Dictionnaire généalogique et héraldique des familles nobles du royaume de Belgique; par F. V. Goethals. t. 4. Bruxelles, 1849-52.
- Hain* = Repertorium bibliographicum; opera L. Hain. t. 2. Stuttgartiae et Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1826-38.
- Henne* = Histoire du règne de Charles-Quint en Belgique; par A. Henne. t. 10. Bruxelles-Leipzig, 1858-60.
- Herminjard* = Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française (1512-44), recueillie . . . par A. L. Herminjard. t. 9. Genève, 1866-97.
- Herzog* = Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche; begründet von J. J. Herzog. 3<sup>e</sup> Auflage; herausg. von A. Hauck. t. 21. Leipzig, 1896-1908.
- Heumann* = Documenta literaria varii argumenti in lucem prolata cura Iohannis Heumanni. Altorfii, 1758.
- Hinds* = Calendar of State Papers and MSS. existing in the archives and collections of Milan, 1385-1618; edited by A. B. Hinds. t. 1. London, 1912.
- Horawitz* = i-iv. Erasmiana; von A. Horawitz. Wien, 1878, 80, 83, 85.
- v. Erasmus von Rotterdam und Martinus Lipsius; von A. Horawitz. Wien, 1882.
- (in Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1878, 79, 82, 84, 82.)

xviii LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS COMMONLY USED

- Jänig* = Liber confraternitatis B. Marie de Anima Teutonicorum de Vrbe; ed. C. Jänig. Romae—Vindobonae, 1875.
- Jöcher* = Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon, herausgegeben von C. G. Jöcher. t. 4. Leipzig, 1750-1.
- Jortin* = The life of Erasmus; by J. Jortin. t. 2. London, 1758-60.
- Knight* = The life of Erasmus; by S. Knight. Cambridge, 1726.
- Knod* = Deutsche Studenten in Bologna (1289-1562)—biographischer Index zu den ANGB: bearbeitet von G. C. Knod. Berlin, 1899.
- Kraft* = Briefe und Documente aus der Zeit der Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert; herausg. von K. und W. Kraft. Elberfeld, 1876.
- LB. i-x* = Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami opera omnia; ed. J. Clericus. t. 10. Lugduni Batavorum, 1703-6.
- Lefranc* = Histoire du Collège de France depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin du premier Empire; par A. Lefranc. Paris, 1893.
- Le Glay* = Négociations diplomatiques entre la France et l'Autriche durant les trente premières années du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle, publiées par E. Le Glay (Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France: première série). t. 2. Paris, 1845.
- Legrand* = Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs aux xv<sup>e</sup> et xvi<sup>e</sup> siècles; par Émile Legrand. t. 4. Paris, 1885-1906.
- Le Neve* = Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, by J. Le Neve; continued by T. D. Hardy. t. 3. Oxford, 1854.
- Luc. Ind.* = Lucubrationum Erasmi Roterodami index. Louanii, T. Martinus, 1 Jan. 1519.
- Mazzuchelli* = Gli scrittori d'Italia (A-B), del Conte G. Mazzuchelli. t. 2. Brescia, 1753-62.
- Molanus* = Ioannis Molani (1533-85) Historia Louaniensium, ed. P. F. X. de Ram (Collection de Chroniques belges inédites). t. 2. Bruxelles, 1861.
- MSH.* = Messenger des sciences historiques. Gand, 1823- .
- NAKG.* = Nederlandsch Archief voor kerkelijke Geschiedenis. Leiden, 1829- .
- NBG.* = Nouvelle biographie générale. t. 46. Paris, 1855-66.
- Nève* = Mémoire sur le Collège des trois-langues à l'Université de Louvain; par F. Nève (Mémoires couronnés par l'Académie Royale de Belgique, xxviii). Bruxelles, 1856.
- Nichols* = The Epistles of Erasmus, from his earliest letters to his fifty-first year, arranged in order of time. English translations . . . with a commentary . . .; by F. M. Nichols. t. 3. London, 1901-17.
- NNBW.* = Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek; ed. P. C. Molhuysen and P. J. Blok. t. 4. Leiden, 1911- .
- OED.* = A new English Dictionary on historical principles. t. 10. Oxford, 1888- .
- OHS.* = Publications of the Oxford Historical Society. Oxford, 1885- .
- Omont* = Journal autobiographique du Cardinal Jérôme Aléandre, publié par H. Omont. Notices et Extraits xxxv: Paris, 1895.
- Panzer* = Annales typographici, opera G. W. Panzer. t. 11. Norimbergae, 1793-1803.
- Pastor* = The History of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages; from the German of Dr. Ludwig Pastor. t. 12. (1-6 ed. F. I. Antrobus; 7-12 ed. R. Kerr.) London, 1906-13.



# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS COMMONLY USED xix

- Proctor* = Index to the early printed books in the British Museum; by R. Proctor.  
 Part I, to MD: 4 sections, London, 1898, 9; and 4 supplements, 1899-1902.  
 Part II, MDI-MDXX: London, 1903- .
- Renaudet* = *Préréforme et Humanisme à Paris, 1494-1517*, par A. Renaudet. Paris, 1916.
- Renouard* = *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde*; par A. A. Renouard. 3<sup>e</sup> édition. Paris, 1834.
- Renouard, Badius* = *Bibliographie des impressions et des œuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius*; par Ph. Renouard. t. 3. Paris, 1908.
- Sanuto* = *I diarii di Marino Sanuto (1496-1533)*; pubblicati per cura di N. Barozzi, G. Berchet, R. Fulin, F. Stefani, M. Allegri. t. 58. Venezia, 1879-1903.
- Schmidt* = *Histoire littéraire de l'Alsace (xv<sup>e</sup>-xvi<sup>e</sup>)*; par C. Schmidt. t. 2. Paris, 1879.
- Seeböhm* = *The Oxford Reformers, John Colet, Erasmus, and Thomas More*; by F. Seeböhm. 3rd edition. London, 1887.
- Stokvis* = *Manuel d'histoire, de généalogie et de chronologie de tous les états du globe*; par A. M. H. J. Stokvis. t. 3. Leide, 1888-93.
- Sweert* = *Athenae Belgicae*, ed. F. Sweert. Antuerpiae, 1628.
- Tiraboschi* = *Storia della letteratura italiana*; del Cavaliere Abate G. Tiraboschi. 2<sup>a</sup> edizione. t. 9. Modena, 1787-94.
- Trith.<sup>1</sup>* = *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis disertissimi patris domini Iohannis de Tritthenhem*. Basileae, Jo. de Amerbach, 1494.
- Trith.<sup>2</sup>* = *Catalogus illustrium virorum Germaniam suis ingeniis . . . exornantium domini Iohannis Tritemii*. (Moguntiae, P. Friedberger, c. 1495.)
- Trith.<sup>3</sup>* = *Disertissimi viri Iohannis de Tritthenhem . . . de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis collectanea, additis nonnullorum ex recentioribus vitis et nominibus*. Parrhisius, B. Rembolt et Jo. Paruus, 16 Oct. 1512.
- Trith.<sup>4</sup>* = *Dn. Iohannis Tritthemii . . . de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis . . . liber. . . . Appendicum istarum prior (Trith.<sup>3</sup>) nata est nuper in Galliis: posterior nunc recens additur, authore Balthazaro Werlino Colmariensi*. Coloniae, P. Quentel, March 1546.
- Trith.<sup>5</sup>* = *Zusätze des Trithemius zu seinem Catalogus illustrium virorum Germaniae aus der in der Würzburger Universitätsbibliothek befindlichen Handschrift: in Johannes Trithemius, von I. Silbernagel*, pp. 253-63. Regensburg, 1885.
- van Heussen* = *Historia episcopatum foederati Belgii*; ed. H. F. van Heussen. t. 2. Lugduni Batavorum, 1719.
- van Iseghem* = *Biographie de Thierry Martens d'Alost*; par A. F. van Iseghem. Malines-Alost, 1852.
- Vischer* = *Erasmiana*; von W. Vischer. Basel, 1876.
- Zedler* = *Universal-Lexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*. t. 64. Halle & Leipzig, J. H. Zedler, 1732-50.
- ZKG.* = *Zeitschrift für Kirchen-Geschichte*. Gotha, 1876- .

## ADDENDA

## VOL. I

- P. 32, 19n. Prof. Preserved Smith points out that the second letter must be LE<sup>2</sup>. 710, to Conrad Pellican, 1 Oct. 1523, which was printed in Erasmus Alberus' *Iudicium de Spongia Erasmi* (c. 1523-4).
- Pp. 48-50. Two extracts from Erasmus' writings throw light on the course of his education:  
 'Has naenias (the distinction between certain logical terms) . . . didici non omnino infelicit, natus annos tredecim: hoc Sutore superior quod Aristotelem Graecum non semel euoluerim.' Appendix replying to P. Sutor's *Antapologia*, Aug. 1526 (LB. ix. 810 A).  
 'Deplorat infelicitatem meam quod in Sorbona non didicerim dialecticam. Quanquam et Sorbonam vidimus, si ea dialecticum facit, et olim pueri dialecticam didicimus.' *Apol. ad Sanctum Caransam*, 1522 (LB. ix. 402 DE).
- P. 81, Ep. 8. 21-7. This story is related by Pliny, *HN*. 8. 17. 61.
- P. 91, Ep. 16. 12n. A picture signed 'Erasmus p(inxit) 1501' and claimed as his work, is now in America: see an article by M. W. Brockwell in *Art in America*, Dec. 1917, and a letter by W. Roberts in the *Times*, Lit. Suppl., 24 Oct. 1918.
- P. 122, Ep. 30. 48. Cf. Cic. *Off.* 2. 12. 43.
- P. 168, Ep. 53 introd. Ten letters from Bostius' correspondence, 1475-98, are printed from Bodleian MSS. in *EHR.* xxxiv, 1919, pp. 225-36.
- P. 174, Ep. 57. 1n. A copy of Vegetius, *De re militari*, Utrecht, s. a. (c. 1473-4: Proctor 8850), which belonged to Lord Mountjoy and was very likely read by him under Erasmus' tuition in Paris, is now in the Library of University College, Oxford (X. 20. 11). It is inscribed 'Iste liber est mei Wyllelmi blount, domini de Mountioy' on the title; on f. 4 v<sup>o</sup> the name Mountioy is prettily painted in blue and gold, within a framework of green lines; and there are *marginalia* by Mountjoy on ff. 5, 6, 10, 25.  
 The Vegetius is bound up with another early volume, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Statius' *Silvae*, printed at Venice in 1475 (Proctor 4303).  
 On a fly-leaf at the end is written 'Sum Iacobi Mowntioii Anno salutis 1561'.
- P. 198, Ep. 71 introd. In an *Appendix de scriptis Clithousei*, Aug. 1526 (LB. ix. 813 B), Erasmus mentions early mss. of the *De conscribendis epistolis*: 'Sunt in Anglia qui habent archetypum mea manu descriptum ante annos ferme triginta. Et apud me est exemplar ab amanuensi descriptum ante annos viginti: vbi reperitur etiam altera pars deliniata.'
- P. 239, Ep. 103. 18. For kissing as a recognized form of saluting English ladies see many interesting notes collected by Mrs. Henry Cust in *Gentlemen Errant*, 1909, pp. 496-8, to illustrate the mention of the custom by the recorder of Leo de Rozmital's journey to England in 1466: also Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, 1885, pp. 84, 229. Erasmus, in the *Inst. Christ. Matrimonii*, 1526, after describing the prolonged feasting and dancing customary at weddings, continues (LB. v. 678 A): 'Cogitur ibi misera virgo cum ebriis . . . iungere dextram, apud Britannos etiam oscula.'

Ep. 104. In the British Museum is an illuminated ms. (Egerton 1651) of ten leaves octavo, containing Ep. 104 prefixed to a number of poems, most of which are by Erasmus—the Hymns addressed to the Angels and to St. Anne, the three poems to Gaguin and Faustus Andrelinus mentioned in I, p. 3, and the *Expostulatio Iesu*; and in addition four short poems, which appear to be unpublished—an epigram of Gaguin inviting Faustus and Erasmus to come and visit him, two poems by Erasmus in praise of Skelton (Ep. 104. 64), and *In castigationes Vincentii contra Malleoli castigantis depravationes*. Though the ms. does not contain the *Prosopopoeia*, it is very likely a special copy of some of Erasmus' poems prepared for presentation to Prince Henry after the visit to Eltham in the autumn of 1499.

The text of Ep. 104 in the ms. varies widely from that afterwards printed, and is considerably shorter. For example, for the passage 'Quem (l. 29) . . . cupias' (l. 47) the ms. reads: 'Quem quidem poetam tam egregium preconem Achilli legitur invidisse. Ab hac igitur tam generosa, tam regia Alexandri mente cum perspexissem pulcherrimam indolem tuam non abhorrere. . .'. For the most part the variants are unimportant; but it may be noted that in ll. 9, 17, 51, 56 (*opibus*) the ms. agrees with  $\beta$ . In l. 64 the reading *Stelkonum* illustrates the character of the copying and revision of the ms.

- P. 261, Ep. 113 introd. Sixtin took his degree at Siena on 27-8 July 1510. The University Register (II, f. 158: now in the Archbishop's Archives at Siena) describes him as 'rector seu archipresbiter in ecclesia Hac-comben, in Anglia'.
- P. 275, Ep. 119. 20. The 'viculus' in which Erasmus spent the night of 1 Feb. may probably be identified with St. Just-en-chaussée, a small town on the main road to Paris, 31 ms. from Amiens and 9 from Clermont. With his indifference to accuracy in trivial details he might easily have remembered its name as St. Julien.
- P. 299, Ep. 129 introd. An incident of Erasmus' life at Orleans is narrated in his *Apologia ad blasphemias Stunicae*, 13 June 1522 (LB. ix. 372r): 'Olim quum agerem Aurelii, audiebam famulam culinariam rixantem cum matrefamilias. Tandem famula provocata sic Gallice respondit dominae nescio quid obiciienti: "Tu mentiris, salua tua pace".' But possibly after the lapse of 25 years he was recalling the episode of Ep. 55 in the wrong setting.
- Pp. 305, 364, Ep. 131 introd. In the Bodleian (90. c. 56) is a revised edition of Aug. Vincent's Vergil, s. a., 12<sup>o</sup>, at the end of which is printed a letter from him to Nic. Bensrott from Paris, 19 March—probably 1501, when Bensrott was his pupil (cf. Epp. 136, 156).
- P. 337, Ep. 143. 94. For the protective value attributed to the Greek letter Tau, arising partly from its resemblance to the Hebrew word of Ezek. 9. 4, used for the sign put on the foreheads of the faithful, and partly from its likeness to a cross, see T. Hugo in *Archaeologia* xxxviii, 1860, p. 133, and C. Dodgson in *The Library* iii, 1902, pp. 4-5, 9.
- P. 356, Ep. 152 introd. Peter Gilles' *Threnodia* on the death of Maximilian, Antwerp, M. Hillen, 1519, is dedicated to Tutor, 'praeceptor vniue obseruando', and speaks of Tutor's veneration for the dead Emperor.
- P. 385, Ep. 174 introd. A Greek ms. of the New Testament, except Revelation (Evang. 90; Act. 47, P. 14), copied by Faber of Deventer, is now in the Library of the Remonstrant Church at Amsterdam: see Jortin ii. 712 and C. R. Gregory *N. T. Prolegomena*, 1894, p. 487. Faber's original was a ms. written by Theodore of Hagios Petros in 1293; and he used also mss. lent to him by Wessel (cf. Epp. 504. 2, 515. 3-5), and by the Warden of the Recollets at Zirickzee.
- P. 398, Ep. 180 introd. A reminiscence of a visit to Antwerp c. 1502-4 given in Erasmus' *Responsio adu. febricitantis libellum*, March 1529 (LB. x. 1681b): 'Hoc factum narravit nobis Antuerpiae theologiae professor Dominicanus—nomine, si satis memini, Ioannes, luscus erat, fortassis

adhuc superest—ante annos ferme viginti sex in aedibus Nicolai Middelburgensis medici : nominavit theologum Louaniensem vnde acceperat.'

- P. 404, Ep. 181. 18n. The date of Colet's actual assumption of the déanery of St. Paul's must be later than 20 June 1505: for a ms. written by Peter Meghen (see Ep. 231. 4n) and containing new statutes made by Colet for the regulation of the chantry-priests in the Cathedral, is dated 20 June 1506, 'et decanatus sui anno primo'. See a description of the ms. by W. S. Simpson in *Archaeologia* lii, 1890, p. 164.
- P. 406, Ep. 182 introd. Christopher Fisher is praised by Badius as 'vir heroica plane virtute et Ciceroniana dicendi maiestate praeditus', in the preface, 15 Oct. 1509, to Bapt. Mantuanus' *Georgius*: see Renouard, *Badius*, ii. 131.
- P. 414, Ep. 184. 15n. Jo. Theod. Harius died in 1532 as canon of the Hague: see BWN. His books were acquired by Charles v, who with them founded the Royal Library at the Hague (cf. Jo. Secundus, *Opera*, Utrecht, 1541, f<sup>o</sup>. I<sup>4</sup>; and Arn. Buchelius' *Diarium*, ed. G. Brom and L. A. van Langeraad, 1907, p. 87); but they are said to have been dispersed during the Spanish wars. One of them, a copy of Martens' edition of Erasmus' Paraphrase on Romans, Nov. 1517 (Ep. 710), is now in the Seeböhm Library at Hitchin.
- P. 432, Ep. 201. 2n. The date of Marcus Laurinus' death must be 1540, as in GC. v. 258, not 1546 as in BN.; see the inscription on his tomb, in J. Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires . . . de la Flandre*, 1861, p. 159. For his brother Peter (7 Dec. 1489—27 Feb. 152½) see Ep. 1271. 122n.
- P. 448, Ep. 211 introd. For an acquaintance that Erasmus made at Venice with the historian Bern. Ruccellai of Florence see *Apophthegmata*, viii, *Thrasea* 2 (LB. iv. 363 x).
- P. 449, Ep. 213. 1. There seems to be no doubt about the reading of the ms. But M. de Nolhac's interpretation receives some colour from a passage in Lond. xx. 2, LB. 1000: 'Dici vix potest quantum mali precer his bellis per quae . . . Italia . . . excludimur.'
- P. 453, Ep. 216. 23. For the form *quicquam* cf. Arnold of Tongres' preface to his *Articuli*, Cologne, Quentel, 28 Aug. 1512: Böcking pp. 78-9, 545.
- P. 457, Ep. 220. 9. Plinius] Ep. 3. 21. 3.
- P. 467, Ep. 227. 1n. Erasmus' *Missa Chrysostomi* was first printed in the Chevallon Latin Chrysostom, Paris, 1536, vol. v, ff. 350-4.
- P. 483, Ep. 240. 36n. The Pope's physician was a Provençal Jew, Jacob ben Emmanuel, known as Bonetus or Bonnet de Lates. He was appointed to his office by Alexander vi and held it till 1515. See Renaudet pp. 392, 499.
- P. 488, Ep. 243. 60n. In the British Museum (G. 1203) is an Oration on Henry vii by P. Gryphus, 'nuncius apostolicus', printed for him by Pynson, with a preface to Ruthall (Ep. 192) dated 15 May 1509, London. In consequence of the king's death, the Oration was never delivered. A poem on Lud. Sforza's captivity by P. M. Carrantus, Bologna, J. A. de Benedictis, 1507, is dedicated to Gryphus.
- P. 501, Ep. 255 introd. An account of Erasmus' conversation with Warham about his Aldington pension, earlier but shorter than that in the *Ecclesiastes*, is given in the *Apophthegmata*, bk. iii (LB. iv. 156 bc).
- P. 507, Ep. 256. 137n. A somewhat different account of Erasmus' judgement of Baptista Pius is given, as from a Declamation of Melancthon in 1552, in K. Hartfelder's *Melancthoniana paedagogica*, 1892, p. 174.
- P. 509, Ep. 259 introd. In a deed executed by Linaere 14 Jan. 1515 and now (Kent, no. 1348) in the archives of Merton College, Oxford, John Babham, son of John Babham, is named as one of the executors, in conjunction with Thomas More, 'gentilman'. In March 1526 Jo. Babham, 'stuard', was one of the parties to a release of the manor of Waterstock, near Oxford: Queen's College MS. 366, f. 38 v<sup>o</sup>.

- P. 510, Ep. 260. Melancthon's appreciation of the *De Copia* is shown by two prefaces that he wrote (ME. 653, 1214), one for an abridgement c. 1529, the other for an edition of 1534.
- P. 515, Ep. 263. 21n. The Bodleian has two volumes of Luther's works (TL. 18. 10 and 15) presented to Mich. Hummelberg in 1522 (one on 11 Nov.) by the Adelmanna of Augsburg: the *Vom Eelichen Leben*, Wittenberg, 1522, and *Wider den falschgenanten gayslichen stand des Bapsts*, s.l., 1522. Besides inscribing his name on the last leaf of each, in the latter Hummelberg has copied a short letter to him from Thomas Blaurer, 15 Sept. (1522?), which seems to be unpublished.
- P. 528, Ep. 270. 6on. The Library of Queen's College, Oxford, possesses a *Biblia Latina*, Paris, R. Stephanus, 1528 (252. C. 12), with the autograph inscription 'Thomas Lupsett' twice on the title-page.
- P. 538, Ep. 275. 5n. In the Library of Peterborough Cathedral (E. 1. 17) is a copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Lyons, C. Davost, 22 Oct. 1504, which belonged to John Watson.
- P. 557, Ep. 291. 3n. On 6 Nov. 1525 Dr. Augustinus Aggeus was sent to England by Charles of Gueldres as envoy to Henry VIII: Brewer iv. 1746.
- P. 563, Ep. 295. 25. Sir John Paston in 1473 (no. 725) considered a riall enough to take a man from London to Calais.
- P. 564, Ep. 296 introd. The Francis of Nymegen to whom Erasmus showed Ep. 296 is very likely to be identified with Gerard Goldenhauer (Ep. 487), who was a Crucifer at Louvain, and in 1517 became chaplain to Philip of Burgundy, bp. of Utrecht: Lypsius having made a mistake in the Christian name, as Erasmus did so often (cf. Ep. 1054 introd.).
- P. 608, 17n. Dr. A. A. J. Karthon of Heusden has made an important discovery in the Library of the Prov. Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen at Hertogenbosch: of the source from which Leclerc printed the 19 letters concerned with Erasmus' Gouda friends, and, in his vol. viii, Erasmus' early poems. It is a ms. volume written in 1570 by a hand which has not been identified; and later it belonged to Peter Scriverius. It contains 61 letters in two books, and of these 42 were printed by Merula in O<sup>1</sup>. As the remaining 19 are similar in character to the rest, it seems hardly likely that Merula can have had them before him. It may therefore be conjectured that he was using for his volume, not this ms. of 1570, but the originals from which it was copied, and that for some reason he overlooked the nineteen: further, that the ms. did not come into Scriverius' possession until after the publication of O<sup>3</sup> in 1615—though it should be noted that he did not print the letters from the ms. which appear in O<sup>1</sup>.
- Dr. Karthon has printed the results of his examination of the ms. in *Het Boek*, 1916, 113-29; with two facsimiles, one of which proves conclusively that the ms. was in the hands of Leclerc or De la Faye for LB. His collation shows that, apart from Leclerc's standard orthography, in 11 out of the 19 letters there are no variants between the ms. and LB.; in the remaining 8 he records the following readings of the ms.:
- |                             |                               |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Ep. 6. 7. negotius.         | Ep. 27. 2. fructus.           |
| Ep. 12. 5. respondent.      | Ep. 35. 7. existimo      qui. |
| Ep. 19. 18-19. subinuidens. | 97. imbarbes.                 |
| Ep. 21. 20. credunt.        | Ep. 37. 4. fecerant.          |
| 72. notari.                 | Ep. 38. 27. proficiscitur.    |
- He also notes that in Ep. 83. 42 for *saepe madere cogebarur vel valetudinis studio* the ms. reads *assidue maderam, vel valetudini*; but that in the other 41 letters printed in O<sup>1</sup> the ms. agrees closely with Merula's text.
- It appears that the ms. has been in the Hertogenbosch Library since 1872-3; but of its intermediate history since it was used by Leclerc, Dr. Karthon has not yet discovered any indications.

## VOL. II

- P. 38, Ep. 316 introd. Lucas Paliurus was perhaps son of Michael Klett of Gütingen in Swabia, who was Pellican's schoolmaster at Ruffach c. 1487 (CPR. p. 7). Lucas' name is mentioned in ZE. 78, of 28 Dec. 1525, at which date he appears to have been still in Basle; and his praise is in Oporinus' preface to Saxo Grammaticus, Basle, Jo. Bebel, 1534.
- Other books dedicated to him are the *Opera* of Constantinus Africanus, Basle, H. Petrus, Aug. 1536; and those of H. Vida, Basle, B. Lasius and T. Platter, March 1537. The anniversary of the death of his widow, Dame Barbe, was celebrated on 29 Jan.: see the *Liber Vitae* of the confraternity of St. Michael at Porrentruy, in L. Vautre's *Jura Bernois* ii, 1868, p. 259.
- P. 45, Ep. 321 introd. In the Bibliothèque du Collège at Porrentruy is a Terence, Strasburg, J. Gruninger, 18 March 1503, on the title-page of which are some verses by Bebel. Against these is written in contemporary ms.: 'Hic Bebell obiit vltima die mensis Marcii a°. 1518, ho. 6°. mane'.
- P. 68, Ep. 328. 38n. On f. C<sup>4</sup> of Augustine's *De miseria*, Cambridge, J. Siberch, (April) 1521, are some verses by Jo. Duncellus Hammelburgensis: evidently the person mentioned here, since the place-designation connects him with Froben. Erasmus had perhaps taken him to England with the idea of sending him to Cambridge for his education (cf. Ep. 457. 55-9); but I cannot find any trace of him in the University Grace-Books. For a somewhat similar name to the form in Ep. 330. 21, see Ep. 1039 introd., of a printer at Nuremberg in 1531.
- P. 132, Ep. 347. 196. Prof. C. H. Turner points out to me that the reading must be not *imperauiſſe* but *temperauiſſe*, as in Jerome's preface to the Vulgate Gospels.
- P. 172, Ep. 374 introd. Caesarius' return from Italy may be dated in 1511: for he took the degree of M.D. at Siena on 12-13 Oct. 1511.
- P. 183, Ep. 384 introd. Mr. H. F. Moule has indicated to me that the numeration of the pages of Pt. ii of the *Nouum Instrumentum*, 1516, is faulty; and that instead of 'more than 1,000 pages' the correct number is 990.
- P. 198, Ep. 388. 173n. For Jo. Clement in Italy in (1522) see Lo. E., f. 143. He was M.D. at Siena on 30-31 March 1525, 'Mr. Io. Clemens Anglius, filius mri. Ruberti, in ar. et med. doctorandus': Univ. Register of Degrees iii, f. 59 v°, in the Archbishop's Archives at Siena. For a ms. of the *Anthologia Palatina* said to have been brought by him from Italy, c. 1525, and presented to Sir Thomas More, see the Teubner editions of the *Anacreontea* by V. Rose, 1890, pp. vi, xx seq., and by C. Preisendanz, 1912, pp. v-vi. His possession of a ms. is recorded in a note written by Gerard Falkenburg of Nymegen c. 1566 on the title-page of his copy of the *Anthologia*, Florence, Junta, 1519, which is now in the Bodleian (Auct. S. 5. 33). About Jan. 1568 he offered to lend his Octateuch and other Greek mss. to Plantin for use in the preparation of the new Polyglott (Pl. E. 102).
- P. 211, Ep. 396 introd. Prof. A. Souter has discovered from Reisch's two letters of 1513-14 (G. II. 29. 151.2) that for the Amorbach-Froben Jerome he borrowed two mss. from the monastery of Echternach, near Trèves: the Hieronymian Martyrology and the Pseudo-Jerome (now Paris 10837 and 9525). The latter was printed in vol. ix, May 1516, which is the *editio princeps*. See *Proc. of the British Academy* vii, 1915-16, pp. 282-3. For the Chevallon edition of Jerome, Paris, 1533-4, see *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* xiii, 1913-15, p. 316.
- P. 234. A facsimile of Ep. 404 is given in Ulrich Zwingli. *Zum Gedächtnis der Zürcher Reformation*, 1919, pl. 62.

P. 241, Ep. 411. 8n. In Symph. Champerius' *Symphonia Platonis*, Paris, J. Badius, 18 April 1516, is a letter from Marlianus to Champerius, dated 27 Oct. 1513, Ghent.

Alvar Gomez, *De rebus gestis a F. Ximeno*, Alcala, 1569, f. 151 v<sup>o</sup>, states that Marlianus was made bp. of Tuy against Ximenes' wishes.

Among the mss. of Groenendael (see vol. i, p. 590) in 1640 was Marlianus' 'Epistolae ad diuersos principes: eiusdem diuersa opuscula simul in vno volumine compacta, in folio': see A. Sanderus, *Bibliotheca Belgica manuscripta*, 1644, ii. 137.

Marlianus' death took place on the night of 10-11 May 1521: see DRA. ii, 1896, pp. 903, 907.

P. 308, Ep. 447. 596n. For a suggested explanation of Erasmus' letter of 19 Jan. 1524 see Epp. 1295, 1410.

Vol. i of Schinner's correspondence, 1489-1515, edited by Dr. A. Büchi, has recently appeared in the *Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte*, Basle, 1920 (Sch. E.).

P. 324, Ep. 456. 87n. On Aegidius of Delft there is a note with a full list of his publications by Dr. B. Kruitwagen in *Handelingen van het 9<sup>e</sup> Nederlandsche Philologencongres*, 1919, pp. 71-4: see also Renaudet.

P. 358. For Ep. 477 the best source is in a volume of *Illustrium et clarorum virorum Epistolae selectiores*, edited by Daniel Heinsius for the Elzevirs, Leiden, 1617, p. 362. Though possessed of a better text than Merula, Heinsius has not reproduced it with accuracy. The following readings are important:

- l. 4. Berum tradideris.; but read tradideris
- l. 13. For ad me read meo.  
After responso add sic edit.
- l. 14. For Respondi read Respondit:.
- l. 34. After habeam add quod Dorpio respondi, a te descriptum.  
Erasm. Rot.

The following are noticeable:

- Tit. Delete ERASMVS ROTTERODAMVS.
- l. 1. Add S. P. before Matura.
  - l. 2. ascribendas.
  - l. 9. litteras.
  - l. 11. prope diem.
  - ll. 12, 15. Tonstallus.
  - l. 30. perisse.

The following are clearly incorrect:

- l. 3. compingantur, & si.
- l. 5. redditi... Supicabar... Nusquam.
- l. 7. Buslidum.
- l. 9. Badio for Budaeo.
- l. 22. illorum for illotum.
- l. 23. loco for loto.
- l. 26. seuiat for saeuies.
- l. 27. seuiat for saeuias.

The reference in l. 34 to a letter to Dorp throws some light on Ep. 496.

P. 373, Ep. 482 introd. I owe to Sir John Sandys the information that the Hexapolia Lusatica or Lausitzer Sechstädtebund is a district n. of Prague and w. of Breslau (cf. vol. iii, p. xxvi), comprising the six towns of Kamenz, Bautzen, Löbau, Görlitz, Lauban, Zittau.

P. 407, Ep. 495 introd. Listrius may probably be identified with the recipient of the 'Licentia et doctoratus in medicina egregii artium et medicine scolaris, D. magistri Gyrardi Listrii, ciuitatis Remensis', conferred at Pavia, 8 April 1514: see some extracts from the Pavia archives printed by E. Picot in *Bull. philologique et historique*, 1915, p. 68.

Two rare volumes by Listrius are:

*Oratio habita in enarratione Dionysii Halicarnassei*, Deventer, R. Paffraet, s. a.: in the Rylands Library at Manchester.

*De octo figuris constructionis*, s. l. et a.: in the Colombina Library at Seville.

- P. 419, Ep. 502 introd. Copies of the *Iulius Exclusus* were sold by John Dorne in Oxford on 3 March, 8 and 25 Aug. 1520: see nos. 455, 1004, 1135 in his *Day-book*, ed. F. Madan, OHS. v, 1885, pp. 94, 113, 117.
- P. 454, Ep. 529 introd. The Bp.'s name is found also as Ponchier. It is so in the stonework of the tower he added to the Abp.'s palace at Sens. One of Gaguin's poems, Paris, D. Gerler, 22 Nov. 1498, f<sup>o</sup>. E<sup>o</sup>, is addressed to him as 'Stephanus Poncierus'. Egid. Delphus (Ep. 456. 87n) dedicated a versification of the Epistle to the Romans, 1507, to him as 'Stephanus de Ponchier'.
- The form Poncher occurs twice in Marcus de Grand Val's *Non tres siue duae Magdalenae*, Paris, J. Badius, (1519).
- P. 470, Ep. 531. 415n. Lucas Walterus Conitiensis was one of the correctors of Faber Stapulensis' edition of John de Sacrobosco's *Sphaera*, Paris, W. Hopyl, 12 Feb. 1498: see Renaudet, p. 273n.
- P. 495, Ep. 544 introd. Another trace of Marian Accard, besides those given in vol. iii, p. xxvi, is the dedication to him of a short work by Christopher Scobar Bethicus, describing him as 'auricularius' to Raynerius a Montoro, bp. of Cefalu in Sicily (1496-† 1511: Gams p. 946): printed in the *Ad artem litterariam Introductiones* of Ant. Nebrissensis, Venice, Aug. de Zannis, 28 July 1512, f. 179.
- P. 521, Ep. 561. 63n. Another book dedicated to Hartmann of Hallwil, is Oecolampadius' *Graecae litteraturae dragmata*, Basle, Cratander and Cruftanus, Sept. 1518. The preface states that Hartmann had used this Greek grammar so much that others were asking for it; and shows that he was reading Basil, Chrysostom, Origen, and Gregory with Capito.
- P. 523, Ep. 563. 20. For Oecolampadius' admiration of Erasmus cf. his *De risu Paschali*, Basle, Froben, 1518, p. 15, dated 18 March from Weinsberg: 'Erasmus noster, mortalium omnium quos ego viderim vel audierim vnquam, facetissimus simul ac eruditissimus.'
- P. 537, Ep. 570. Jo. Harenaceus has been identified with a John Vander Maude (Ammonius or de Harena), who was brother to Livinus Ammonius (Ep. 1463). See BN. xiv. 83-4, based, without substantiation, on F. V. Goethals' *Lectures relatives à l'hist. des sciences . . . en Belgique*, 1837, ii. 110-11.
- P. 588, Ep. 588. 25-8. Cf. Gell. 9. 3. 6.

## VOL. III

- P. 12, Ep. 602 introd. Salisbury Cathedral Library has a copy of Froben's edition of the *Antiquae Lectiones* with the same colophon as the British Museum copy but a title-page on which the preface composed in Ep. 602 does not appear: so that explanation 2 seems to be correct.
- P. 25, Ep. 610. 47n. A letter from Ortuinus Gratius to T. Gravius, 21 July 1535, printed in F. Nausea's *Sermones quadragesimales*, Cologne, Quentell, Aug. 1535, f<sup>o</sup>. A<sup>3</sup>, praises highly Gravius' library, as rich in theology and in Latin and Greek books.
- P. 57, Ep. 635. 20n. In Oct. 1526 Seb. Munster dedicated to Jo. Erasmus Froben his Latin version of Elias Levita's *Capitula Cantici*, Basle, Froben, 1527.
- P. 59, Ep. 637. 5-8. This passage is quoted almost verbally by Nic. of Hertogenbosch in his notes on Erasmus' Lucian, Antwerp, M. Hillen, June 1528, f. 7 v<sup>o</sup>. His citation shows that Erasmus wrote 'Triglas in delitiis esse Hecata atque illi sacras . . .', and that the scribe (Hand C) fell into an easy error.
- P. 66, Ep. 644 introd. The Library of the Royal College of Physicians in London has a volume of the *Script. rei rusticae*, Reggio, 18 Sept. 1496, with an autograph inscription by Linacre: from whom it passed by presentation successively to Tunstall, Sparchefeld, and on 15 Jan. 1551 to some persons named Langford.



In the Hereford Cathedral Library is a copy of Erasmus' edition of Augustine, 1528-9, presented by Sparchford: but to whom is not clear.

- P. 77, Ep. 656 introd. The Library of the Vicars Choral at Hereford has a copy (II. 2. 13) of Erasmus' Cyprian, Basle, Froben, Jan. 1530 (see Ep. 1000) with the name of Vannes inscribed inside the back cover, in bold capitals.
- P. 82, Ep. 660 should perhaps be transferred to 1519: see vol. iv, p. 67.
- P. 102, Ep. 681. 11. Geldenhauer (Ep. 487) in his *Epistola de situ Zelandiae*, (c. Feb. 1514), speaks of Jo. Becar of Borssele and H. Cordatus as his two friends at Middelburg; praising the latter as 'Moecenas meus liberalissimus, eruditione et modestia nemini postponendus'. His eighth Satire, Louvain, Th. Martens, 13 June 1515, is dedicated to them jointly. Verses by Cordatus appear on f°. a<sup>4</sup> of Jason Pratensis' *De tuenda sanitate*, Antwerp, M. Hillen, Oct. 1538.
- P. 109, Ep. 686. 14n. Luis Cabeza de Vaca was bp. of the Canaries a. 14 Oct. 1523-1530, then of Salamanca till May 1537, and finally of Palencia until his death, 22 Nov. 1550: see Gams.
- P. 124, Ep. 700 introd. Pirckheimer's *Laus Podagrae*, Nuremberg, F. Peyp, 1522, is dedicated to Banisius: see P. p. 204.
- P. 141, Ep. 711. 16n. A *Graduale* presented by Maximilian to Margaret of Austria in 1511, and now in the Archives communales at Malines, was written by Alamire: see G. Caullet, *Musiciens de la Collégiale Notre-Dame à Courtrai*, 1911, pp. 46, 144.
- P. 165, Ep. 735. 11. For the use of triplets in sermons see the Ecclesiastes ii (LB. v. 862b); and cf. Ep. 1211. 507n.
- Ep. 735. 6. Baptista is evidently Aleander's brother of that name who remained at Liège in the service of Erard de la Marck.
- P. 171, Ep. 741. 8. Paraphronesin] Cf. Ep. 710. 30.
- P. 172, Ep. 743. 8. For *chrysis* = a gold coin cf. BRE. 192.
- P. 185, Ep. 750 introd. In 1915 Dr. J. A. Vor der Hake was good enough to report to me the existence of the Codex Horawitzianus in the Public Library at Rotterdam (Erasmus III. 102); and shortly afterwards he lent it to the Bodleian for my use, 1916-19. It is in Martin Lypsius' autograph throughout. Examination showed that Horawitz, though discarding the original spelling, had on the whole done his work very well, in printing the ms. in Horawitz v. Out of the 28 letters to or from Erasmus, only six were printed by himself; and of these, four appeared in vol. iii of this edition. In Ep. 750 (p. 1) the text of the Rotterdam MS. agrees on the whole with D: a fact which suggests that Lypsius, having copied the letter in an earlier letter-book from the document he actually received, copied it a second time in a later book from the text as printed in D. For Ep. 843 (p. 3), however, the ms. differs not a little from D<sup>1</sup>, in a considerable number of quite unimportant variants. In Epp. 807 (pp. 27, 37), 897 (p. 2), which Erasmus printed first in F, the Rotterdam MS. agrees more or less closely with the Brussels MS.; in Ep. 897 having a few variants of no real importance. The text for the other two letters, Epp. 1056, 1070, may be seen in this volume.
- In the letters in vol. iii for which the Brussels and the Rotterdam MSS. were the only authorities (Epp. 899, 901, 912, 921-2, 960) and the one which is only found in the latter (Ep. 900), there are no variants of importance to record between the Rotterdam MS. and Horawitz's text.
- It remains to consider the relations between these two mss., which are both in Lypsius' autograph throughout. The Brussels MS. is clearly the earlier, since it contains nothing later than 1519 (Epp. 1048-9, 1052), or, if Ep. 1130 is rightly dated, than 1520: whereas the Rotterdam MS. has nothing of Erasmus earlier than 1518 (Ep. 750) and goes down to 1525. Another point of difference is in the arguments prefixed to the letters in the Brussels MS., with the design of elucidating their contents: in the Rotterdam MS. there is nothing of the sort. To some extent the

ms. overlap, for ten letters are common to both. Why Lypsius should have copied them twice over I am unable to conjecture.

The Rotterdam MS. was at one time in the hands of the famous Belgian antiquary J. F. Van de Velde (1743-1823).

- P. 187, Ep. 751 introd. John de Hondt († a. 24 Nov. 1571) was already M.A. and in holy orders by 1506. He contributed some verses to Eligius Houcarius' *Tractatus de Penitentia*, Ghent, 1513, styling himself 'canonicus Phauopinus'; see *Bibl. Belgica*. In 1514 he began to accumulate further preferment, which included canonries at Bruges and Lille, besides that which he held at Courtray in connexion with Erasmus and P. Barbirius. On 10 March 1544 he succeeded his friend, Jac. de Thielt (pp. xxx. 243), as Cantor. Throughout a long and active life he formed a good library, which he bequeathed to the church of Notre-Dame at Courtray. They are enumerated in a deed which he signed on 2 Sept. 1571; and many of them still survive, with his autograph inscriptions, in St. Martin's church at Courtray. See G. Caillet, *Musiciens de la Collégiale Notre-Dame à Courtrai*, 1911, pp. 92-103.
- P. 191, Ep. 755. 32n. In Jo. Launoius' *Regii Nauarrae gymnastii Parisiensis historia*, 1677, i. 217, 219, the name of an Eleutherius Audacis is recorded as a student in theology in 1484, and Doctor in 1495.
- P. 286, Ep. 783. 22n. Erasmus' expectations must have been not, as suggested, from Ximenes, who was now dead, but from the young King Charles.
- P. 266, Ep. 802. 8n. Besides the *Epistolae Hieronymi tres* mentioned, there is an earlier edition of three different letters, with Erasmus' text and scholia, (Cologne, L. Hornken and Nic. Kayser), 24 July 1517. The Peterborough Cathedral Library has a copy of each volume, bound together (K. 6. 13).
- P. 261, Ep. 807. 2n. The actual volume of Gregory given by Erasmus to Lypsius was recently in the possession of Mr. P. M. Barnard of Tunbridge Wells: who kindly lent it to the Bodleian for a short time in Oct. 1917. See the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* ii, 1917-19, p. 61.
- P. 281, Ep. 811 introd. I am indebted to Dr. S. Muller, Rijksarchivar of Utrecht, for the information that Philip of Burgundy was at Dueratede on 8, 19, 23 April 1518: dates which quite accord with a visit to Mechlin c. 13 April and terminating on 17 April.
- P. 296, Ep. 829. 27n. For the Colts at Netherhall see an article in *The Times*, Lit. Suppl., 26 Dec. 1918.
- P. 297, Ep. 831 introd. There is a contemporary copy of this letter in the ms. letter-book of Alexander Minutianus of Milan: A.D. xl. 31, f. 128 at the Brera Library in Milan. Except for a few depravations and trifling variations it follows the text of  $\beta\gamma$ , and, when  $\gamma$  fails, of  $\beta$ , against  $\alpha$  and the printed editions; and may therefore be presumed to have been made from the letter actually sent to Grolier.
- P. 310, Ep. 841. 1n. Clava's Herodotus is now in the library of Mr. G. A. Plimpton, 66 Park Avenue, New York.
- P. 368, Ep. 858. Passages of this are found, somewhat expanded, in the *Ratio verae theologiae*, as printed in the New Testament of 1519: e. g. ll. 257-65 on N.T. pp. 23-4, ll. 233-6, 292-4, 305-10 on N.T. p. 27.
- P. 388, Ep. 864. 17. Evangelista Tarasconio is the full form of the name: see Pastor x. 335, 394.
- P. 390, Ep. 866. For praise of Eicholtz see Th. Loher's preface, 4 Sept. 1536, to an edition of Dionysius the Carthusian's commentary on the *Libri Sapientiales*, Cologne, J. Genepius, 1539.
- P. 393, Ep. 867. 12. In the *Moria* Erasmus writes of 'quidditates, ecceitates', with the comment 'Haec sunt portenta verborum a recentioribus theologis excogitata': LB. iv. 463 A, 465 B.  
19. desidendum] sc. vsque ad multam noctem. Cf. the colloquy *Diuersoria*, first printed in Aug. 1523: LB. i. 717 a, 718 A.

- P. 394, Ep. 867. 36n. Cratander's edition of Cicero, March 1528, is dedicated to Varnbuler, with thanks for help in getting an Imperial privilege.
- P. 395, Ep. 867. 58n. An edition of Bede's Homilies, Cologne, J. Gymnich, 1535, is dedicated to Matt. of Saarburg, with praise of his library.
- P. 415, Ep. 877. 10n. Prof. Preserved Smith suggests that the allusion is more likely to the summons to Luther to appear before Cajetan at Augsburg early in October 1518.
- P. 418, Ep. 881 introd. In June 1521 Longicampianus was tutor to John, a son of Duke William of Bavaria: see Oecolampadius' preface to his translation of Greg. Nazianzen's *De moderandis disputationibus*, Basle, A. Cratander, Sept. 1521.
- P. 420, Ep. 883. 13n. Many details about Bathodius (matric. at Heidelberg 1511, M.A. 1513, † 6 April 1554) are given in J. Ficker and O. Winckelmann's *Handschriftenproben* ii, 1905, no. 78.
- P. 423, Ep. 886. 22-3. Tunstall's copy of the New Testament, 1519, on vellum, is no doubt that which is now in the Library of York Minster. It came thither with the books of Tob. Matthew, abp. of York, and at one time dean of Durham: where he bought other books which certainly belonged to Tunstall.
- P. 445, Ep. 904. 19n. Of Erasmus' action in preventing the publication of Luther's works a trace is probably to be found in a letter of Beatus Rhenanus to Zwingli, from Basle, 19 March 1519 (BRE. 97 = Zw. Ep. 66): 'Erasmus . . . scripsit ad me literas quae libellum aequare possent, de Lutherio et aliis rebus.'
- Pp. 467-8, Ep. 910. The Bodleian has now acquired a copy of Pezel's volume, 1590 (a). In l. 9 its reading is *βολότρεχρον*, in l. 22 *Luther*: the month-date it gives as 9. Ianuarii.
- Pp. 471-2, Ep. 913 is reproduced by lithograph in the *Autographic Mirror*, 1864-5, ii. 141.
- P. 487, Ep. 916. 258. ille] Pers. 2. 16.
- P. 505, Ep. 925. 13n. For Berquin and the Sorbonne see the *Registre des procès-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris*, 1505-33 (Bibl. Nat. MS. nouv. acq. Lat. 1782): printed in extract by L. Delisle in *Notices et Extraits* xxxvi, 1899, pp. 315-408, and in full by A. Clerval, vol. i, 1917.
- P. 534. That Ep. 941 had a similar signature to Epp. 913, 966 is shown by a *Palinodia* among Euricius Cordus' *Opera poetica*, s. l. et a., f. 79 v°:  
Ipse Brabantino mihi scribit Erasmus ab orbe . . .  
Seque ait ex animo, nec pudet, esse meum.
- P. 551, Ep. 950 introd. Two letters from Jo. Schlechts, secretarius, to Conrad Celtis, from Buda, 26 April and 3 May 1498, are in Celtis' Letter-book at the Vienna Hofbibliothek (MS. 3448, ff. 88 v°, 96).
- P. 562, Ep. 957. 16. I owe to the late Mr. Bywater, and again to Prof. A. C. Clark, the suggestion that by *spiritosus* Erasmus means the *πνευματος κολοβότης* which Plutarch (*Dem.* 6) attributes to Demosthenes. He uses the word similarly in the *Ecclesiastes*, bk. i (LB. v. 782r): 'hominem spiritosum, exili voce, infirmis lateribus, haesitanti et impedita lingua'; where the Basle *Opera*, v. 653, change to *spirituosum*.
- P. 590, Ep. 967. 97nn. Prof. Preserved Smith is of opinion that by the *De confessione* Erasmus meant Luther's *Instructio pro confessione peccatorum*, which was probably printed in 1518. He also points out that the *De poenitentia* was printed by Grunenberg at Wittenberg in 1518. See Luther's *Werke*, Weimar, 1883, i. 257, 317.
- P. 598, Ep. 972. 29n. 'Dns. Iohannes de Schoenroide, canonicus Traiectensis et b. Marie Aquensis, Leodiensis dioc., ecclesiarum' was enrolled at St. Mary's 'de anima Teutonicorum' in Rome on 26 July 1512: see Jänig p. 124.

- P. 606, Ep. 980. 54n. Prof. Preserved Smith directs me to the mention of a Fr. Jac. Proost as rector of the Brethren of the Common Life at Ghent, in a document of June 1509 printed by M. Godet, *La Congrégation de Montaigu*, 1912, pp. 190, 193, 197.
- P. 618, Ep. 986 introd. For a letter of Erasmus to Hutten c. 31 May (contemporary with Epp. 981, 985), which ought to have been delivered at Frankfort in June by the bearers, Jonas and Schalbe, see EHE. p. 289 (= HE. 135); and, for their movements, cf. Ep. 963. 1n.
- P. 627, App. 12, ll. 10-12. The six letters in the *Epistolae selectae per Barlandum* which are in F but not in E, are Epp. 605, 1106, 1107, 1122, 1159, 1160. The two letters not found elsewhere are Epp. 646, 1163.

## VOL. IV

- P. 243, Ep. 1094. 46. I am indebted to M. Henry Vercruyse of Courtray for the gift of G. Caullet's *Musiciens de la Collégiale Notre-Dame à Courtrai*, 1911; in which, pp. 57-69, there is much detail about Iacobus de Thielt. He received his canonry at Courtray in 1505; and his life was spent there in the discharge of many ecclesiastical duties. He enjoyed the confidence of his fellow-canons, and was entrusted by them with missions of importance. At his death, 7 March 154½, he left his books to the church of Notre-Dame.
- 48-9. Soti was probably connected with Jac. Sothy, 'phonascus' of Notre Dame, and subsequently canon († p. 1547): see Caullet, *op. cit.*
- P. 552, Ep. 1223 introd. A story narrated by More in his *Confutation of Frere Barnes' Church*, 1532 (*Workes*, 1557, p. 768) shows that he took with him to Bruges in Aug. 1521 his fool, Mr. Henry Patenson.

## CORRIGENDA

## VOL. I

- P. 418. 4-5. For the *Adagia* read Jerome: add *Adag.* 3401.
- Pp. 483, 486, Epp. 204, 206 introdd., l. 1. For 1522 read 1529.
- Pp. 470, 471, 477. Ep. 237 answers Ep. 230, not Ep. 231.
- Ep. 230 introd. For For . . . letter read This letter had not reached Erasmus by 5 Oct.;
- The notes on Epp. 230. 38, 231. 1 must be deleted.
- Ep. 231 introd. Delete and . . . Ep. 230.
- Ep. 231. 4n. proximis literis] Ep. 227.
- P. 487. 1. For 243. 21 read 241. 23.
- P. 522. 1. For Epp. 306, 307 read Epp. 305. 39, 150, 307. 10-11.
- P. 551, Ep. 288 introd., l. 4. For probably 1514 read c. 1520-21.
- P. 605. 8. For 11 . . . 205 read 16 Sept. 1517<sup>a</sup> (Ep. 669).
- n. 8. 1-3. For are . . . certainly read is only one letter in this hand (Ep. 692), which can be.
- P. 608, n. 18. For eight . . . him read seven are by him and one to him.
- P. 611. 28. For Sept. read March.

VOL. II

- P. 76, Ep. 334. 116. *For quidam read quidem.*  
P. 113, Ep. 337. 874. *For ebus read rebus.*  
P. 224, Ep. 399. 6n. *For Schlettstadt read Schlettstadt.*  
P. 308, Ep. 447. 596n. *For July read March.*  
*Delete 597n.*  
P. 361, Ep. 478. 38n. *For 225 read 255.*  
P. 406, Ep. 494. 54cr.n. *For 3n read 2n.*  
P. 470, Ep. 531. 414n. *For third read second.*  
P. 489, Ep. 541. 55n. *For Alfonso III read Alfonso I.*

VOL. III

- P. 41, Ep. 620 introd. *Delete asking at the same time . . . Epistolae. But.*  
P. 45, Ep. 622. 31n. *For Lond. xiii. 26 . . . addressed to him read Ep. 1051.*  
P. 146, Ep. 715. 35cr.n. *For H read F Corrig.*  
P. 344, Ep. 850. 21. *For obturare read ob(sa)turare. Cf. Ep. 1047. 6.*  
P. 356, Ep. 855. 28n. *For 837 read 832.*  
P. 392, Ep. 867 introd., l. 5. *For 190 read 184.*  
P. 419, Ep. 881. 11n. *For 13 read 43.*  
P. 487, Ep. 916. 267. *hodieque stel.*  
P. 559, Ep. 954. 9n. *For 14 read 8.*  
P. 562, Ep. 957. 16cr.n. *Delete ? spiritu paruo, E.*  
P. 601, Ep. 975. 13n. *Delete and the notes.*  
P. 603, Ep. 978. 7n. *Add 1n.*  
P. 616, Ep. 987. 1n.  
P. 622, Ep. 991 introd., l. 17 } *For 88 read 87.*  
P. 625, Ep. 992 introd. *For July read August.*

VOL. IV

- P. 191, Ep. 1067. 2. *Delete critical note.*  
*Read solor.*  
P. 369, Ep. 1154. 26. *For et read ac.*  
29. *Read nostratis.*  
36. *Read vite.*  
41. *For At read Ac.*  
App. crit. 16. *For cum read cū.*

The secretary links many of his words together, especially prepositions: *in* to the word following in ll. 12, 28, 29, 45, 47, 56, 60, 64; 9, 64. *ad* te; 11. *mirum in* modum; 41. *promerito*; 45. *ob* hoc; 62. *inter* homines; 65. *ame*; 67. *ante* oculos. Also 17. *id* quod; 24. *proculdubio*; 42. *Quod* si; 46. *quinimo*; 64. *boni* consulas; 67. *quoad* possum.

- P. 579, Ep. 1233. 166n. *For 1325 read 1328.*

## LIST OF PLATES

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## LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS ABOUT WHICH INFORMATION IS DESIRED.

A letter of Erasmus to Antony Fugger, dated Freiburg, Aug. 22: sold by Charavay among Fillon's autographs, 1878.

A letter of Erasmus to George Agricola, dated Freiburg, 24 March 1533: sold by List and Franke of Leipzig to Charavay, 1896.

A letter of Erasmus to a friend, 1533: sold by List and Franke to W. Känzel, 21 May 1883.

The originals of Epp. 210, 217, 223, 251, 257, 681, 705, 1166, 1208.

Farrago p. 368.

Louvain.

F. p. 459: HN: Lond. xi. 17: LB. 442.

1 July 1519.

[For possible trace of an answer see Ep. 1001. 3n.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS LEONARDO PRICCARDO, CANONICO APVD  
AQVISGRANVM, S. D.

SCIEBAM, eruditissime Leonarde, genus hoc hominum nusquam cessare: summum illis praesidium in mendacibus linguis atque impudentissimis sycophantiis positum est. Ego vero iam ad ista occallui: tantum admiror homines professione pietatis insignes id sibi permittere quod omnium maxime cum vera pietate pugnat. 5 Inexpiabile scelus haberi volunt, si carnibus vescantur; et sanctum est fratrem, etiam de ipsis bene merentem, linguae spiculis Tartareo veneno tinctis confodere, cum nullum sit veneficii genus execrabilius. Omnino diis manibus, vt poetice dicam, se deuouisse videntur, ni bonas literas funditus extinxerint; nec se credunt incolumes fore, si 10 bonae literae sint incolumes. Harum causam sibi persuadent meis praesidiis sustineri. Nec vlli tamen odiosius blaterant quam qui nostra prorsus non legerunt. Ignoscerem imperitiae, ignoscerem ignorantiae, nisi id ipsum ingens esset scelus, re incomperta in famam alterius debacchari. Nec video qua fronte possint inscitiam praetexere 15 qui se totius orbis magistros haberi volunt.

De Anglo siue Scoto non omnino vanum est quod narravit. Is est iuuenis et aetate et suo apte ingenio gloriae famelicus: ad eam parandam haec via visa est illi cum primis compendiaria. Quanquam autem ipse sibi ἀφθότως nihil non tribuat, non tamen vsqueadeo perfrictae 20 frontis est vt dicat se melius scire Graece quam Erasmum. Iactat libellum nescio quem, at huius nulli copiam facit, nisi quem cognorit nobis male velle. Quiduis ab illo citius impetrari potest quam vt mihi faciat inspicundi copiam, in quem vnum scriptus est. Adeo 25 fidit suo libello, quem tamen nusquam non iactat. Vtunque haec habent, organum opportunum sese praebeuit theologis quibusdam, quibus iampridem male cogitantibus nihil deerat praeter occasionem, iuxta Graecorum prouerbium. Imo sunt qui negant hoc opus esse illius, sed potius omnium sycophantiarum centonem ac rhapsodiam: huic tamen corniculae cessuram facti gloriam. Id mihi multis 30 nominibus probabile videtur, quandoquidem paulo ante id factum conspeximus in dialogo Latomi: titulus erat vnus, conflatura omnium, aut certe multorum.

Anglum iam pene placidum rursus exasperarat quod in calce

20. tribuit H.

34. exasperarat E Corrig.: exasperat E.

17. siue Scoto] A jest against the Scotist theologians, which Erasmus could not repress; cf. Epp. 58 introd.,

61. 192, 1061. 338, 9. Lee was of Kent.

28. prouerbium] Cf. Ep. 778. 66.

32. dialogo Latomi] See Ep. 934. 3nn.

35 *Apologiae* qua Lato mo respondeo, testatus sim esse quendam ex fucis  
ac mendaciis conflatum, qui gloriae fame insanus nihil in me non  
moliretur: nec ullam addo coniecturam qua suspicio possit in quen-  
quam recidere. Nihil enim aliud agebam quam ut eo schemate  
deterrerem multos sibi male conscios: at is post sic agere coepit  
40 quasi eius elogii laudem caeteris inuideret. Nondum homo prodiiit  
in harenam, et amici cordatiores mihi sunt autores ne digner illum  
vnguibus meis, etiam si prodierit: non enim defuturos qui me  
quiescente conficiant iuuenem famae ieiunio praecipitem.

Caeterum quod theologos aliquos habeam iniquiores, id ex falsissima  
45 natum est suspicione. Persuaserant sibi Lutheri doctrinam me pro-  
pugnatore niti, cum nec hominem norim nec libros illius vnquam  
legerim. Intelligunt tandem errorem suum, sed pudet agnoscere:  
adeo placet illis constantia ut nec in male coeptis velint *παλινδρομεῖν*.  
Et tamen huius veneni fons ex vno potissimum scatet: qui nisi  
50 destiterit, breui omnibus omnium eruditorum literis celebrabitur, ac  
toto notus cantabitur orbe.

Hactenus complurium cohibui calamum, vereor ut semper possim.  
Mihi plane pestis quaedam fatalis videtur, quae contagio paulatim in  
plures spargitur. Itaque gemina lue laboramus, et animorum et  
55 corporum. Et tamen resipiscunt aliquammulti, praesertim qui nostris  
legendis attenderint; et spero fore ut tandem emicet ac vincat veritas,  
quae, ut saepenumero laborat, ita nunquam opprimitur.

Me vero leuius haec mouent, vel quod, ut olim Baal, his monstribus  
assueuerim, vel quod mihi bene conscius sim, speremque Christo meas  
60 vigilas probari, cui nostrum vtunque desudat ingenium; vel quod  
conspiciam optimis quibusque nostrum placere studium. Illud mihi  
molestum est, quod his sycophantiis inficiuntur liberalia studia,  
quodque nonnullam bonarum horarum partem cogar huiusmodi  
naeniis vel audiendis vel refellendis impendere. Saepe me pudet  
65 istorum nomine qui, cum semidei velint haberi apud vulgus, tumul-  
tuentur vsqueadeo muliebriter, ne quid dicam acerbius. Meum quidem  
ingenium ab hoc genere contentionis dici vix possit quam abhorreat;  
seduloque obnitor ne verus sit in me mimus ille, Furor fit laesa  
saepius patientia. Video quid mereatur illorum nimium pertinax

48. adeo E: ideo N.

58. Baal E: Balaam N.

35. *Apologiae*] § 120.

37. coniecturam] Erasmus does not here deny the identification with Lee: and though in the *Apologia qua respondet* (fo. D; Jortin ii. 509) he declares that he denied it even to his most intimate friends (cum ego vel inter familiarissimos negarem me de Leo sensisse, sed generali schemate voluisse detertere omnes), there can be little doubt that Lee was in his mind. Cf. his affectation that Hutten's identity was concealed in the passage from the *Spongia* quoted in Ep. 1033 introd.

46. nec hominem norim] Cf. Ep. 939. 66.

49. ex vno] Probably Atensis; cf.

Ep. 1029. 3n.

51. cantabitur] Cf. Ov. *Am.* i. 3. 25.

52. cohibui calamum] Cf. Ep. 998. 66-

8. For Erasmus' restraint of his friends see Epp. 967. 75-8, 146-52, 165-7, 1029. 19n, 1033. 20-1, 1139. 99-101, 1165. 22n: the *Apologia qua respondet*, too, concludes with an appeal against abuse of Lee. But cf. Epp. 1083 introd., 1085. 10-12, 1088. 3-10.

55. resipiscunt] Cf. Epp. 971 introd., 1002. 39, 1007. 18, 1016. 14.

58. Baal] Cf. 1 Kings 18. 26-9. The depravation in N makes the comparison unintelligible.

68. mimus] Publ. Syrus *ap.* Gell. 17. 14; cf. *Adag.* 467.



malicia, sed reuocat Christiana lenitas, reuocat bonorum respectus; 70  
quos nolim attactos videri, dum improbos merito taxamus. Nam vt  
est multitudinis in malam partem prona interpretatio, periculum est  
ne quod in paucos theologos hoc titulo indignos dictum fuerit, in  
vniuersum ordinem detorqueatur; et quod iure dictum fuerit in  
paucos Praedicatores titulo, re sycophantas, toti ordini conciliet 75  
odium, qui plurimos habet ab horum factis ac moribus longe discre-  
pantes.

Quod theologi decreuerint me profligare communi consulto, falso  
falsius est. Bene vale, vir optime, meque dominis meis, collegis tuis,  
commenda diligenter. Louanii. Cal. Iuliis. Anno M.D.XIX. 80

994<sub>1002</sub> FROM NICHOLAS BERALDUS.

Farrago p. 366.

Paris.

F. p. 457: HN: Lond. xi. 14: LB. 322.

1 July (1519).

NICOLAUS BERALDVS ERASMO ROT. S. D.

Ego Guilielmum Nesenum cum ob alia quaedam semper feci  
plurimi, tum ob id vnice et deamo et laudo, quod eum animaduerti  
semper esse tui studiosissimum. Quod etsi illi est cum multis aliis  
commune, magnum tamen quiddam id esse puto, nec mediocri laude  
dignum. Eum Louanium ad te proficiscentem non sum passus 5  
litteris meis vacuum hinc discedere, partim vt hominis desyderio ac  
precibus satisfacerem, partim vt te quoque ad rescribendum inui-  
tarem: nam ternis meis litteris, quarum binas Francisco Caluo ad  
te dederam, postremas Nesen ipse Louanium ad te pertulit, nihildum  
respondisti. 10

Archiepiscopus Senonensis, Stephanus Poncherius, propediem de  
rebus magnis ad te scripturus est; cuius literas ad te fideliter per-  
ferendas curabo, vel ipse istuc vsque perferam. Quid ad Dorpium  
theologicae cuiusdam sodalitatis nomine scripserim, ex Neseno malim

993. 75. Praedicatores] For Erasmus' feeling towards the Order see Ep. 1006. 4n.

994. 8. binas] Cf. Epp. 925. 2n, 989. 2n.

9. postremas] Ep. 925: cf. Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 84, Paris, 9 June 1519, which mentions a recent visit of Nesen to Louvain, whence he brought back copies of Erasmus' Apologies about marriage (Ep. 916 introd.) and against Latomus (Ep. 934. 3n). Ep. 994 also was carried by Nesen. It must be noted that in answering Epp. 925, 994 in Ep. 1002. 20-1, Erasmus speaks of the latter only as brought by Nesen. But this may easily be explained by supposing that when Nesen arrived with Ep. 925, Erasmus was absent from Louvain (cf. Epp. 927 introd. or 955 introd.); so that the letter had to be forwarded by

another hand.

The present advent of Nesen to Louvain probably marks the date of his settlement there; his visit in March having perhaps been for the purpose of making preparatory arrangements.

11. Archiepiscopus] Cf. Ep. 924. 14n. de rebus magnis] Evidently the renewed proposals that Erasmus should move to France; cf. Epp. 810. 360 seq., 896. 90n, 961. 5, 6, 1045. 95-102, 1080. 3. It appears from Ep. 1117. 2-4, 29-30 that Erasmus gave a conditional promise that he would come. For his change of outlook on this subject cf. Ep. 1004. 145-6. See also Ep. 1129. 18-19.

13. ad Dorpium] For this mediation with Dorp on behalf of Erasmus cf. Ep. 1024. 2-3. The theological society for which Beraldus wrote, was probably liberal in character: see Ep. 925 introd.

15 te quam ex literis meis intelligere. Nouum Testamentum abs te  
 verum et elegantissimis doctissimisque annotationibus explicatum  
 nunc hic habent in manibus docti quam plurimi, atque in iis theologi  
 quoque magni nominis, qui te eo nomine tam nunc, pene dixerim,  
 amant immodice quam oderant prius inique. Multos certe noua  
 20 haec aeditio tibi iam conciliauit; quosdam vero qui contumaces ac  
 refractarii diu fuerant atque adeo propemodum deplorati videbantur,  
 iam pene fregerunt Apologiae tuae. Vale. Salutant te Franciscus  
 Deloinus et Ludouicus Ruzaeus. Luteciae. Cal. Iulii.

961995<sup>996</sup> FROM LORENZO CAMPEGIO.

Farrago p. 382.

London.

F. p. 468: HN: Lond. xii. 2: LB. 443.

4 July 1519.

LAVRENTIVS CARDINALIS CAMPEGIVS REVERENDO DOMINO DES.

ERASMO ROTERODAMO, THEOLOGO ERVDTISSIMO,

TANQVAM FRATRI NOSTRO CHARISSIMO.

REVERENDE ac doctissime vir, salutem etc. Quum studiorum  
 tuorum suauissimus odor, quo Italia omnis ac Occidentalis haec  
 schola tota redolet, me quoque spiritus sui attractu pridem affecerit  
 indiesque apud me augescat, summo laboravi desyderio virum qui  
 5 tantam spirat eruditionem et doctrinam cognoscendi; measque  
 peregrinationes et longos errores, quibus pluribus iam annis confi-  
 cior, nihili habendas ducebam, seduloque accusabam, quod tot tantis-  
 que itineribus exhaustis Erasmum nondum mihi cognitum viderem.  
 Quod vt leuius ferrem, postquam coram te frui non dabatur, illud  
 10 enixe laboravi quod plerique amatorum solent; quibus quum nulla  
 est amicae copia, in eius imagine vteunque sese oblectare gestiunt.  
 Itaque cum praesentia tua et colloquio desyderio meo facere non  
 possem satis, tuam saepe atque auide perquisiui effigiem: quae mihi  
 primo in iis quae in Hieronymum scripsisti occurrit; dein in  
 15 Apologia illa qua tuam tutaris causam super illo Psalmi versiculo,  
 Minuisti eum paulominus etc.; vltimo demum loco in paraphrastico  
 sermone tuo in Epistolis Pauli.

Quibus veluti per gradus ad tui agnitionem deductus, cum maiori  
 desyderio inflammarer, vtpote dimidiatam et non ex integro tui  
 20 imaginem conspicatus, eius reliquum miro affectu concupiebam;  
 quum nescio qua bona fortuna exactissimae eruditionis literae abs te  
 mihi deferuntur, quae eodem plane desyderio me videndi te labo-  
 rantem mihi dicerent: quod certe tanta accepi iucunditate, vt minori

994. 17. iis E: his F.  
 multo minoris H.

995. 15. F: Apologo E.

23-4. minori valde E:

994. 15. N. Testamentum] See Ep. 864.  
 21. deplorati] A word used by Min.  
 Fel. and Lact. = desperati: cf. Epp. 843.  
 682, 953. 40, 1005. 23, 1053. 526, 1136.  
 13, 1196. 107, 1260. 187, and 1, p. 10. 23.  
 995. 2. Occidentalis] A large expres-

sion for 'the western world', corre-  
 sponding to the western Empire, *Occi-*  
*dentale Imperium*. Cf. Ep. 810. 302.

13. effigiem] Cf. Ep. 1101. 7n.

15. Apologia] See Ep. 597. 32n.  
 Psalmi] 8. 6.

valde amplissima regum munera mihi constant. Nam mea studia quibus a puericia ad hoc vsque aetatis incubui, quanquam a tuis, 25 hoc est a sacris, literis maiori dia pason intervallo distant, ita tamen tuis et huius generis reliquis lucubrationibus fauere, dulce et gratum adeo habuere, vt nihil a paucis annis citra habuerim aut gratius aut iucundius aut potius, quam aliqua in sacris literis vel audire vel legere: loqui enim vel scribere tanquam nouitius nequaquam ausim. 30

Quo factum est, dum tua vel quorundam antiquorum theologorum scripta veluti per officii mei rationem sitibundus aueo et prosequor, tanto iucundiores tuae mihi extiterint literae, quanto praecipuis meis votis expectatae minus aduenere. Quibus quod primam et alteram tuas in Instrumentum Nouum aeditiones adiunxeris, reliquum profecto con- 35 cupitae imaginis tuae mihi obtulisse videris, quo diutius et iucundius tui desyderium tecumque colloquendi sustinere possim: quod proculdubio facturus es, quousque saltem hae tuae vigiliae et labores inter manus meas erunt,—erunt autem quoties a publicis laboribus ad priuata haec solatia subterfugere dabitur. Qui quidem quod eorum 40 nouitate quibusdam stomachum moueant, hoc ventriculi eorum labor, non ingesti vel apparati cibi noxia qualitas fecerit: quo minus eorum ingenia mirari aut aegreferre debes, quo apertius tibi constat sanissima etiam laboranti stomacho insuauia esse.

Ego ab huiusmodi offensione tantum absum, vt hoc ipsum Instru- 45 mentum tuum Nouum quod ad me misisti, propemodum sim voraturus; neque enim minorem eruditione pietatem tuam censeo. Quamobrem quicquid calumniae aliquorum insania vel iniquitas impingere tibi studuerit, dum quae alii licentiosius scribunt, ad te referunt, nihil est quod cures. Satis enim in his quae publicato 50 nomine tuo profiteris, spectata est tua probitas; quae tametsi est magna, ea tamen minime effugere potest quae illustra saepe ingenia non potuerunt, hoc est peruersa hominum iudicia et maleuolas detractationes. Et quod ad Dialogum attinet, istud velim mihi nunc credas, me nunquam hoc de te dixisse aut affirmasse, aut dubium 55 aliquibus reliquisse, te eius fuissé autorem. Potui fortassis, eam opinionem secutus qua dicis quicquid libellorum prodit hoc temporis quod salem aut aculeum aliquem habeat, tibi impingi, id intra me cogitasse; sed humanas cogitationes quis videt, aut censuram in eis exercet? nisi qui cuncta videt et veluti ab ipso lapsa arguit. 60

24. constant E: habeantur H.

28. F Corrig.: habueris E.

26. dia pason E: quam δὲ δὲ πᾶσιν H.

34. minus expectatae H.

38. inter F: in E.

34. primam et alteram] It is not clear what books Campegio received. The second edition of the New Testament was in two volumes; the notes completed on 23 Aug. 1518, the text in March 1519. In Ep. 961. 8-9 and 66-7 Erasmus had written of sending the New Testament: one volume unbound—evidently the text, as it had recently come from Basle—and the other to follow shortly, bound—presumably the notes, if he could find a copy among the booksellers of Louvain. Here Campegio thanks for the first and second editions,

but speaks lower down (l. 81) of 'a book'. Erasmus, however, in Ep. 996. 31 uses the plural.

These inconsistencies may perhaps be explained by taking the last utterance as an oversight arising out of Erasmus' intention; and by supposing that Campegio is here making an incorrect inference from the volume which had reached him, namely, that the one promised to follow was not the notes but the first edition.

54. Dialogum] The *Iulius Exclusus*: see Ep. 502 introd.

Quare istud pro constanti tibi habe, me eum non esse qui de te aut quouis alio male sentire multoque minus dicere velim. Quin studiosis omnibus tibi praeipue omnem operam meam adeo syncere et iucunde exhibeo, vt eorum ingenia et nomen pro viribus  
 65 semper prouehere nitar: quod sedulo in gloriam tuam et doctrinae tuae illustrationem facio, itemque facturus sum. Quamobrem posthac me tui amantissimum habebis, et literarum officio hoc mutuo iunctum, atque eruditionis tuae apprime studiosum; cumque euenerit vt in rem dignitatemque tuam aliquid efficere possim, sponte et vltro  
 70 non committam vt vllum a me officii genus desyderetur. Cum vero pro enata occasione me monueris, omnium studia et diligentiam in te ornando et iuuando superabo; maximaque meae erga te beneuolentiae accesserit charis et suauitas, si quoad hic fuero—quod diutius esse non potest—, me aliquando literarum tuarum lepiditate delecta-  
 75 ueris.

Caeterum aliquas gratias pro misso mihi munere tibi agere omnino superuacaneum arbitror, cum huiusmodi gratissimis officiis tuis nullus verborum apparatus recte respondeat. Animum itaque meum pro verbis et gratiis tibi addictissimum suscipies, vnaque  
 80 pignoris loco adamantina anulo inclusum, his literis insertum, quem mei mnimosynon tenebis. Nuncio vero qui librum ad me detulit, nummos decem aureos pro viatico dedi.

Et bene vale ex Londino quarta Iulii. Anno M.D.XIX.

995996. TO LORENZO CAMPEGIO.

Farrago p. 384.

Louvain.

F. p. 469: HN: Lond. xii. 3: LB. 445.

14 July 1519.

REVERENDISSIMO DOMINO D. LAVRENTIO CAMPEGIO CARDINALI  
 ERASMVVS ROTTERODAMVS S. D.

REVERENDISIME D., quid posthac non libeat audere posteaquam haec temeritas mihi tam feliciter cecidit? Ego id modo ambiebam, vt operi meo ob nouitatem apud quosdam inuidioso, si contingeret sic in tuam bibliothecam reponi, quemadmodum olim libri qui posteri-  
 5 tatis memoriam promereri viderentur, in Apollinis templo colloca- bantur, dignitatis nonnihil accederet: sic enim futurum vt eruditissimi cardinales P. maximi Leonis oraculo subscribere viderentur. Neque enim vlla cedrus fidelius seruat a carie temporumque iniuria studio-  
 10 solum hominum monumenta quam talium procerum autoritas. Nam illud sane leuiter metuebam, ne quid apud prudentissimam erudi- tionem tuam et eruditissimam prudentiam valerent impudentissimae

995. 61. habe *ad h.* F. 72. F: boneuolentiae E. 76. gratias H: tibi gratias E. 81. mnemosynon F. 996. TIT. REVERENDISSIMO DOMINO D. *om.* H. 1. D. E: domine H.

995. 73. charis] *χάρις*.

diutius] Cf. Ep. 1025. 4n.

80. anulo] This diamond ring was in Erasmus' possession, 9 April 1534: see

*Bodleian Qrly. Record*, July 1918. By his last will he left it to Justina Froben; whose husband, Nic. Episcopus, was one of his executors. See Q. p. 123.

quorundam sycophantiae, quas rident atque exsibilant, si qui sunt ex media plebe paulo cordatiores.

Hoc igitur cum agerem tantum, ecce quam ingens lucrum praeter spem obtigit, quam ingentem praedam haec attraxere retia. Primum tam insignem heroa et ecclesiae Christianae columnen plenius nosse contigit. Deinde tam eximium patronum atque etiam, si fas est vsurpare quod offers, amicum mihi paraui. Vtunque tui simulachrum mihi publica fama deliniarat, verum effigiem animi tui longe plenius expressit Ricardi Pacei, qui sereniss(imo) Regi primus est a secretis, oratio. Nam is vt egregias tuas dotes propius inspexit, ita non vulgaris est pingendi artifex, homo nimirum non minus facundus quam eruditus. Verum epistola tua ita te totum mihi repraesentauit vt mihi viderer antehac tenuem modo vmbram excellentiae tuae nouisse.

Magnum quendam et eximium virum ille descriperat. Sed immane quanto maiorem te tuae literae declarant: praeter eruditionem Pontificio legato dignam, praeter humanitatem eruditione summa dignam, raram etiam vitae integritatem, sacrarum etiam literarum amorem ac studium spirantes. Nam illud immodicae cuiusdam benignitatis fuit, quod eum qui libros aduexit, tot aureis oneraris, videlicet vt largius etiam potitaret addictissimus Bacchi mystes, cum ego hominem iusto viatico instruxissem. Caeterum anulus quem digitis tuis detractum ceu sacrum quoddam amicitiae nostrae *μνημόσυνον*, imo, si tuis verbis vtendum est, fraternae charitatis pignus ad me misisti, adeo gratus est animo meo vt recusaturus sim vnum illum vel cum vniuersis Attali gazis commutare. Igneus auri fulgor mihi tuae sapientiae prorsus Cardinaliciae symbolum semper erit, et adamantis gratissima lux nunquam antiquandam nominis tui gloriam repraesentabit. Denique si mihi posset vnquam talis patroni obliuio obrepere, suffrabit memoriam quidque Champegio debeam commonefaciet.

De nostro ingenio vere Batauo deque studiis nostris non fuit ingratum quod tam erras amanter: siquidem hic est oculus ille Euangelicus puri candidique pectoris, alienas dotes ex sese metiens; cum oculo prauo vitiatoque mala sint etiam quae sunt optima. Nihil igitur, inquires, profecit mea laudatio? Profecit nonnihil, certe stimulos addidit, vt posthac alacrius enitar fieri quod me praedicas esse. Nec enim arbitror vllam aetatem seram ad id, vt quis seipso melior euadat. Quod prouehendis egregiis ingeniis fauorem propensum tam benigne polliceris, omnium nomine gratias ago, efficiamque pro virili vt intelligant sese tuae celsitudini debere. Porro quod in ornando iuuandoque Erasmo negas te commissurum vt aliorum quisquam tibi par esse videatur, nimirum exoseculor istum animum tuum, meque cum primis felicem hoc nomine iudico.

19. delinearat N<sup>s</sup>.  
Corrig.: sunt E.

24. F: viderem E.  
sunt F: sint E.

41. Champegio F.

46. sint F

20. Pacei] For Erasmus' recent meeting with Pace see Ep. 968. 6n.

35. tuis verbis] See Ep. 995. tit.

41. Champegio] For this form cf. Ep. 990. 11.

43. Batauo] sc. crasso: cf. Erasmus interpretation of the adage *Auris Bataua*, and in *Adag.* 2001 (LB. ii. 713F), 'Hollando, hoc est plusquam Boeoto.' See also Epp. 1238. n, 1331. 35-6.

Haec tumultuanter effutiui verius quam scripsi, ne, quando significas tibi celeriter isthinc abundum, meae literae R. D. T. non offenderent. Non ero contentus hoc argumento tuam in me benignitatem et meum in te animum declarasse: quod breui, vti spero, vberiore  
 60 magisque viuaci monumento docebimus. Bene valeat E. T. R. D.: cui Erasmum, quantus est, mancipo dicoque.  
 Louanii. pridie Id. Iulii. Anno M.D.XIX.

## 997. TO THE CHAPTER OF METZ CATHEDRAL.

Farrago p. 304.

Louvain.

F. p. 413: HN: Lond. x. 4: LB. 444.

14 July 1519.

[The present application may have been suggested to Erasmus by Claudius Cantiuncula; for there is reason to suppose that they had met at Basle in the summer of 1518 (Ep. 852. 77-81). I cannot find that the library yielded him any manuscripts. He was perhaps inquiring on behalf of Cyprian (Ep. 1000).

At Metz, as in the other sees of Lorraine, the Cathedral Chapter was presided over by a Primicerius, who ranked above the Dean. The present holder of the office was Nicholas Tussanus (†5 Aug. 1520, at Rome), who from Canon and Almoner had been appointed Primicerius, 22 Nov. 1505. The Dean was Olricus des Hazards, who had been canon 17 Jan. 1509, dean 4 Nov. 1514, and died 17 June 1527 (GC. xiii. 809, 813).

The see was at this time awakening under the advent of its youthful bishop, John of Lorraine (9 April 1498-10 May 1550), a younger son of Duke René II. Papal regulations required that a man should be 27 before he could be consecrated a bishop. But in 1500, in defiance of all propriety, John had been appointed coadjutor to his uncle, the reigning bishop; and when the uncle died, 20 Oct. 1505, the see was kept open until John should reach an age at which the Pope might be induced to relax the requirement. On 19 Oct. 1517 John was created Bishop of Toul, on his twentieth birthday he was admitted to Metz, and on 28 May 1518 he was made Cardinal; see Ciaconius iii. 418, 9, GC. xiii. 792, 3, and, for his patronage of men of learning, A. Collignon, *Le Mécénat du Cardinal Jean de Lorraine*, 1910.]

EXIMIIS VIRIS D. PRIMICERIO PRINCIPALIS ECCLESIAE METENSIS,

D. DECANO TOTIQVE CAPITVLO ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVVS S. D.

ORNATISSIMI patres ac domini, vt quisque venatur quod amat, nonnullorum praedicatione didici apud vos esse bibliothecam non vulgaribus, sed eximiis ac venerandae vetustatis codicibus differtam. Et quoniam ex Euangelica lege iubemur suum quisque talentum sic  
 5 in vsum publicum conferre vt vsuram approbet qui sortem credidit, ego studium meum ad hoc appuli, vt vetustissimos autores aut in lucem eruam et a blattis tineisque vindicem, aut deprauatos emendem. Etenim vt grauis est iactura nobis interire quod tantis vigiliis summi viri prodiderunt, ita non extare videtur quod extat sic mendis  
 10 vndique conspurcatum vt nec legi possit nec intelligi. Nec dubito quin vestra quoque pietas publicae faueat vtilitati, nihilque minus

996. 57. R. D. T. E: tuam amplitudinem H.

60. E. T. R. D. E: tua sub-

limitas H.

62. idus H.

997. TIT. E: ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVVS COLLEGIO

CANONICORVM METENSIVM S. H.

996. 60. monumento] Erasmus carried out this promise by dedicating to

Campegio his Paraphrase on Ephesians (Ep. 1062).

probet quam canem illum praesepe incubantem, de quo est in Graecorum prouerbiis; praesertim cum ita liceat istam vtilitatem aliis communem facere vt vobis nihil deteratur.

Proinde vos oro ne grauemini bibliothecae vestrae indicem ad nos <sup>15</sup> mittere, potissimum eos libros recensentem qui vulgo non habentur aut habentur deprauati, id quod vsu venit in omnibus prope vetustioribus. Ex eo deligam quos existimem maxime profuturos. Hac in re si nostros conatus vestra pietas adiuuabit, primum rem faciet Christo gratissimam, deinde splendidissimo collegio vestro cum primis glorio- <sup>20</sup> sam: neque enim commitemus vt vestrum officium ignoret posteritas. Incolumes seruet vos omnes Christus Optimus Maximus, domini in Christo plurimum obseruandi.

Louanii pridie Id. Iul. ANNO M.D.XIX.

998<sub>1061</sub> TO EDWARD LEE.

Farrago p. 396.

F. p. 622: HN: Lond. xvii. 1: LB. 446.

Louvain.

15 July 1519.

[Between the publication of Latomus' Dialogue (l. 47) and the appearance of the *Farrago* (E) in Oct.-Nov. 1519 (see p. 119). It marks another attempt by Erasmus—later than the trickery mentioned in l. 17n—to obtain a sight of the notes on the *Nouum Instrumentum* of which Lee was openly multiplying and circulating copies, but without allowing him to see. 'Interim vbi nullus esset neque modus neque finis iactandi trecentas annotationes, coepi odiosius etiam prouocare ad aeditionem, primum verbis, mox per epistolam aeditam, sed quae sic haberet nonnihil aculeorum vt Leum extimulare posset, atrum facere non posset': *Apologia qua respondet* ff. B<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, B<sup>3</sup>, Jortin ii. 501.

Apparently it was not sent off at once; for Lee says (Ep. 1061. 2,3) that the *Farrago* was on sale at Louvain before the manuscript reached him. In replying to it in Ep. 1061, he reprints it section by section. For the greater part his text agrees more or less closely, after allowing for the depravation incidental to copying or printing, with that of E, even to the reproduction of the inaccurate name (cf. l. 4n): but at the end, for ll. 56-77, he gives a considerably shorter form. This perhaps indicates that in the brief interval before sending the letter to Basle to be included in E, Erasmus amplified the conclusion.

Epp. 307, 1006, 998 are the last three letters at the end of E; but in F, which reprints E and all the preceding volumes of *Epistolae*—usually in strict order—, their position is quite different. Ep. 307 is there printed twice over, first on p. 472, where it marks the end of E and is followed by 142 pages of new letters (Lond. xii. 8-xvi. 18), and again on p. 615, where it is followed by Epp. 1006, 998: after which come more new letters (Lond. xvii. 2-26). An explanation of this unexpected arrangement may perhaps be found in a letter from Burer at Basle, 12 Nov. 1519, to Beatus Rhenanus at Schlettstadt (BRE. 133): 'Erasmus . . . epistolas duas sero post factum misit: iam enim Farrago ab incude prodierat.' Now in E Ep. 307 ends at the foot of a page, K<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, p. 388; after which come Epp. 1006, 998, the two last letters in the book, filling leaves K<sup>3</sup>-L. It is quite possible therefore that the first copies of E ended with Ep. 307, the remaining leaves of sheet K being occupied with the *Index epistolarum* and *Index ternionum*; and that when Erasmus sent Epp. 1006, 998, they were added in copies printed later. The Froben firm no doubt retained for its own use specimens of the various books produced in its presses, and would thus naturally take one of E in its first form. If we suppose that it was forgotten to replace this 'office-copy'

24. idus Iulias H.

M.D.XIX E Corrig.: M.D.XCIX. E.

12. canem] Cf. *Adag.* 913; where Erasmus gives as an example of such conduct, 'veluti si quis egregios codices inclusos diligenter adseruet, quos nec ipse vnquam euoluat, nec aliis euoluendi faciat copiam'.

by the enlarged volume with the two letters added, and further that this 'office-copy' was taken as the basis for F, the variation in order is easily accounted for. And the same explanation serves, if we suppose that F was printed from a copy of E revised by Beatus Rhenanus; who of course received one of the earliest copies of E. When the omission was discovered, during the printing of the new portion in F, it was at once rectified; but by a new oversight Ep. 307 was printed over again, together with the two letters omitted.

Except for this second oversight, it might be suggested that Epp. 1006, 998 had been deferred to the end of F as *apologiae*, a class of letter which Erasmus subsequently recognizes (cf. I, pp. 26, 38-27, 3), and of which other examples are found in close proximity—Epp. 1053, 1175, 1196, 1217 = Lond. xvi. 14, xvii. 2, 3, 19. But on the whole I incline to think the former explanation more probable: though I have not seen any copy of E with the two final letters missing.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS EDVARDO LEO S. D.

Qvod a me dissentis alicubi, non admodum aegre fero; semper hoc licuit inter eruditos incolumi amicitia. Quod istis rationibus rem tractas, demirabor si quisquam vir grauis probet, quando nec ipse probat D. Ioannes Briareus Ateus, tui, vt par est, amantissimus. In tot milibus Annotationum, in tanta sententiarum et ingeniorum varietate, quid nouum aut mirum sicubi vidisses quod me fefellisset? aut tibi minus placeret quod mihi non displicuisset? Quis autem probaturus est quod subito ex amico factus hostis in absentem scripseris? cum nec vlla lacessitus esses iniuria nec vnquam expostulasses cum praesente: 10 quod in veterem aeditionem scripseris, cum scires adornare me nouam? quod opus tuum per omnia monasteria sparseris, praesertim vbi scires esse qui mihi parum bene vellent? quod iis modo communicaris quos noueras iniquiores Erasmo? quod nunquam prouocari potueris, nec Atensis autoritate, vt mihi voluminis tui faceres copiam, imo ne ad 15 hoc quidem, vt voce vel vnum proferres locum quem reprehendisses? quod virulentis conuiciis, imo mendaciis, opus passim asperseris (id enim affirmant qui viderunt, neque reclamant paginae quas intercepi)? quod nusquam non praedicas ac iactitas sexcenta loca abs te reprehensa, nec vnus interim facis copiam? Quaeso te, vnde istud 20 exemplum vel grauitatis vel animi Christiani?

Si prodesse vis omnibus, cur non aedis? Si me docere vis, cur solus non impetro vt legam? Si tibi scripsisti, cur tam late volitat liber? Si diffidis operi tuo, cur sic vbique iactas? Si fidis, cur tam anxius es ne quis legat, nisi qui mihi parum sit aequus? Ita dum

4. D. om. F.

E: Atensis F.

4. Briareus Ateus] Possibly mere misprints for *Briardus Atens*. (for whom see Ep. 670 introd.); or perhaps an attempt at disguise (cf. Ep. 993. 37n), which Erasmus could not trouble to keep up (cf. l. 14).

17. intercepi] In the *Apol. qua respondet* f<sup>o</sup>. B<sup>2</sup>, Jortin ii. 501, Erasmus makes no secret of his methods: 'Ego interim technis omnibus venor librum, nullas non tendens insidias, videlicet quo paratior essem ad respondendum si quando ille sua euulgasset. Sed frustra omnia; nam ille non paulo vigilantior erat in celando quam ego in

vestigando. Tentatus est scriba ille tercius promissa pecunia. Cooperat apud Atensem describi. Olfeceram, et iam duas pagellas interceperam; habiturus et caeteras, ni ex meo colloquio suboluisset Atensi scribam non sat bona fide celasse rem. Id vbi sensit Leus, ab Atensi repetit codicem.' But in Ep. 1053 he is less explicit.

18. sexcenta] This term is only used vaguely: cf. *Apol. qua respondet* f<sup>o</sup>. E<sup>4</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, Jortin ii. 517. In Ep. 886. 72 the figure is given as 200, in Ep. 1053. 79 as 300; cf. Ep. 1061. 102.

23. iactas] Cf. Ep. 993. 21-5.



me traducis apud eos qui tibi iurati mihi male cupiunt, nec me reddis  
 meliorem et illos inficis. Quid quod interim nec tuae gloriae, quam  
 hoc tumultu venaris, satis recte consulis? Si statim aedidisses opus  
 tuum, omnes admirati fuissent prodigiosam ingenii tui felicitatem,  
 qui pauculis mensibus tantum Graecitatis et Hebraismi deuoraris, vt  
 tuo iudicio nihil sapiat in Graecis Erasmus, in Hebraicis Hieronymus  
 (si tamen haec est illius translatio): nam id honoris gratia soles  
 addere, ne parum videare tribuere Hieronymo. Imo aiunt te mox  
 triduo posteaquam Hebraissare coeperas, multa damnassee in Capnione,  
 nonnulla etiam in Capitone. Et fieri poterat vt summus Pontifex,  
 admiratus istud ingenium pene diuinum, tibi tradita virgula totius  
 orbis censuram fuerit mandaturus; nec iam vllus liber aut aederetur  
 aut legeretur, nisi Lei suffragio probatus, nimirum totius rei literariae  
 Aristarchi.

Nunc plerique dictitant te hoc consilio premere praeclaras istas  
 Annotationes, vt me fatis functo tum demum aedas; ἐρήμῃ victurus, 40  
 id est ingloriam victoriam reportaturus, cum nemo sit qui contra  
 certet. Alii praedicant interim vndique captare te quid quisque  
 calumnietur, nec tuum opus aliud futurum quam alienarum sycophantiarum  
 rhapsodiam, in qua minima portio sit tui Martis. Ita  
 periculum est ne fiat vt, cum tibi speraris opimam laudem, minus ex  
 tuo libro referas gloriae quam Latomus rettulit ex suo illo frigido  
 Dialogo, in quo ferunt totam theologorum cohortem desudasse. Nec  
 dubito quin tibi valde nunc arrideant quae scribis; sed caue putes  
 itidem omnibus arrisura, cum clarae luci sese commiserint. Quod  
 iuuenis gloriae fame stimularis, ignoscendum arbitror; at quod ista  
 via grassaris ad gloriam, qui non solum theologus ac vir bonus  
 verumetiam sanctulus haberi vis, nulla non improbabit posteritas,  
 etiamsi non desunt fortasse qui nunc applaudant. Atque hanc  
 fabulam iam ferine biennium agis; et adeo dulcescit actio vt immori-  
 turus videaris.

Nec tamen ob ista facta adeo tibi sum infensus vt cupiam quenquam  
 tibi vel pilo minus amicum esse mea causa; tantum abest vt grauius  
 aliquod malum optem accidere. Sed res nusquam gentium non  
 sparsa est: sic enim vndique volitant emissarii istorum qui nouo  
 exemplo simul et mendici sunt et tyranni, vt dictu sit incredibile. 60  
 Nec vlla est natio in qua meae lucubrationes non aliquot amiculos  
 mihi conciliarint; at in Germania complures sunt qui mihi impensius  
 student etiam quam velim. Nec ignoras huius gentis animos ingenii-  
 que violentiam. Nondum enim prorsus exuerunt natiuam illam fero-  
 citatem, quamuis assidue mitescent humanis literis. Vides quibus 65  
 libellis confodiant eos a quibus sunt lacessiti. Equidem multorum

37. nimirum *add. F.*

65. mitescant *H.*

29. Graecitatis] Cf. Epp. 607. 15, 906.  
 450-1, 912. 7-9, 972. 2, 1053. 292-3.

34. etiam] For this estimation of  
 Capito above Reuchlin cf. Ep. 413. 14.

46. Latomus] See Ep. 934. 3nn.

59. istorum] The friars; whom Eras-  
 mus frequently styles πτωχολόγους  
 (Epp. 1082. 13, 1113. 38, 1144. 21, 1215);  
 cf. Ep. 1053. 401-9.

64. violentiam] Cf. Epp. 967. 76-7,  
 981. 4, 1155. 28-9, 1167. 9-10.

65. mitescant] Cf. Ep. 941. 10-12.

66. libellis] As specimens of the  
 attacks made subsequently on Lee from  
 Germany may be cited EAE (p. 201):  
*In Eduardum Leeum quorundam e sodali-  
 tate literaria Erphurdien. Erasmici nominis  
 studiosorum Epigrammata*, Erfurt, J.

stilum partim oratione, partim epistolis cohibui; cohibiturus etiam, quantum erit in me. Sed audio quosdam his atrociora minari: quod genus si quid accideret (id quod Deus auertat), nec ego possem tuo  
 70 mederi malo, et, vt est nunc prona hominum suspicio, inuidia facti in meum quoque caput recideret. Ita ex tuo malo mihi duplex incommodum nasceretur, primum ipse dolerem mea causa laesum esse cui nihil tale velim accidere, deinde non deerunt qui suspicentur me  
 75 conuiiente factum. Iam, vt spero nihil huiusmodi futurum, ita contra metuo ne quid accadat. Si nihil est periculi, amice timui; sin est, amicus praemonui, quo possis, si videtur, aliquo consilio occurrere quod tuae prudentiae videbitur esse commodissimum. Bene vale.  
 Louanii. Id. Iulii. Anno M.D.XIX.

## 986999. TO ULRICH HUTTEN.

Farrago p. 329.

F. p. 432: HN: Lond. x. 30: LB. 447.

Antwerp.

23 July 1519.

[This letter, composed at Hutten's request, is the earliest biography of More. Two years later Erasmus wrote a sketch of More's family to Budaeus (Ep. 1233); and again in 1533 he wrote to John Faber, bishop of Vienna (Ep. 386), describing the household as he had heard of it at Chelsea (Lond. xxvii. 8, LB. App. 426). The greater part of this letter to Hutten (down to l. 297) is printed in J. Fichard's *Virorum illustrium Vitae*, Frankfurt, C. Egenolph, Sept. 1536, ff. 112-16, from the text of F. Appended to it, with a short connecting passage, is the portion of LB. App. 378 which deals with More. For all the details of More's life Sir Sidney Lee's article in DNB is an invaluable source. I am indebted for some notes and suggestions to a reviewer in the *Athenaeum*, 2 Jan. 1909.

It looks at first sight as though, Epp. 1000 and 1007 notwithstanding, Erasmus might have been at Antwerp from 23 July to 15 Aug. continuously: but in fact his movements at this time were rapid. As he probably met Pace not later than 25 July (Ep. 1001. 53n), it seems likely that he went to Antwerp for the purpose just at this time, and travelled back with Pace on the way to Mechlin, which would serve also for his own return to Louvain. The place-date of Ep. 1000 is confirmed by Ep. 1001. 3. Within a few days he was in Antwerp again, having visited Mechlin on his way (Ep. 1001. 7); and he was still there on 15 Aug. (Ep. 1009). The place-dates of Epp. 1007, 8 conflict; cf. the introductions to Epp. 962, 965. If Louvain is not a mere oversight in Ep. 1007, it may be conjectured that in writing on important matters to the Pope, Erasmus preferred to give his permanent address.

A letter of this character clearly was not composed during a hurried excursion to Antwerp. The biographical part had no doubt been thought out at leisure in Louvain; and was then taken to Antwerp on the chance of finding a messenger returning to Germany, possibly someone in Pace's escort, through whom, when thrown into epistolary form, it might be delivered to Hutten. Mr. Nichols proposes (iii. 386-7, 401-2) to date this letter in 1517, arguing solely from a calculation made from the figures of More's age (ll. 56-8)—a class of statements in which Erasmus' memory is not to be trusted (cf. i, p. 2. 26n). In face of the

73. accidere add. F.

76. videtur E: videretur H.

Cnapp, c. 3 June 1520 (cf. Epp. 1123. 19-20, 1128. 1n); *Recriminatio Ioan. Ger-  
 tophii, adulescentis Germani, aduersus  
 furiosissimum sycophantam Edoardum  
 Leum Anglum, qui ausus est primus Eras-  
 mum candidissimum luto aspergere*, Basle,  
 A. Cartander, June 1520; and the  
*Hochstratus ouans* (Ep. 1083. 23n). Cf.

also Ep. 1077. 1n.

67. cohibui] See Ep. 993. 52n.

68. his atrociora] Lee (*Annotationes*,  
 ff. CC v°, CC²) reports that in conversa-  
 tion he asked Erasmus the meaning of  
 the 'acriora stilo' with which he is  
 threatened in this letter, and received  
 the reply 'verbera'.

numerous indications of 1519—the relation to Ep. 986, the mention of More's second embassy, and of Hutten's *Aula*—the change is quite inadmissible.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS CLARISSIMO EQVITI VLRICHO HVTTENO S. D.

QVOD Thomae Mori ingenium sic deamas ac pene dixerim deperis, nimirum scriptis illius inflammatus, quibus, vt vere scribis, nihil esse potest neque doctius neque festiuius, istuc, crede mihi, clarissime Huttene, tibi cum multis commune est, cum Moro mutuum etiam: nam is vicissim adeo scriptorum tuorum genio delectatur vt ipse tibi propemodum inuideam. Haec videlicet est illa Platonis omnium maxime amabilis sapientia, quae longe flagrantiores amores excitat inter mortales quam vllae quamlibet admirabiles corporum formae. Non cernitur illa quidem oculis corporeis, sed et animo sui sunt oculi; vt hic quoque verum comperiat illud Graecorum, ἐκ τοῦ ὁρᾶν γίγνεται ἀνθρώποις τ' ἐρᾶν. Per hos fit aliquoties vt ardentissima charitate conglutinentur inter quos nec colloquium nec mutuus conspectus intercessit. Et quemadmodum vulgo fit vt incertis de causis alia forma alios rapiat, ita videtur et ingeniorum esse tacita quaedam cognatio, quae facit vt certis ingeniis impense delectemur, caeteris non item.

Caeterum quod a me flagitas, vt tibi totum Morum velut in tabula depingam, vtinam tam absolute praestare queam quam tu vehementer cupis! Nam mihi quoque non iniucundum fuerit interim in amici multo omnium suauissimi contemplatione versari. Sed primum οὐ πάντως ἀνδρὸς ἐστὶν omnes Mori dotes perspexisse. Deinde haud scio an ille laturus sit a quolibet artifice depingi sese. Nec enim arbitror leuioris esse operae Morum effingere quam Alexandrum magnum aut Achillem, nec illi quam hic noster immortalitate digniores erant. Tale argumentum prorsus Apellis cuiuspiam manum desyderat; at vereor ne ipse Fului Rutubaeque similior sim quam Apellis. Experiari tamen tibi totius hominis simulachrum deliniare verius quam exprimere, quantum ex diutina domesticaque consuetudine vel animaduertere licuit vel meminisse. Quod siquando fiet vt vos aliqua legatio committat, tum demum intelliges quam non probum artificem ad hoc negotii delegeris; vereorque plane ne me aut inuidientiae

TTT. CLARISSIMO EQVITI om. H. 3. mihi crede F. 11. γίγνεται E Corrig. : γίγνεται EF. τ' om. H. 15. caeteris non item add. F. 27. delineare N<sup>3</sup>.

2. scribis] The letter is not extant. But it must have been prior to Ep. 986; cf. l. 302.

4. mutuum] For this opening comparison cf. l. p. 27. 29-31.

10. Graecorum] A proverb quoted by Diogenianus: cf. *Adag.* 179.

20. suauissimi] Evidently the epithet for More, which gives the note for the whole sketch; cf. ll. 111, 301.

21. οὐ πάντως] Cf. *Adag.* 301.

26. Fului Rutubaeque] The gladiators of Hor. S. 2. 7. 96, where their names occur in a comparison between the work of the artist Pausias and pictures of gladiatorial shows; with a

suggested contrast between refined and vulgar enjoyment. The idea in Erasmus' mind was perhaps something of this. The *Athenaeum* reviewer suggests that Erasmus supposed them to be indifferent painters. But contemporary notes on Horace indicate them as gladiators; and of this interpretation Erasmus can hardly have been ignorant. He often uses the same figure, e.g. in the first preface to vol. ii of Jerome, 1516, f. 3 v<sup>o</sup> (cf. Ep. 326 introd.): 'cum bubulcus interim aliquis nec Fului aut Rutubae manum ab Appellis aut Xeusidis manu sit discreturus.' Cf. also *Adag.* 3401.

incuses aut caecutientiae, qui ex tam multis bonis tam pauca vel viderim lippus vel commemorare voluerim invidus.

Atque vt ab ea parte exordiar qua tibi Morus est ignotissimus, statura  
35 modoque corporis est infra proceritatem, supra tamen notabilem  
humilitatem; verum omnium membrorum tanta est symmetria vt  
nihil hic omnino desyderes. Cute corporis candida, facies magis ad  
candorem vergit quam ad pallorem, quanquam a rubore procul abest,  
nisi quod tenuis admodum rubor vbique subluet. Capilli subnigro  
40 flauore, siue mauis sufflauo nigrore, barba rarior, oculi subcesii,  
maculis quibusdam interspersi: quae species ingenium arguere solet  
felicissimum, apud Britannos etiam amabilis habetur, cum nostri  
nigrore magis capiantur. Negant vllum oculorum genus minus in-  
festari vitiis. Vultus ingenio respondet, gratam et amicam festiui-  
45 tatem semper praeseferens, ac nonnihil ad ridentis habitum com-  
positus; atque, vt ingenue dicam, appositior ad iucunditatem quam  
ad grauitatem aut dignitatem, etiamsi longissime abest ab ineptia  
scurrilitateque. Dexter humerus paulo videtur eminentior laeui,  
praesertim cum incedit: id quod illi non accidit natura sed assue-  
50 tudine, qualia permulta nobis solent adhaerere. In reliquo corpore  
nihil est quod offendat. Manus tantum subrusticae sunt; ita dun-  
taxat, si ad reliquam corporis speciem conferantur. Ipse omnium  
quae ad corporis cultum attinent, semper a puero negligentissimus  
fuit, adeo vt nec illa magnopere curare sit solitus quae sola viris esse  
55 curanda docet Ouidius. Formae venustas quae fuerit adolescenti,  
nunc etiam licet ἐκ τῆς καλᾶμης conicere: quanquam ipse noui homi-  
nem non maiorem annis viginti tribus, nam nunc vix excessit quadra-  
gesimum.

Valetudo prospera magis quam robusta, sed tamen quae quantis-  
60 libet laboribus sufficiat honesto ciue dignis, nullis aut certe paucissi-  
mis morbis obnoxia: spes est viuacem fore, quando patrem habet

57. vix E: non multum F.

34. statura] Beatus Rhenanus (iv. 529-39, 545) expressly borrows some of the details of this description in por-  
traying Erasmus himself: thus making  
the two friends comparable in height,  
complexion, colour of hair and eyes,  
expression of face, voice and clearness  
of speech; also for constancy in friend-  
ship (l. 100-1) and suavity in address  
(l. 111).

40. barba rarior] There is nothing  
that can be called a beard in either the  
drawing or the painting of More by  
Holbein in 1527: so it must be inferred  
that More had removed this since  
Erasmus had last seen him in April  
1517. The bearded portrait in LB.,  
from an engraving made by Vorsterman  
in 1631, is derived from a small panel  
in the Brussels Museum (No. 641);  
which it is now recognized is not by  
Holbein and cannot possibly be More.  
See A. B. Chamberlain, *Hans Holbein  
the younger*, 1913, i, pp. 304, 5.

55. Ouidius] A.A. i. 509 seq.

56. ἐκ τῆς καλᾶμης] Cf. *Adag.* 3103,  
quoting Hom. *Od.* 14. 214 and Arist.  
*Rhet.* 3. 10.

57. non maiorem] This statement is  
approximately correct, if More's birth  
is placed in 1477 (cf. Ep. 114 introd.);  
for Erasmus met him first in the  
autumn of 1499 (i, p. 6 and Ep. 104  
introd.).

vix] The correction in F was  
perhaps made in the desire to bring  
the estimate up to date. In July 1519  
More was either 41½ or 42½.

61. patrem] John More (1453?-1530),  
butler of Lincoln's Inn, was called to  
the Bar, and in Nov. 1503 was a  
serjeant at-law. By 1518, perhaps as  
a reward for his son's services, he had  
been made a Judge of Common Pleas,  
and by 28 Nov. 1523 was promoted to  
the King's Bench. In Ep. 1233 his age  
is estimated considerably higher than  
the figure given above from DNB. On

admodum natu grandem, sed mire virenti vegetaque senectute. Neminem adhuc vidi minus morosum in delectu ciborum. Ad iuuenilem vsque aetatem aquae potu delectatus est, id illi patrium fuit. Verum hac in re ne cui molestus esset, fallebat conuiuias e-stanneo 65 poculo ceruisiam bibens, eamque aquae proximam, frequenter aquam meram. Vinum, quoniam illic mos est ad idem poculum vicissim inuitare sese, summo ore nonnunquam libabat, ne prorsus abhorrere videretur, simul vt ipse communibus rebus assuesceret. Carnibus bubulis, salsamentis, pane secundario ac vehementer fermentato li- 70 bentius vescebatur quam his cibis quos vulgus habet in deliciis: alioqui nequitiam abhorrens ab omnibus quae voluptatem innoxiam adferunt etiam corpori. Lactariorum et eorum foetuum qui nascuntur in arboribus, semper fuit appetentior: esum ouorum in deliciis habet. Vox neque grandis est nec admodum exilis, sed quae facile penetret 75 aures, nihil habens canorum ac molle, sed plane loquentis est; nam ad musicam vocalem a natura non videtur esse compositus, etiamsi delectatur omni musices genere. Lingua mire explanata articula- taque, nihil habens nec praeceps nec haesitans.

Cultu simplici delectatur, nec sericis purpurae aut catenis aureis 80 vtitur, nisi cum integrum non est ponere. Dictu mirum quam negligens sit ceremoniarum quibus hominum vulgus aestimat morum ciuilitatem. Has vt a nemine exigit, ita aliis non anxie praestat nec in congressibus nec in conuiuiis; licet harum non sit ignarus, si lubeat vti. Sed muliebre putat viroque indignum eiusmodi ineptiis 85 bonam temporis partem absumere.

Ab aula principumque familiaritate olim fuit alienior, quod illi semper peculiariter inuisa fuerit tyrannis, quemadmodum aequalitas gratissima. Vix autem reperies vllam aulam tam modestam quae non multum habeat strepitus atque ambitionis, multum fuci, multum 90 luxus, quaeque prorsus absit ab omni specie tyrannidis. Quin nec in Henrici octauo aulam pertrahi potuit, nisi multo negotio; cum hoc Principe nec optari quicquam possit ciuilius ac modestius. Natura libertatis atque oculi est audior; sed quemadmodum ocio, cum datur, lubens vtitur, ita quoties poscit res, nemo vigilantior aut 95 patientior.

66. frequenter aquam meram *add. H.*  
perias *N.*

73. qui *F Corrig.*: quae *E.* 89. re-

24 April 1474 he married Agnes Graunger, who was the mother of his children; see W. A. Wright in *Notes and Queries*, 17 Oct. 1868, reprinted in Seebohm, pp. 520-8. Erasmus speaks definitely of three later wives (ll. 193-5), but the names of only two are known; Mrs. Bowes and Alice Clarke († 1544), née More of Loseley, who from the change introduced into the text in F, must have succeeded between 1519 and 1521. The other was perhaps Johanna Handcombe, whom Cresacre More gives, wrongly, as Thomas More's mother.

66. ceruisiam] Warham practised

similar moderation; cf. the sketches of him in the *Ecclesiastes* (LB. v. 811 B) and in the 1533 preface to Jerome (wrongly cited as *Adagia* in Ep. 188 introd.).

67. idem poculum] Cf. a passage near the end of the colloquy, 'Ἀγάμος γάμος, first published in March 1529: 'P. Tum feratur lex ne quis cum alio poculum habeat commune. G. Istam vix recipiat Anglia' (LB. i. 830 D). Cf. also *Adag.* 553.

70. secundario] Of inferior quality; made from the flour known as 'seconds'. Cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2. 1. 123 and Suet. *Aug.* 76.

92. in . . . aulam] Cf. ll. 217-30 and Epp. 597. 51 n. 2, 832. 35-9.

Ad amicitiam natus factusque videtur, cuius et syncerissimus est cultor et longe tenacissimus est. Nec ille metuit πολυφιλίαν ab Hesiodo parum laudatam. Nulli non patet ad necessitudinis foedus.  
 100 Nequaquam morosus in deligendo, commodissimus in alendo, constantissimus in retinendo. Si fors incidit in quempiam cuius vicii mederi non possit, hunc per occasionem dimittit, dissuens amicitiam, non abrumpens. Quos synceros repperit et ad ingenium suum appositos, horum consuetudine fabulisque sic delectatur vt his in  
 105 rebus praecipuam vitae voluptatem ponere videatur. Nam a pila, alea, chartis caeterisque lusibus, quibus vulgus procerum temporis taedium solet fallere, prorsus abhorret. Porro vt propriarum rerum est negligentior, ita nemo diligentior in curandis amicorum negociis. Quid multis? Si quis absolutum verae amicitiae requirat exemplar,  
 110 a nemine rectius petierit quam a Moro.

In conuictu tam rara comitas ac morum suauitas, vt nemo tam tristi sit ingenio quem non exhilaret, nulla res tam atrox cuius taedium non discutiat. Iam inde a puero sic iocis est delectatus vt ad hos natus videri possit, sed in his nec ad scurrilitatem vsque pro-  
 115 gressus est, nec mordacitatem vnquam amauit. Adolescens comoedias et scripsit et egit. Si quod dictum esset salsius, etiam in ipsum tortum, tamen amabat; vsqueadeo gaudet salibus argutis et ingenium redolentibus. Vnde et epigrammatis lusit iuuenis, et Luciano cum primis est delectatus; quin et mihi vt Morias Encomium  
 120 scriberem, hoc est vt camelus saltarem, fuit autor.

Nihil autem in rebus humanis obuium est vnde ille non venetur voluptatem, etiam in rebus maxime seriis. Si cum eruditis et cordatis res est, delectatur ingenio; si cum indoctis ac stultis, fruitur illorum stulticia. Nec offenditur morionibus, mira dexteritate ad omnium  
 125 affectus sese accommodans. Cum mulieribus fere atque etiam cum vxore non nisi lusus iocosque tractat. Diceret alterum quendam esse Democritum, aut potius Pythagoricum illum philosophum, qui vacuus animo per mercatum obambulans contemplatur tumultus vendentium atque ementium. Nemo minus ducitur vulgi iudicio,  
 130 sed rursus nemo minus abest a sensu communi.

Praecipua illi voluptas est spectare formas, ingenia et affectus

100. ELB: diligendo Lond. 101. fors EN<sup>2</sup>: foris HN<sup>2</sup>. 103. reperit F.  
 104. in his F. 116. salsius add. H.

99. Hesiodo] *Op.* 713.

115. comoedias] Roper (*Life of More*, ed. Hearne, 1716, p. 3) records that More, when a boy in the household of Cardinal Morton, would 'at Christmas tyd sodenly sometymes stepp in among the players, and never studinge for the matter, make a parte of his owne there presently amonge them, which made the lookers on more sport then all the players besid'.

118. epigrammatis] Cf. *Ep.* 635. 9-10.

119. Luciano] To the joint volume of 1506 (*Ep.* 187) More contributed translations of three dialogues and of the *Tyrannicida* with a declamation in reply (cf. II. 253-5 and *Ep.* 191). These fill

17 ff., unnumbered, at the end, with a new colophon 13 Nov. 1506: Erasmus' portion bearing date 1 Nov. More's work is dedicated to Ruthall (*Ep.* 192) with an undated preface (*LB.* App. 475, quite wrongly ascribed to Erasmus) which offers for Ruthall's acceptance 'has in Graecis litteris studii mei primitias'. See also *Ep.* 550 introd. and I, p. 18. 26-9.

120. fuit autor] The precise value to be attached to this statement must be determined by comparison with *Epp.* 222. 1-18, 337. 126-39.

127. Democritum] Cf. *Ep.* 222. 17, 8. Pythagoricum] Cf. *Diog. Laert.* 8. 1. 6.

diuersorum animantium. Proinde nullum fere genus est auium quod domi non alat, et siquod aliud animal vulgo rarum, veluti simia, vulpes, viuerra, mustela et his consimilia. Ad haec si quid exoticum aut alioqui spectandum occurrat, auidissime mercari solet; atque his<sup>135</sup> rebus vndique domum habet instructam, vt nusquam non sit obuium quod oculos ingredientium demoretur; ac toties sibi renouat voluptatem, quoties alios conspiciat oblectari. Cum aetas ferret, non abhorruit a puellarum amoribus, sed citra infamiam, et sic vt oblati magis fruere quam captatis, et animo mutuo caperetur potius quam coitu.<sup>140</sup>

Bonas literas a primis statim annis hauserat. Iuuenis ad Graecas literas atque philosophiae studium sese applicuit, adeo non opitulante patre, viro alioqui prudenti proboque, vt ea conantem omni subsidio destitueret; ac pene pro abdicato haberetur, quod a patriis studiis desciscere videretur: nam is Britannicarum legum peritiam pro<sup>145</sup> fitur. Quae professio vt est a veris literis alienissima, ita apud Britannos cum primis habentur magni clarique, qui in hoc genere sibi pararunt auctoritatem. Nec [temere] apud illos alia via ad rem ac gloriam parandam magis idonea; siquidem plerumque nobilitatem illius insulae peperit hoc studiorum genus. In eo negant quenquam<sup>150</sup> absolui posse nisi plurimos annos insudarit. Ab hoc igitur cum non iniuria abhorreret adolescentis ingenium melioribus rebus natum, tamen post degustatas scholasticas disciplinas sic in hoc versatus est vt neque consulerent quenquam libentius litigatores, neque quaestum vberiore faceret quisquam eorum qui nihil aliud agebant. Tanta<sup>155</sup> erat vis ac celeritas ingenii.

Quin et euoluendis orthodoxorum voluminibus non segnem operam impendit. Augustini libros De Ciuitate Dei publice professus est adhuc pene adolescens auditorio frequenti; nec puduit nec poenituit sacerdotes ac senes a iuvene prophano sacra discere. Interim et ad<sup>160</sup> pietatis studium totum animum appulit, vigiliis, ieiuniis, precatio-

<sup>133.</sup> et om. F. <sup>134.</sup> EN<sup>3</sup>LB: viuera N<sup>1</sup> Lond. <sup>135.</sup> atque F: aque E. <sup>137.</sup> ac F: at E. <sup>142.</sup> atque E: ac F. <sup>144.</sup> haberetur E: haberet F. <sup>149.</sup> plerumque MS. ap. E Corrig., F: plerisque E.

<sup>133.</sup> domi] It is quite possible that at this time More's home was still in Bucklersbury. In her marriage-licence, 2 July 1521, Margaret More (l. 174) is described as of the parish of St. Stephen's, Walbrook; within which part of Bucklersbury lies. From June 1523 to Jan. 1524 More was the owner of Crosby Place in the City of London; but I cannot find any definite evidence to connect him with Chelsea before his purchases of land there in 1524. See P. Norman, *Crosby Place*, 1908, p. 21.

simia] A story of More's ape and weasel is told in the colloquy *Amicitia*, first printed in Sept. 1531. P. Falk also delighted in an ape; see Ep. 450. 57-61.

<sup>144.</sup> abdicato] The technical term for 'disowned', 'disinherited': cf. Quint. 7. 1. 14, 4. 11.

haberetur] The editors of F sought to remove some of the rough-

ness caused by the frequent changes of subject in this sentence.

<sup>148.</sup> Nec temere] A conflation with 'Nec temere habetur apud illos ea via . . . maxime idonea'.

<sup>149.</sup> plerumque] The editors of E found the reading of the ms. difficult and corrected it, recording it, however, in the corrigenda: the editors of F restored it. For other citations of ms. originals in E Corrig. cf. Epp. 123. 12n, 987. 32, 3nn.

nobilitatem] Cf. Ep. 1053. 13on.

<sup>153.</sup> scholasticas disciplinas] Presumably at Oxford: cf. Ep. 1002. 8-12.

<sup>158.</sup> Augustini] This course of lectures was perhaps undertaken at the request of Grocin; for Roper (p. 3, ed. Hearne) states that they were delivered 'in the Church of St. Laurence in the old Jurye': where Grocin was Rector. <sup>161.</sup> pietatis studium] Gairdner points

nibus aliisque consimilibus progymnasmatibus sacerdotium meditans. Qua quidem in re non paulo plus ille sapiebat quam plerique isti qui temere ad tam arduam professionem ingerunt sese, nullo prius sui  
 165 periculo facto. Neque quicquam obstat quo minus sese huic vitae generi addiceret, nisi quod vxoris desyderium non posset excutere. Maluit igitur maritus esse castus quam sacerdos impurus.

Tamen virginem duxit admodum puellam, claro genere natam, rudem adhuc, vtpote ruri inter parentes ac sorores semper habitam,  
 170 quo magis illi liceret illam ad suos mores fingere. Hanc et literis instituendam curauit et omni musices genere doctam reddidit; planeque talem pene finxerat quicum lubuisset vniuersam aetatem exigere, ni mors praematura puellam sustulisset e medio, sed enixam liberos aliquot: quorum adhuc supersunt puellae tres, Margareta,

171. instituendam *E*: instruendam *H*. 172. libuisset *N*. 174. tres *F*:  
 quatuor *E*. Margareta, Aloysia, Cecilia *add. H*.

out (EHR. vii. 713, 14) that it was probably during this period that More made the acquaintance of John Bonge, Bownge, or Bunge, a contemporary of John Fisher at Cambridge, where they had been 'scollers togethyr', also B.A. and M.A. 'bothe off on day': the latter degree in 1490, see *Cambridge Grace Books A. 214, B. i. 26*. Bonge became More's confessor, 'christened two of his children, buried his first wife and married him to his second'.

164. sui periculo] A point on which Erasmus always lays great stress: cf. II. 67-71, Epp. 296. 34-6, 447. 138, 194, 858. 495, 1158. 4-5, 1202. 220.

168. Tamen] This unexpected conjunction suggests that the three previous sentences (which are a characteristic Erasmian sally) were added later than the first composition.

puellam] Jane Colt (c. 1487-1511: cf. Ep. 221. 311), eldest daughter of John Colt of Netherhall, near Roydon in Essex (see Ep. 829. 271). Her marriage with More cannot be dated later than c. Jan. 1505. From the initial similarity of language she may be identified with the young wife from the country, married at 17, who at first found her husband's instruction irksome, but was brought by her father to happy compliance; as described in the colloquy *Vxor Memphis*, first printed in Aug. 1523 (LB. i. 704 D-5 C). See *The Times*, Lit. Suppl., 26 Dec. 1918. A story of More's deceiving her with sham jewels is told in the *Moria* (LB. iv. 451 CD).

169. sorores] For these see Ph. Morant, *Hist. of Essex*, 1768, ii. 492.

174. tres] In writing *quatuor* in *E*, Erasmus was doubtless thinking of the adopted daughter, Margaret Giggs

(1508-6 July 1570), whom he mentions in this connexion in Ep. 1233. 57, and whom More regarded as one of his own. About 1530 she married with John Clement (Ep. 388. 1731).

174. Margareta] (c. Oct. 1505-1544), More's eldest and favourite daughter. By Sept. 1521 (Ep. 1233. 53-4; cf. l. 1331) she was married to William Roper (1496-1578), a member of a Kentish family living at Well Hall, near Eltham (cf. Ep. 104 introd.); but was still dwelling, with her husband, in her father's house. At Christmas 1523 Erasmus dedicated to her some hymns of Prudentius, with a preface which carries congratulations on the birth of their first child. He wrote to her again in 1529 (Lond. xxvi. 50, LB. 1075); and her autograph reply is still extant (Breslau MS. Rehd. 254. 129: LB. App. 352). Some of her father's letters to her are printed by Stapleton, *Tres Thomae*, 1588, in Latin, and are reproduced in English by Cresacre More. John Coster (see Ep. 750 introd.) in editing Vincentius Lirinensis' *Pro Catholicae fidei antiquitate*, Paris, M. Julianus, 1569, cites (f. 47: from information received from John Clement) an emendation by her in Cyprian's Ep. 30. 3, *neruos* for *nisi vos*: which is the reading of Erasmus' editions. Mr. A. W. Reed has shown (*Trans. of the Bibliographical Soc.*, n.s. ii) that she translated Erasmus' *Precatio Dominica* into English, in an edition printed by T. Berthelet before 12 March 1523. No copy is known: but it was no doubt the same translation which W. de Worde printed, London, (c. 1 Oct.) 1524. She is credited also by Stapleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 238, 242-3, with a treatise *De quatuor nouissimis* and with some declamations in imitation of



†Aloysia, Cecilia, puer vnus Ioannes. Neque diu celebs viuere susti-<sup>175</sup>  
nuit, licet alio vocantibus amicorum consiliis. Paucis mensibus a  
funere vxoris viduam duxit, magis curandae familiae quam voluptati,  
quippe nec bellam admodum nec puellam, vt ipse iocari solet, sed  
acrem ac vigilantem matrem familias; quicum tamen perinde  
comiter suauiterque viuit ac si puella foret forma quantumlibet<sup>180</sup>  
amabili. Vix vllus maritus a sua tantum obsequii impetrat imperio  
atque seueritudine quantum hic blanditiis iocisque. Quid enim non  
impetret, posteaquam effecit vt mulier iam ad senium vergens, ad  
hoc animi minime mollis, postremo ad rem attentissima, cithara,  
testudine, monochordo, tibiisque canere disceret, et in hisce rebus<sup>185</sup>  
cotidie praescriptum operae pensum exigenti marito redderet?

Consimili comitate totam familiam moderatur, in qua nulla tra-  
goedia, nulla rixa. Si quid extiterit, protinus aut medetur aut com-  
ponit; neque quenquam vnquam dimisit vt inimicum aut vt inimicus.  
Quin huius domus fatalis quaedam videtur felicitas, in qua nemo<sup>190</sup>  
vixit qui non prouectus sit ad meliorem fortunam, nullus vnquam  
vllam famae labem contraxit. Quin vix vllos reperias quibus sic  
conuenerit cum matre vt huic cum nouerca—nam pater iam alteram  
induxerat; vtranque non minus adamauit ac matrem. Nuper  
induxit tertiam: hac Morus sancte deierat se nihil vnquam vidisse<sup>195</sup>  
melius. Porro erga parentes ac liberos sororesque sic affectus est, vt  
nec amet moleste nec vsquam desit officio pietatis.

<sup>175.</sup> Ioannes *add. H.*      <sup>185.</sup> tibiis *N.*      <sup>194.</sup> induxerat *F.*: induxit *E.*  
Nuper . . . <sup>196.</sup> melius *add. F.*      <sup>197.</sup> vsquam *E.*: vnquam *N.*

Quintilian; and by Cresacre More, *Life of Moore*, (1631), p. 189, with a translation of Eusebius. But none of these have survived.

<sup>175.</sup> Aloysia] The name of More's second daughter, who became the wife of Wm. Daunce, was Elizabeth; as Erasmus rightly has in his preface to the *Nux*. The inaccuracy here probably arose from confusion with her step-sister (cf. Ep. 1233. 58n); but as these names were not inserted until H, it was not corrected like those in ll. 174, 211. It appears also in Erasmus' preface to Aristotle, 27 Feb. 1531 (Lond. xxviii. 13, LB. 1159).

Cecilia] Afterwards the wife of Giles Heron.

Ioannes] (c. 1509-1547), More's youngest child; who in Sept. 1521 was about 13 (Ep. 1233. 61). At Christmas 1523 Erasmus dedicated to him the poem *Nux*, attributed to Ovid. Besides that it is striking that the young man received the dedications of the second editions of both Aristotle and Plato in the Greek—the former corrected by Grynaeus, with a preface by Erasmus (Lond. xxviii. 13, LB. 1159), Basle, J. Bebel, 13 April 1531; the latter (with Proclus' commentaries) corrected by

John Oporinus, with a preface by Grynaeus, Basle, J. Valder, March 1534, based in part on mss. brought by Grynaeus from England. Nevertheless, on quite inadequate evidence, it has been supposed that he was of weak intellect. About 1529 he married Anne Cresacre (1511-77), and Cresacre More (1572-1649) was his grandson. See DNB. xxxviii. 447.

<sup>176.</sup> Paucis mensibus] John Bonge, who was in a position to know (see l. 161n), says 'within a monythe after': in a letter written in 1535 (EHR. vii. 714). Cf. Ep. 221. 31n.

<sup>177.</sup> viduam] Alice, widow of John Middleton († c. 4 Oct. 1509), citizen and mercer of London, and merchant of the Staple of Calais—information which I owe to Mr. A. W. Reed. More married her in 1511 (cf. Ep. 236. 47n); and after his execution she received from the Crown an annuity for life.

<sup>178.</sup> nec bellam] Cf. Mart. i. 64. 4.

<sup>187.</sup> familiam] By 1521 this included also two of his daughters' husbands: cf. Ep. 1233. 72n.

<sup>193.</sup> nouerca] See l. 61n.

<sup>196.</sup> sorores] Johanna, born 11 March 147½, and married to Rich. Staffreton; Agatha, born 31 Jan. 147½; Elizabeth,

Animus est a sordido lucro alienissimus. Liberis suis semouit e facultatibus quod illis satis esse putat; quod superest, largiter  
 200 effundit. Cum aduocationibus adhuc aleretur, nulli non dedit amicum  
 verumque consilium, magis illorum commodis prospiciens quam suis; plerisque solitus persuadere uti litem componerent: minus enim hic fore dispendii. Id si minus impetrabat, tum rationem indicabat qua possent quam minimo dispendio litigare: quando quibusdam hic  
 205 animus est, ut litibus etiam delectentur. In vrbe Londoniensi, in qua natus est, annos aliquot iudicem egit in causis ciuilibus. Id munus ut minimum habet oneris (nam non sedetur nisi die Iouis vsque ad prandium), ita cum primis honorificum habetur. Nemo plures causas absoluit, nemo se gessit integrius; remissa plerisque  
 210 pecunia quam ex praescripto debent qui litigant: siquidem ante litis contestationem actor deponit treis drachmas, totidem reus, nec amplius quicquam fas est exigere. His moribus effecit ut ciuitati suae longe charissimus esset.

Decreuerat autem hac fortuna esse contentus, quae et satis haberet  
 215 autoritatis, nec tamen esset grauibz obnoxia periculis. Semel atque iterum extrusus est in legationem; in qua cum se cordatissime gessisset, non conqueiuit serenissimus Rex Henricus eius nominis octauus donec hominem in aulam suam pertraheret. Cur enim non dicam pertraheret? Nullus vnquam vehementius ambiit in aulam  
 220 admitti quam hic studuit effugere. Verum cum esset optimo Regi in animo familiam suam eruditis, grauibz, cordatis et integris viris differtam reddere, cum alios permultos, tum Morum in primis acciuit; quem sic in intimis habet ut a se nunquam patiatur discedere. Siue seriis vtendum est, nihil illo consultius; siue visum est Regi fabulis  
 225 amoenioribus laxare animum, nullus comes festiuior. Saepe res arduae iudicem grauem et cordatum postulant; has sic Morus discuit ut vtraque pars habeat gratiam. Nec tamen ab eo quisquam impetrauit ut munus a quoquam acciperet. Felices respublicas si Mori similes magistratus vbique praeficeret princeps! Nec interim vllum  
 230 accessit supercilium.

Inter tantas negociorum moles et veterum amiculorum meminit et ad literas adamatas subinde redit. Quicquid dignitate valet, quicquid

211. treis H: sex E.

born 22 Sept. 1482 and married to John Rastell († 1536), the printer. Their son William (c. 1508–27 Aug. 1565), adhering to the old religion, withdrew under Edward VI to Louvain with John Clement, whose daughter Winifred († 1553) he married. Under Mary he returned to England, and edited More's English Works, London, 1557. Three weeks before Mary's death he was made judge of the Queen's Bench; but shortly afterwards withdrew again to Louvain, where he was buried beside his wife in St. Peter's church. See Wright (l. 61n), reprinted by Seebohm, p. 522; and DNB. xlvii. 303–5.  
 206. iudicem] Under-Sheriff; to which office he was elected, 3 Sept. 1510.

211. treis drachmas] The correction made here in H was perhaps pointed out by More. I have adopted it because it seems easier to suppose that Erasmus originally made a mistake, adding together the fees paid by each side, than that *treis* in H is a mere lapse from *sex* of the earlier editions. I cannot find any other evidence for the fees of litigants in the Under-Sheriff's court.

214. esse contentus] Cf. Ep. 388. 131, 2.  
 216. in legationem] Cf. Epp. 388. 94n, 623. 20 n. 2.

218. pertraheret] Cf. ll. 70n, 279.  
 221. familiam] Cf. Epp. 855. 28n (where for 837 read 832), 917. 11n, 966, 968–70, 976, 1004, 1005. 31–2, 1028. 1–2, 1031. 17–21, 1032. 17–23.

apud amplissimum Regem gratia pollet, id omne iuuandae reipublicae, iuuandis amicis impendit. Semper quidem adfuit animus de cunctis benemerendi cupidissimus mireque pronus ad misericordiam: eum nunc magis exerit, quando plus potest prodesse. Alios pecunia subleuat, alios autoritate tuetur, alios commendatione prouehit. Quos alioqui iuare non potest, his consilio succurrit. Nullum vnquam a se tristem dimisit. Diceres Morum esse publicum omnium inopum patronum. Ingens lucrum sibi putat accessisse si quem oppressum subleuauit, si perplexum et impeditum explicuit, si alienatum redegit in gratiam. Nemo lubentius collocat beneficium, nemo minus exprobrat. Iam cum tot nominibus sit felicissimus, et felicitatis comes fere soleat esse iactantia, nullum adhuc mortalium mihi videre contigit qui longius abesset ab hoc vitio.

Sed ad studiorum commemorationem redeo, quae me Moro mihique Morum potissimum conciliarunt. Primam aetatem carmine potissimum exercuit, mox diu luctatus est vt prosam orationem redderet molliorem, per omne scripti genus stilum exercens. Qui cuiusmodi sit, quid attinet commemorare? tibi praesertim qui libros eius semper habeas in manibus. Declamationibus praecipue delectatus est, et, in his, materiis adoxis, quod in his acrior sit ingeniorum exercitatio. Vnde adolescens etiamnum dialogum moliebatur, in quo Platonis communitatem ad vxores vsque defendit. Luciani Tyrannicidae respondit; quo in argumento me voluit antagonistam habere, quo certius periculum faceret ecquid profecisset in hoc genere. Vtopiam hoc consilio aedidit, vt indicaret quibus rebus fiat vt minus commode habeant respúblicae; sed Britannicam potissimum effinxit, quam habet penitus perspectam cognitamque. Secundum librum prius scripserat per ocium, mox per occasionem primum adiecit ex tempore. Atque hinc nonnulla dictionis inaequalitas.

Vix alium reperias qui feliciter dicat ex tempore: adeo felici ingenio felix lingua subseruit. Ingenium praesens et vbique praeuolans, memoria parata; quae cum omnia habeat velut in numerato, prompte et incontanter suggerit quicquid tempus aut res postulat. In disputationibus nihil fingi potest acutius, adeo vt summis etiam theologis saepe negotium facessat, in ipsorum harena versans. Ioannes Coletus, vir acris exactique iudicii, in familiaribus colloquiis subinde dicere solet Britanniae non nisi vnicum esse ingenium: cum haec insula tot egregiis ingeniis floreat.

Verae pietatis non indiligens cultor est, etiamsi ab omni superstitione alienissimus. Habet suas horas, quibus Deo litet precibus, non ex more, sed e pectore depromptis. Cum amicis sic fabulatur de vita futuri seculi vt agnoscas illum ex animo loqui, neque sine optima spe. Ac talis Morus est etiam in aula. Et postea sunt qui putent Christia-

236. potest plus *N.* 238. his *add. H.* 253. in *add. N.* 255. antagonistam *F.*: aut agonistam *E.* 272. Habet . . . 274. spe *add. F.*

252. adoxis] paradoxical. Erasmus notes the same characteristic in Colet; Ep. 1211. 388, 419-20, 512-13.

254. Tyrannicidae] Cf. l. 119n.

270. egregiis ingeniis] Cf. Epp. 185.

13-15, 195. 4-8.

272. precibus] Cf. the anonymous life (of 1599), printed by C. Wordsworth from a Lambeth MS. in *Ecclesiastical Biographies*, ii (1839), pp. 66 and 107, 8.

Tales viros cordatissimus Rex in familiam suam atque adeo in cubiculum non solum admittit verumetiam inuitat ; nec inuitat modo verumetiam pertrahit. Hos habet arbitros ac testes perpetuos vitae  
 280 suae, hos habet in consiliis, hos habet itinerum comites. Ab his stipari gaudet potius quam luxu perditis iuuenibus aut mulierculis, aut etiam torquatis Midis, aut insynceris officiis ; quorum alius ad voluptates ineptas auocet, alius ad tyrannidem inflammet, alius ad expilandum populum nouas technas suggerat. In hac aula si vixisses,  
 285 Huttene, sat scio rursum aliam Aulam describeres, et misaulos esse desineres : quanquam tu quoque cum eo Principe viuis vt integriorem nec optare possis. Neque desunt qui rebus optimis faueant, veluti Stromerus ac Coppus. Sed quid ista paucitas ad tantum examen insignium virorum, Montioii, Linaeri, Pacei, Coleti, Stocschleii, Lati-  
 290 meri, Mori, Tunstalli, Clerici atque aliorum his adsimilium ? quorum quemcunque nominaris, mundum omnium virtutum ac disciplinarum semel dixeris. Mihi vero spes est haud quaquam vulgaris fore vt Albertus, vnicum his temporibus nostrae Germaniae ornamentum, et plures sui similes in suam allegat familiam, et caeteris principibus  
 295 graui sit exemplo, vt idem et ipsi suae quisque domi facere studeant. Habes imaginem ad optimum exemplar a pessimo artifice non optime deliniatam. Ea tibi minus placebit, si continget Morum nosse propius. Sed illud tamen interim caui, ne mihi possis impingere quod tibi minus paruerim, neue semper opprobres nimium breues  
 300 epistolas. Etiam si haec nec mihi scribenti visa est longior, nec tibi legenti, sat scio, prolixa videbitur : id faciet Mori nostri suauitas.

Verum ne nihil ad postremam tuam epistolam respondeam, quam prius excusam legi quam scriptam, clarissimi Principis Alberti humanitatem ex ipsius etiam ad me literis intellexi. Sed qui, quae-  
 305 so, factum vt patera prius ad omnes peruenerit tuis literis quam ad me ? Certe per neminem certius mittere poteris quam per Richardum Paceum, serenissimi Angliae Regis oratorem, siue me haberet Bra-

297. F: deliniatum E: delineatam Lond.

285. aliam Aulam] Cf. Ep. 863. 31n.  
 286. Principe] Albert of Brandenburg, archbishop of Mainz: see Ep. 661.

288. Coppus] See Ep. 986. 14n.

289. Stocschleii] See Ep. 855. 43n.

Latimeri] I do not know on what ground Erasmus connects Latimer (Ep. 207. 22n) with the Court, unless that he was for a time tutor to Reginald Pole.

290. Clerici] John Clerk († 3 Jan. 1541). He was B.A. at Cambridge 1499, M.A. 1502, and then began a career of incessant ecclesiastical preferment. At this time he was chaplain to Wolsey and dean of the Chapel Royal, and thus was in frequent attendance on the Court ; except when he was sent on embassies, twice to France and twice to Rome (cf. Ep. 1227. 5n). For a year, 1522-3, he was

Master of the Rolls, and in 1523 he was created bishop of Bath and Wells. See DNB.

Knight, pp. 220-1, identifies with another John Clerk († 10 May 1552), who had known Pace (Ep. 211. 43n) intimately in Italy (*De Fructu*, pp. 24-5), became secretary to the Duke of Norfolk, and wrote an *Opusculum de mortuorum resurrectione*, 1545: see DNB. But in such company the bishop is perhaps more likely.

302. epistolam] Ep. 986. For a letter of Erasmus to Hutten c. 30 May (contemporary with Epp. 981, 985), which ought to have been delivered at Frankfurt by the bearers, Jonas and Schalbe, c. June med., see EHE. p. 289 (HE. 135) and cf. Ep. 963. 1n.

305. ad omnes] Through the printing of Ep. 986.

307. Paceum] See Ep. 986 introd.

bantia, siue Britannia. Tu, quantum video, et calamo et ense gnauiter belligeraris, nec minus tamen feliciter quam fortiter. Nam apud reuerendissimum Cardinalem Caietanum audio te magnam etiam <sup>310</sup> iniisse gratiam. Capnioni bene esse gaudeo. Francisci Cinglii nomen non sinent emori literae, nisi velint ingratitude postulari.

De rebus nostris alias: nunc illud tantum. Res hic sordidissimis sycophantiis agitur; quibus artibus vt imparem me fatear necesse est. Si quis est isthic qui cupiat artem sycophanticam discere, indicabo <sup>315</sup> illi quendam huius disciplinae mirum artificem, quem huic rei plane natum dicas. Minus bonus orator Cicero quam hic sycophanta; et repperit dociles multos apud nos. Nondum tempus est, verum breui vobis hominem commendabo, vt, quo dignus est quodque misere ambit, omnium eruditorum literis celebretur, portentum verius quam <sup>320</sup> homo. Bene vale.

Antuuerpiae. Decimo Cal. Augusti. ANNO M.D.XIX.

# 1000. TO LORENZO PUCCI.

Opera Cypriani f<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>2</sup>.

N. p. 1148: Lond. xxviii. 6: LB. 448.

Louvain.

31 July 1519.

[The preface to Erasmus' edition of Cyprian, Basle, Froben, Feb. 1520 (a). This was possibly projected early in 1519; for on 9 April Faber Stapulensis writes to Beatus Rhenanus, answering inquiries about the text of Cyprian and mentioning a ms. at St. Victor's in Paris (BRE. 105). The first definite indication of the work is in Epp. 975, 984; perhaps cf. also Ep. 997. On 3 Oct. 1519 Boniface Amerbach writes to Zasius that Erasmus is engaged with it (Am. E. 1; cf. BRE. 133, 140, and 420 (Nov. fin. 1519)); at Christmas that the printers are hard at work; and on 31 Jan. 1520 that it is nearly ready (Basle MSS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 330, 346 v<sup>o</sup>, 392; cf. BRE. 144). An index, of *Sententiae*, on two final sheets was contributed by Conrad Pellican; 'non sine magnis laboribus, qui nondum sciebam artificium commodius indices colligendi' (CPR. p. 76). Zasius received his copy from Boniface between 8 and 22 Feb. (ZE. 19,20). Subsequent Froben editions of Cyprian's *Opera* with Erasmus' name appeared in Nov. 1521, 'ab innumeris mendis repurgata' (β), Feb. 1525, 'iam tertium a mendis repurgatiora' (γ), and Jan. 1530, 'iam quantum accuratiori vigilantia a mendis repurgata' (δ); the last containing a treatise hitherto unpublished, *Ad Fortunatum, de duplici martyrio*. Some criticisms on the first two editions are reflected in Epp. 1479, 1482.

A note appended to the introductory matter in γ (f<sup>o</sup>. b<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>) states that for his text Erasmus made use of three printed editions, 'Romanae . . . ; cuiusdam alterius, cuius titulus excidit; et Badianae'. The first is clearly that of Sweynheym and Pannartz, Rome, 1471; the second is shown by Hartel (*Cypriani Opera*, 1868-71, pp. lxxiii-iv: in *Corpus script. eccl. Lat.*) to be Pafraet's, Deventer, (c. 1480) (Hain 5894: Proctor 8954); the third is the Paris edition printed by B. Rembolt and J. Waterloes, 13 Nov. 1512. The ground of this last identification is that in producing the treatise *De cardinalibus Christi operibus* Erasmus says (f<sup>o</sup>. b of α) that it was not in any of his manuscripts but that 'in aeditione

310. reuerendissimum E: R. F: om. H.  
Sichnii N. 318. reperit F.

311. Cinglii add. F: Sychnii H:

310. Caietanum] See Ep. 891. 25n. He had no doubt seen Hutten at Augsburg in 1518.

311. Cinglii] The name of Francis of Sickingen (Ep. 582. 27n) is often corrupted: Seken, Sekyn, Sekkym, Sicken, Sykkynghe, Sequinghen, Zekinghe, are

some of the forms which occur in Brewer ii, iii. For the present form cf. Ep. 1166. 72.

313. hic] No doubt Louvain; see introd.

316. quendam] Clearly Lee.

320. eruditorum literis] Cf. p. 210.

Badiana separatim habebatur a reliquo volumine'—a description which does not fit with the only other volume in which it had hitherto appeared, the *Illustrium virorum opuscula*, Paris, A. Bocard, 28 June 1500; but which does agree with Rembolt's (see Hartel, p. lxxvi). Badius is not known to have produced Cyprian; but as he had close connexion with Rembolt (see Renouard, *Badius*, i. 23, iii. 449), Erasmus' attribution of the 1512 edition to him is perhaps something more than mere conjecture.

Besides these printed texts Erasmus had the use of two manuscripts; to which, in contradiction of my inaccurate statement in Ep. 975. 13n, he makes frequent allusion on f<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>6</sup> of a. One of these, the smaller, was from Gembloux (cf. Epp. 975, 984), and supplied him with a new treatise, the *De laude martyrii*, and with the third book of the *Ad Quirinum, aduersus Iudaeos* (f<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>6</sup> of a). The other, which was the larger, Hartel identifies with the Paris MS. N. f. Lat. 12126 (x<sup>o</sup> or xi<sup>o</sup>: Delisle), which he describes both as 'Corbeiensis' and 'Sangermanensis' (pp. l, 464); inferring (p. lxxviii) that it was thence that Erasmus derived Epp. 73, 74, 71, and the *Sententiae Episcoporum*, which also he printed for the first time.

That Erasmus considered the third book of the *Aduersus Iudaeos* to be new and unpublished, probably indicates that he was using a copy of the Deventer edition in which this treatise is lacking. Hain shows that when the treatise is found, it is always on separate leaves, A-D, apart from the rest of the book. A copy lacking these is in the Bodleian (Auct. Q sub fenestra ii. 4).

In Aug. 1544 Erasmus' Cyprian was re-edited (Cologne, P. Quentel: see Migne i, pp. lxxiii, iv) by Henry Gravius, a Dominican of Cologne and perhaps a kinsman of his old friend (cf. Ep. 610. 47n). By this time the manuscript of the *De duplici martyrio* had disappeared, or at any rate Gravius had not seen it. On internal evidence he evolved the theory that this otherwise unknown treatise was a forgery by Erasmus; and this view was followed by James Pamelius of Bruges, in an edition printed at Antwerp in 1568. That Erasmus could not have lent himself to such fabrication 'clarius est quam vt sit admonendum'. The idea was soon discarded; but modern editors point out that on evident grounds the work cannot be attributed to Cyprian. Either therefore Erasmus must have read it through very hastily, or possibly he had not seen it at all. The edition in which it appears (δ) belongs to the Freiburg period; and though there is much revision of this preface, no doubt from Erasmus' own hand, he clearly cannot have taken part in the actual production of the book. It is possible, therefore, that, as their description (f<sup>o</sup>. b<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup> of δ) suggests—'quem in vetustissima bibliotheca repertum adiecimus'—the Basle printers may have added the new treatise on their own responsibility: as they did in 1535 with Hilary (Ep. 1334).

The dates of this preface are confirmed by those of the publication of α: cf. also Ep. 999 introd. For Pucci see Ep. 860 introd. This preface is specially mentioned, with Epp. 180, 853, 1334, 1460, in *Cat. Luc.* (I, p. 39. 26-32) for inclusion among Erasmus' letters. As was to be expected, N follows the text of δ.]

REVERENDISSIMO PATRI AC D. D. LAVRENTIO PVCCIO, TITVLI SAN-  
CTORVM QVATVOR CARDINALI MERITISSIMO, ERASMVVS ROTERO-  
DAMVS S. D.

IN tam vasta rei literariae clade, quae non solum tot egregia  
veterum monumenta vel deprauauit vel detruncavit, verumetiam  
innumeros scriptores immortalī memoria dignos totos absorbit,  
fortassis ineptius videatur, reuerendissime Pater, vnus aut alterius  
interitum deplorare; ni Cyprianus vnus esset multorum instar habendus,  
siue spectes eloquentiam, siue doctrinam, siue pastoris dignitatem,  
siue pectus Apostolici spiritus vigorem vbique fragrans, siue  
martyrii gloriam. Hanc autem iacturam haud scio an hoc moderatius  
ferremus, si totus nobis interisset. Nunc quoniam ex his  
fragmentis quae nobis nescio quis casus superesse voluit, coniciamus

TIT. α: ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVS LAVRENTIO PVCCIO CARDINALI S. D. N.  
deprauauit vel detruncavit add. δ. 4. reuerendissime α: R. N.

2. vel

qualia fuerint illa quae perierunt, grauius etiam animo scrutiamur quicunque thesaurorum huiusmodi sumus auari. Porro ut nunc in obscuro sit quae et quam multa vir ille scripserit, operum claritas in causa fuit; quae et Hieronymo persuasit ut non duceret operae-  
precium lucubrationum illius indicem texere, cum ipsius aetate et sole 15  
clariores haberentur et publicitus omnium manibus tererentur: non existimans fieri posse ut tantam lucem ac celebritatem ullus casus obliuionis tenebris obscuraret. Quod idem malum nobis usu venit in Tertulliano. Nam alius quispiam casus Origenicorum operum catalogum nobis ademit, quem Hieronymus sese testatur attexuisse 20  
in quadam ad Paulam epistola, in qua huius Adamantii libros cum libris Varronis confert; quem et ipsum constat *πολυγραφότατον* fuisse.

Caeterum cum Lactantius testetur a Cypriano admodum multa fuisse conscripta, rectius perspiciet quanta fuerit ea calamitas quae 25  
caetera nobis ademit, qui reliquiis quas habemus, notha ac pseudographa detraxerit. Etenim ut Cypriano cum caeteris scriptoribus est commune, quod ipsius lucubrationibus multa sint aliorum admixta, ita hoc fuit Hieronymo felicior, quod huius voluminibus multa sint interspersa prorsus indigna lectu, Cypriano nihil ascriptum est nisi 30  
doctum et a magnis viris profectum. Proinde nos adeo nihil semouimus etiam huius generis, ut nonnulla ex vetustis codicibus adiecerimus: neque enim protinus reiciendum quod Cypriani non est.

Iam ne quis in hac censura putet nos nihil aliud secutos quam somnium animi nostri, Symbolum fidei, quod in euulgatis pariter ac 35  
descriptis voluminibus Cypriani titulum hactenus possidet, inter opera diui Hieronymi fertur Ruffini nomine. Liber De singularitate clericorum habetur inter Augustini lucubrationes: quanquam is an Cypriani sit dubito; certe Augustini non esse praeter phrasim arguunt ipsae sacrorum voluminum citationes. De caeteris con- 40  
iecturam nostram suis locis annotabimus. Vitam apparet ex eo libro decerptam, quem, ut testatur Hieronymus, conscripsit Pontius, Cypriani diaconus, in ipso etiam exilio comes indiuiduus usque ad vltimi supplicii diem. Nec enim mihi verisimile fit hoc esse volu-  
men illud egregium, cuius in vita Pontii meminit Hieronymus, cum 45  
quod extat apud nos, ne libelli quidem vocabulum mereatur. Certe coronidem de translatione corporis eius ab alio quopiam adiectam esse clarius est quam ut sit admonendum, praesertim cum in ea Caroli Imperatoris fiat mentio.

Iam quod diuus Hieronymus memorat, octo tantum epistolas 50

- |                     |  |                     |
|---------------------|--|---------------------|
| 14. et add. δ.      | 16. non α: haud quamquam γ.  | 28. sint α: sunt δ. |
| 29. sint α: sunt δ. | 37. Liber . . . 40. citationes add. γ (40. N <sup>3</sup> LB: sacrorum γ Lond.). | 44. mihi add. δ.    |
|                     | 50. diuus α: D. N.   |                     |

15. indicem] Hier. *Vir. ill.* 67.  
20. Hieronymus] *Ep.* 33.  
24. Lactantius] *Inst.* 5. 1. 24.  
35. Symbolum fidei] This had been printed in Rembolt's edition, 1512: the *De singularitate clericorum* in all the printed volumes used by Erasmus.  
40. sacrorum] A note made by Leclerc in adopting this reading shows

- that he had before him N<sup>1</sup> or N<sup>2</sup>, and Lond.  
42. Hieronymus] *Vir. ill.* 68.  
Pontius] Cf. *Ep.* 1260. 23n.  
47. coronidem] A passage beginning 'Nos ergo, fratres, oremus . . .' at the end of Pontius' *Passio Cypriani*, f<sup>o</sup>. b<sup>6</sup> v<sup>o</sup> of α: see Erasmus' *annotatiuncula*, f<sup>o</sup>. b<sup>5</sup> v<sup>o</sup>.

- Cypriani ad Cornelium, Rhomanae vrbs Episcopum, extitisse, cum in nostris codicibus vndecim, ni fallor, habeantur, fieri potest vt non omnes peruenerint in manus Hieronymi; aut, quoniam fit aliquoties vt in iisdem diuersa tractentur argumenta, singulae quaeapiam in  
 55 binas dissectae sint: id quod nos in vna certe factum et deprehendimus et indicauimus. Porro cum olim Africa permultos aediderit eloquentia doctrinaque celebres, inter quos sunt in primis Tertulianus et Augustinus, tamen vix vlli contigit Rhomanae dictionis germana puritas praeterquam Cypriano. De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis  
 60 loquor; alioqui Lactantius in primis erat excipiendus. Nam Tertulianus licet densus et argutus sit in sententiis, sermo tamen difficilis est et obscurus atque etiam incomptior; quemadmodum iudicat Hieronymus in epistola ad Paulinum, videlicet Lactantii iudicio subscribens.
- 65 Iam in Augustino subinde lectorem offendit perplexum nescio quid et impeditum atque obscurum, quod in epistolis illi obiicit et Hieronymus. At vterque Cypriano summas eloquentiae dotes tribuit; sic enim scribit Hieronymus in epistola ad Paulinum, 'Beatus Cyprianus instar fontis purissimi dulcis incedit et placidus'. Lactantius autem  
 70 in praefatione libri quinti De institutione religionis Christianae non solum illi tribuit facilitatem, iucunditatem, perspicuitatem, copiam ac nitorem, verum etiam vim ac neruos in persuadendo: 'Erat enim' inquit 'ingenio facili, copioso, suauis et (quae sermonis maxima est virtus) aperto, vt discernere nequeas vtrum ornatio in loquendo an  
 75 facilius in explicando an potentior in persuadendo quisquam fuerit.' Atque vtinam diuus Augustinus, vt Afer Afrum, episcopus episcopum, numero voluminum praecurrit, ita dictionis elegantia potuisset assequi! vtinamque linguam huius tam feliciter esset aemulatus quam candide miratur ac praedicat! Siquidem is libro De doctrina  
 80 Christiana quarto ex huius voluminibus potissimum petit exempla, quibus demonstret nullam eloquentiae partem in Christianis scriptoribus desyderari; hunc cum Ambrosio subinde conferens, quemadmodum Fabius Marcius Tullium cum Demosthene committit. Idem in conflictationibus cum Pelagianis ac Donatistis multa cum reuerentia citat huius sententias.
- 85 Non possum equidem inficias ire quin olim inter orthodoxos scriptores primas tribuerim Hieronymo: verum vbi Cyprianum, quem prius et carptim et oscitans legeram, propius sum contemplatus, prorsus animi dubius reddor vtrum vtri praeferam; adeo suis vterque  
 90 virtutibus summus occurrit. Quod si hoc nomine iure praefertur Demosthenes, quod propius accesserit ad verum illud ac naturale dicendi genus et longius absit ab vmbra declamatoria, longe praecellit

59. De scriptoribus . . . 60. excipiendus *add. δ.* 62. iudicat α: indicat δ.  
 79. libro α *LB*: lib. β: librum *Lond.* 83. Idem . . . 85. sententias *add. δ.*

52. vndecim] Hartel too has eleven; but he marks two of them (nos. 49, 50) as written by Cornelius to Cyprian.

56. indicauimus] on f<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>o</sup>, of two letters to Magnus on pp. 24, 132. Hartel accepts the unification (no. 69).

63. Hieronymus] *Ep.* 58. 10.

66. Hieronymus] *Ep.* 112. 15.

68. Hieronymus] *Ep.* 58. 10.

69. Lactantius] *Inst.* 5. 1. 25.

79. doctrina Christiana] 4. 21.

87. Hieronymo] Cf. *Epp.* 149. 62-4, 844. 119-267; and for Erasmus' early interest in Jerome see *Ep.* 396 introd.



hac parte Cyprianus Hieronymum, magis vbique serius ac minus affectans; cum hic, quemadmodum et Tertullianus, in risu pene sit immodicus, subinde desidens in expatiationibus, plurimum admiscens 95 ex prophana literatura: quae dotes, si laudi dantur, non tam defuere Cypriano quam vel spretae sunt vel neglectae. Nihil in hoc reperies quod ad ostentationem ingenii videri possit ascitum, aut quod vlllo pacto vafriciem sapiat, quae non abest Hieronymo. Talis vbique sermonis habitus est vt loqui sentias vere Christianum episcopum ac 100 martyrio destinatum. Pectus ardet Euangelica pietate, et pectori respondet oratio. Loquitur diserta, sed magis fortia quam diserta; neque tam loquitur fortia quam viuit, vt ipse meminit alicubi.

Huic nimirum personae magis congruebat dignitas quam lepos, etiamsi locis aliquot declarat sibi non defuisse nasum, sicubi res ita 105 postulasset: velut vbi salsissime ridet haereticum quendam qui negabat Cyprianum habendum pro episcopo; deinde cum refellit eos qui non immersos sed aspersione aquae baptizatos in periculosis morbis, non Christianos sed clinicos censebant appellandos. Nam hic praeter perpetuam illam iucunditatem, sanguinis in morem per omne corpus 110 sparsam, iocis etiam ac dieteriis vtitur. In vna duntaxat epistola, cuius initium est *Bene admones, Donate*, nonnihil lusit apparatu pompaque sermonis; vnde et Augustinus comptae, iucundae splendidaeque dictionis depromit exemplum. Talem Ecclesiae doctorem, talem Christianae pietatis athletam nobis dedit rhetorum schola, ne 115 quis sibi stolide placeat quod nihil rhetorices attigerit. Efferant alii quantum libet eos quos nobis aediderunt dialecticorum ac Peripateticorum scholae, quos nec nos sane improbamus; certe primas inter orthodoxos patres Cypriano tribuit Papa Gelasius in Decretis, 15 dist., c. *Sancta Rhomana*. 120

Iam fortassis non abs re fuerit nonnihil attingere de dogmatis huius, a quibus hodie dissentit Ecclesia; inter quae cum primis iactatum est illud, quod existimaret haereticos ab Ecclesiae consortio semotos ac schismaticos nihil agere baptizando. Atqui haec sententia non vni placuit Cypriano, verum plerisque omnibus Africae, 125 Numidiae Mauritaniaeque episcopis: quod abunde perspicuum est ex actis synodi Carthaginensis, quae nos adiecimus in hac aeditione. Quin ipsum etiam Hilarium aliquando huius fuisse sententiae, vt ab Arrianis baptizatos non reciperet nisi rursus ab orthodoxis baptiza-

94. quemadmodum et Tertullianus *add. δ*. 111. ac a: atque N. 122. dissentit a: dissentire videtur δ. 123. illud *add. δ*. 128. Quin ipsum . . . 147. receptum a (128. ipsum etiam Hilarium aliquando a: et Hilarium, Romanae Ecclesiae diaconum γ. 129. Arianis γ.): Error erat simplex, non ex ambitione malitiaue, sed ex haereseon odio et ecclesiasticae vnitatis amore profectus.

106. haereticum] The reference seems to be to Stephen, a bishop 'qui haereticorum causam contra Christianos . . . adserere conatur' (Cypr. *Epp.* 74. 1, 75. 25).

108. non immersos] Cypr. *Ep.* 69. 12, 13.

111. epistola] The *De Gratia Dei*.

113. Augustinus] *Doct. Christ.* 4. 14. 31.

119. Gelasius] in *Gratiani Decretum* 1, d. 15, c. 3, § 2.

127. actis] The *Sententiae Episcoporum*: see introd.

128. Hilarium] In the 1535 edition of Erasmus' preface to Hilary (*Ep.* 1334. 530-69) there is a change of equal magnitude with that made here in δ. As the correction in each letter is based on the same passage of Jerome, it is clear that between 1525 and 1530 Erasmus had made up his mind that the Hilary referred to was not the bp. of Poitiers.

rentur, palam docet Hieronymus. Et tamen hoc ita placuit Cypriano  
 vt, quemadmodum ipse quod optimum esse iudicabat sequebatur, ita  
 nemini praeiudicaret quo minus quod ipsi videretur faceret, nec  
 putabat quenquam, si diuersum sentiret, ea gratia semouendum  
 a communione. Porro qui diuersam sententiam sequi maluerunt,  
 mihi quidem non tam argumentis videntur commoti quam fauisse ei  
 parti quae magis abhorreret a schismate Donatistarum, simulque  
 perspexisse quam non esset tutum eam aperire fenestram, si sacerdos  
 impius nihil agere crederetur: qua tamen in sententia veteres quidam  
 fuisse videntur. Nam quantum habeant momenti quae diuus  
 Augustinus adfert de sacramento et effectum sacramenti, de characteri-  
 bus, de diuersa ratione baptizantis et remittentis peccata, prolixius sit  
 quam vt conueniat hic expendere. Certe Christus iisdem baptizandi  
 ius tradidit quibus mandauit absoluendi potestatem; nec tamen pro-  
 tinus absoluit sacerdos quisquis in hoc nomen inuocat Trinitatis.  
 Quod si res ab argumentis humanis penderet, et nisi concordia fauorem  
 vbique mereretur, potius haberi poterat quod sequitur Cyprianus quam  
 quod est receptum. Sunt et alia quaedam, sed hinc ferme profecta,  
 quae suis locis attingemus.

Iam quod quidam (vt refert Lactantius) homo disertus sed impius  
 Caprianum pro Cypriano vocarit, hoc magis nobis placere debet vir  
 optimus, quod viro pessimo displicuerit, imo cui nihil in Cypriano dis-  
 placuerit praeter Christianam pietatem. Satis enim declarat quid ille  
 de Christo senserit, qui doctrinam eius aniles fabulas iudicavit. Ad  
 haec, quod huic Hieronymus alicubi videtur absolutam sacrae Scri-  
 turae scientiam detrahere, nihil aliud sensit, opinor, quam persecu-  
 tionum procellis, quibus tum agitabatur Ecclesia, martyrioque prae-  
 peditum, non absoluisse in explanandis diuinis voluminibus quod  
 egregie praestaturus videbatur, si licuisset. Nam quae scripsit, fere  
 versantur in locis communibus: vnde non pauca decerpit Hieronymus,  
 quoties in iisdem versatur; quemadmodum, vt est verisimile, e Ter-  
 tulliani libris multa mutuatus est Cyprianus. Quibus adeo delectatus  
 deditusque legitur vt, quoties ab amanuensi codicem posceret, dicere  
 solitus sit 'Da magistrum'; nihilo minus ob id ingenio tribuens, quod

Dum enim sedulo vitat lacus haereticorum contritos horretque bibere aquam de  
 cisterna aliena, incautiore mali fuga in eum errorem inciderat. Nec ille repertor  
 fuit eius erroris, sed a maioribus acceptum tuebatur, haud dubie mutaturus  
 sententiam si melioribus argumentis veritatem fuisset edoctus; quemadmodum  
 post episcopi caeteri priorem opinionem meliore sententia mutarunt. Nam  
 testimonia Scripturarum et rationes quibus illi fuerunt in eum errorem inducti,  
 eleganter refellit Augustinus in libris De baptismo contra Donatianos, prae-  
 sertim libris tertio, sexto, septimo δ. 154. alicubi α: in epistola quadam ad  
 Paulinum δ.

130. Hieronymus] c. *Lucif.* 21.

146. potius haberi] This opinion of Cyprian, which in α Erasmus is only prepared to reject for the sake of unity, he definitely treats as an error in δ: though at the same time allowing himself to express some doubt (l. 122n) as to the view of the Church.

147. Sunt et alia] Within the limits of a preface Erasmus evidently thought

it better to leave questions of dogma alone.

149. Lactantius] *Inst.* 5. 1. 27.

150. Caprianum] The reading now accepted is *Coprianum*, as from *κοπρία*. So Alciati, in 1530 (Lond. xxvii. 30, LB. 1143): but this form remains in all Erasmus' editions.

154. Hieronymus] *Ep.* 58. 10.

162. legitur] *Hier. Vir. ill.* 53.

ab Ecclesia sese submouisset, nimirum gnarus vel e sterquilinio legere aurum, et intelligens vbique bonum esse quod bonum est, ac vitans 165 propheticam imprecationem aduersus eos qui pro personarum varietate vel pro suo magis affectu de rebus iudicium variantes, quod bonum est, dicunt malum, quod dulce est, faciunt amarum.

Sed ne celsitudinem tuam pluribus morer, reuerendissime Pater, prodit Cyprianus et emendatior multo, sublati opera nostra mendis; 170 et aliquanto purior, semotis iis quae illi falso tribuebantur; et auctior, adiectis aliquot ex vetustissimis exemplaribus, quae hactenus desiderata sunt. Postremo prodit opera Frobenii nitidior simul et augustinior. Prohibet autem et feliciter, si T. R. D. nostrae fauebit industriae simul et consilio; qui laborem hunc tuo nomini dicatum 175 esse volumus, non ignari quantum ea laboret instaurandae religioni Christianae. Quorum enim auspiciis magis conueniebat restitui priscos Ecclesiae doctores, quam vestris qui nunc illorum praecipuas vices geritis? per quos potius oportuit asseri scriptorem Apostolis proximum, quam per eos qui nobis summates Apostolos reprae- 180 sentant? Quin et illud mihi probe visum est congruere, vt Cyprianus, cui primum locum tribuit sedis Apostolicae censura, tuis prodiret auspiciis, cui meritissimo inter tot ordinis Cardinalicii lumina primas tribuit Leo Pontifex, non minus cordatissimi quam maximi titulo clarus. Celebris est apud Rhomanos Hannibal Poenus, qui 185 cum Italis de Rhomano certauit imperio: hunc aequum est haberi celebriorem, qui cum Rhomanis orthodoxis felicius quam Hannibal de Rhomana certauit eloquentia. Ille cum Scipione confligit armis, hic cum Cornelio Rhomano Pontifice sic suscepisse pietatis certamen videtur, vt ambos virtutibus pares eodem die, licet anno non eodem, 190 similis martyrii palma decorarit, eloquentiae gloria vicerit Cyprianus.

Mihi vero peculiaris etiam quaedam causa fuit vt hoc, quicquid est operae, amplitudini tuae dedicarem; quandoquidem non licuit alia ratione testari animum memorem officiorum haud quaquam vulgari- 195 um, quae primum R. D. Antonius Puccius, nepos tuus, id temporis legatum agens summi Pontificis apud Eluetios, mox tua celsitudo Rhomae mihi largiter impendit: quam precor vt Christus Opt. Max. dignitati Rhomanae sedis et reipublicae Christianae iuuandae diu seruet incolumem.

Louanii, An. M.D.XIX. pridie Cal. August.

200

169. reuerendissime α: reuerende δ.

200. An. α: Anno δ: Anno a Christo nato N.

174. T. R. D. α: tua autoritas δ. Augusti β.

174. T. R. D.] tua reuerendae dominatio.  
184. primas] Pucci was now chief penitentiary; but his influence with Leo was due rather to personality than to official position (cf. Pastor vii. 83, viii. 113).

186. hunc] The point of the comparison lies in Cyprian's position as bp. of Carthage.

195. Antonius] See Epp. 855. 6-14, 860.

196. tua celsitudo] Cf. Ep. 865. 22-7.

## 7111001. TO GEORGE SPALATINUS.

Farrago p. 374.

F. p. 463: HN: Lond. xi. 24: LB. 450.

Antwerp.

7 August 1519.

[Between the Imperial Election (l. 63) and the publication of the *Farrago* (E).]D. GEORGIO SPALATINO, THEOLOGO INCOMPARABILI,  
ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS S. D.

Si quid vacat occupatissimo et si fas est theologo, audi quod rideas. Adiit me Petrus Alamirus, homo non infestius, circiter Calendas Augusti, anno m.d.xix Louanii, reddidit epistolium ex Aquisgrano missum, sed affirmans sibi Antuuerpiae esse ingentes epistolarum fasciculos a summatibus amicis de rebus haudquaquam vulgaribus. Huius interim voluptatis dies aliquot lucrum feci. Post decem ferme confero me Mechliniam, salutaturus Episcopum meum, nempe Traiectensem; nam is forte tum aderat. Ἀγαθὴ τύχη obuius est Alamirus; admoneo de epistolis, ait esse in promptu. Conducitur locus in templo, simul et tempus. Profert multis circumstantibus in templo epistolas quinque, quasdam duplici tunica vacuaque obuolutas, omnes item communi contactas inuolucro. Accipio, gaudio gestiens. Ac tum quidem contentus ex opisthographia didicisse quinam essent qui scriberent (nam aderant quibuscum erat quod agerem), ad prandium me recipio. Nam condixeram apud Ioannem Robbinum, decanum eius templi, virum prudentia singulari, summa integritate, sed ingenio perquam festiuo. Is est in quem Collegii Trilinguis praecipua cura inclinata recumbit.

Inter epulas cum animaduertirem a conuiuio desyderari rerum nouarum aliquid quo taedium discuteretur, promo meas epistolas modo redditas; resigno. Tua primum venit in manus, in qua flagitas vt tuis literis aliquando respondeam, quas, vt apparet, illustrissimi Ducis atque adeo publico Academiae nomine ad me scripseras. Eas cum non acceperissem, et tamen ad proximas Ducis tuasque literas paucis ante diebus responderissem, demiror quid tibi velis. Tandem inspicio subscriptionem, et reperio scriptam ex arce Aldenburgia, Anno millesimo quingentesimo decimoseptimo, Idibus Nouembris. Mox, vt par erat, ingens risus obortus; pro thesauro carbonem rep-

TTT. D. om. H. THEOLOGO INCOMPARABILI om. H. 3. Louanii, scripsi: . Louanii E. 7. me EN<sup>2</sup>: om. N<sup>1</sup> Lond. 8. N: aderat ἀγαθὴ τύχη, obuius E. 15. F: Robbium E, necnon in marg. 26. Aldenburgia E: Adelburgia F. 28. reperimus Lond.

3. Louanii] See p. 12.  
ex Aquisgrano] Perhaps in reply to Ep. 993.

6. decem ferme] See p. 12.

7. Episcopum] Philip of Burgundy; see Ep. 603 introd. Dr. Muller tells me that Philip was at Mechlin 7 Aug., but was back in Duurstede (Ep. 645 introd.) by 20 Aug.

meum] Erasmus' connexion with the diocese of Utrecht dated from his

earliest days (cf. iv. 8-11, Epp. 33 introd., 603. 11n); but it had been strengthened by a more recent tie (cf. Ep. 714. 11n). See also Ep. 1141. 3-7.  
15. Robbinum] See Epp. 178. 7n, 805.

18. inclinata] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12. 59.

22. literis] Ep. 501.

25. responderissem] with Epp. 979, 978; written not 'a few days' but two months and more before this incident.

perimus, pro nouis vetera. Ibi frustratus aperio literas Pirkemheri; has comperio scriptas anno millesimo quingentesimo decimo octauo, 30  
Calendis Octobrib. Maior etiam obortus risus. Resigno literas Ricardi Sbrulii Foroiuliani, Caesarii poetae; reperio scriptas anno item decimo octauo, Idibus Nouembris. Iam me suppudere coeperat. Soluo epistolam Georgii Behem, canonici Nurenbergensis, scriptam decimo-septimo die Februarii, anno decimonono. Vnus attulit omnes, et ita 35 reddidit quasi curriculo ex vltima Germania aduolasset, sed ita mundas omnes ac si eodem die scriptae fuissent. O diligentiam! Posthac igitur huic mandabis, siquid epistolarum recte seruatum velis; siquid reddi cupies, mandabis alii.

Non dubito quin optimus ille Ionas cum collega suo et literas et 40 animum nostrum vobis rettulerit. Male me habet quod nomisma quo illustrissimi Ducis imago mire repraesentabatur, mihi periit vna cum epistola. Cum enim sensissem reuerendissimum Episcopum ac Principem Leodiensem vtriusque videndi percupidum esse, neque tum forte haberem in crumena, et ille ad multam noctem tardaret 45 in intimis consiliis apud D. Margaretam, Maximiliani Caesaris filiam, postridie summo diluculo Germaniam aditurus, tradidi cuidam qui nobis vna cum Episcopo prandentibus astiterat pocillator, vt illi ostensum vtrunque mihi restitueret. Post dies complures ex medico disco et iuuenem abisse cum caeteris in Germaniam. Nec adhuc Episcopus 50 sese in aula nostram recepit e Germania reuersus. Mihi tamen magis dolet epistolae iactura quam nomismatis.

29. Pirkemheri N. 32. anno om. H. 34. Nurenbergensis H: Nurenbergensis N. 43. reuerendissimum E: R. F: om. H. 46. D. om. H.

29. Pirkemheri] Not answering Ep. 856; which Pirkheimer did not see till it was in print (cf. Ep. 1095. 5-7). Like the letters from Sbrulius and Behem, it is not extant.

32. Sbrulii] See Ep. 1159 introd. His letter was probably written from Augsburg.

34. Behem] (c. 1461-1,2 June 1520), of Nuremberg, a friend of Chr. Scheurl. He matriculated at Leipzig in the summer of 1482, and was B.A. 1484, M.A. 1488. Subsequently he was given a canonry in St. Mary's 'ad gradus' at Mainz, where c. 1509 he appears as aiding in the foundation of a new college; and thence in Sept. 1513 he was elected Provost of St. Laurence's at Nuremberg in succession to Ant. Kressen. See G. Bauch and F. Herrmann in *Arch. f. hess. Gesch.*, NF. v, 1907, pp. 54, 99; Scheurl's life of Kressen, Nuremberg, F. Peyp, 24 July 1515 (P. p. 354); and A. Würfel, *Diptycha ecclesiae Laurentianae*, Nuremberg, 1756, p. 21: also SE. 60, 66, 71, 82, 115, 176, 209, 218. Behem's praise is in HE. 64; in Jo. Schoner's *Terrae totius descriptio*, Nuremberg, J. Stuchssen, 1515, f. 32; and in the *Germaniae*

*Exegesis* of Irenicus (Ep. 877. 1n), f. 44 v°. An edition of John of Freiburg's *Summa Confessorum*, Lyons, J. Saccon, 9 Sept. 1518, is dedicated to him; and he is associated with Flamming (Ep. 867. 56n) in the dedication of Adelphus' Gregory Nazianzen. Apart from the mention here nothing is known of his correspondence with Erasmus.

40. Ionas] See Epp. 876, 963. 1n, 985.

literas] Ep. 978.

41. nomisma] See Epp. 872. 26n, 978. 6-9, 1119. 2n.

43. epistola] See Ep. 963. 1n.

44. Leodiensem] Cf. Ep. 978. 7-9.

47. Germaniam aditurus] Though not an Elector, the Bp. of Liège was sent to Frankfort in support of Charles' interest; and was one of the signatories to the letter informing Pace of the result (Brewer iii. 338; written, 28 June, from Höchst, 5 ms. w. of Frankfort, where the Elector of Mainz had a castle). Subsequently he returned from Germany with Pace (Brewer iii. 363, 392).

49. ex medico] Perhaps cf. Ep. 1038. 3n.

Ricardus Paceus, vir in vtraque literatura praecllens, qui in electione Imperatoris nomine serenissimi Angliae Regis legatione  
 55 fungebatur, reuersus isthinc dictu mirum quo pectore quaque facundia  
 mihi Federicum totum depinxit, grauitatem viri, prudentiam, integritatem, eruditionem, quid multis? omnia magno Principe digna. Is mea sententia maiore cum laude recusauit imperium quam quidam ambierunt. Et tamen nemo melius gerit principatum quam qui  
 60 pondus eius penitus perspexit. In nos magni nominis sarcina deposita est. Superest precari superos vt nobis cum primis, mox toti orbi Christiano, sit faustum ac felix.

Ad primum rumorem qui Carolo destinatum imperium nunciabat, tota haec regio sese in gratulationem et gaudium effundebat pene  
 65 immodice. Sed vt est rerum humanarum temperatura, non deerat huic voluptati comes dolor. A pestilentia nusquam tuti sumus, quae locis aliquot inclementissime saeuit. Ad haec magna manus, opinor ex his militibus quorum opera profligatus est Dux Vuirtenbergensis, obsidet nostra confinia, incertum quo duce, cuius iussu, aut quorsum  
 70 tendens: hoc vnum facile coniectant omnes ingentem vim pecuniarum flagitari. Multos adhuc terret exemplum Asperae, ante biennium internitione vastatae; iamque poenitet clementiae qua superiores exercitus dimisimus incolumes. Neque desunt qui suspicentur hunc exercitum consilio principum ali, vt sit in promptu quo populum  
 75 premant, si quid grauentur audire iussis; et iubentur vix ferenda. Sed in his fata viam inuenient: me miserae plebis miseret, et piget quorundam plusquam Turcicae tyrannidis. Postremo video rerum summam ad paucos cogi, paulatim antiquatis veteris democratiae reliquiis. Siquidem in Hispania Saraceni imperii manifesta vestigia  
 80 licet hodieque cernere; quorum tyrannidem aliquando passa est ea regio. Vtinam illud principibus queat persuaderi, neminem splendidius regnare quam qui liberis ac felicibus imperat!

Reuerendissimus cardinalis Albertus, princeps Maguntinensis, humanissimis literis nos ornauit donoque luculento cohonestauit;  
 85 quod ego vel hoc nomine pluris facio, quod et a cordatissimo Principe

68. Vuirtenbergensis *H*: Vuirtembergensis *N*. 80. hodieque *E*. Cf. Ep. 916.  
 267, *ubi sine iusta causa emendauit*. , quorum *E*: , Nam Sarracenorum *H*.  
 83. Reuerendissimus cardinalis *om. H*.

53. Paceus] After the declaration of the Emperor (Ep. 968. 6n) Pace went to Frankfort. He was there 3 July, at Mainz next day, at Cologne 8 July, at Antwerp via Diest 22 July. Thence he had returned to Mechlin by 27 July; and he left next day for Calais. See Brewer iii. 351, 353, 363, 392, 398.

Erasmus' meeting with him (cf. Epp. 1009. 52-8, 1074. 71-3, 1097. 9-12) was probably at Antwerp; see p. 12.

56. Federicum] of Saxony. For his refusal of the Empire cf. Epp. 1030. 53-64, 1119. 7-8.

67. magna manus] Cf. Brewer iii. 363, 392; mentioning troubles of this kind at Coblenz, and an army of 8,000 footmen between Cologne and Maas-

tricht.

68. Dux Vuirtenbergensis] Cf. Epp. 986. 1n, 1030. 65n.

71. Asperae] Cf. Ep. 643. 29n.

72. clementiae] Cf. Epp. 825. 3 seq., 829. 8 seq.

74. populum premant] Cf. Ep. 825. 7, 8.

76. fata] Verg. *Aen.* 3. 395, 10. 113.

82. liberis] Erasmus speaks freely on behalf of liberty and equality for the people as a protection against the oppression of tyrants, in the Panegyric and in the *Inst. principis Christiani* (LB. iv. 546F, 574D). See also the *Scarabeus* (*Adag.* 260r); and cf. Ep. 1003. 30.

84. literis] Ep. 988.

dono] See Ep. 986. 35n.

et vltro missum est. Nam quae iudicio dantur, testimonia sunt verius quam munera.

Edimus Cyprianum, emendatum non mediocri sudore, ita me Christus bene amet, deinde auctum accessione libellorum aliquot, quos ex vetustissimis codicibus adiecimus; adiunximus annotatiun- 90  
culas aliquot sed paucas, notha semouimus a gnesiis, et huius generis adeo nihil decidimus vt nonnihil etiam auctarii addiderimus.

Illustrissimo Principi me meaque studia commendabis, et sodalitatem bonis literis adiuratam meis verbis salutabis diligenter. Amat victoria curam. Bene vale. 95

Antuuerpiae, septimo Idus Augusti. Anno millesimo quingentesimo decimonono.

925, 994, 989 1002. TO NICHOLAS BERALDUS.

Farrago p. 367.

Antwerp.

F. p. 457: HN: Lond. xi. 15: LB. 327.

.9 August (1519).

[1519, because Poncher is Archbishop of Sens; cf. Ep. 924. 14n. In 1518, too, Erasmus was at Basle in August.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS NICOLAO BERALDO, VTRIVSQVE  
LITERATVRAE PROFESSORI EXIMIO, S. D.

Vt tribus epistolis tuis postremis vnica respondeam, huc est de vna fidelia plures dealbem parietes, scio me frequenter ad te scripsisse, sed ita λακωνικῶς vt tibi videar non scripsisse: ita cogit, mi Beralde, studiorum moles, quibus obruor. Si rationem ineas quid dandum sit pietatis officiis, quid somno, quo largiore vtat oportet sub 5 auroram redormiscens, quid valetudini, quid scribendis recognoscendisque libris, facile colliges quantulum supersit temporis quod τῷ ἀντεπιστέλλειν omnibus impartiam. Quanquam mea studia non eo spectant vt Thomam aut Scotum e scholis publicis explodant vete- reque possessione depellant: quod nec mearum est virium, et, si esset, 10 haud scio an sit optandum, nisi iam paratum videamus doctrinae genus aliquod hoc praestantius. Quid alii moliantur ipsi viderint; ego nunquam futurus sum huius autor tumultus. Mihi sat est si theologia magis sobrie tractetur quam antehac est tractata; et subinde petatur ex fontibus Euangelicis, quod antehac e lacunis non vndi- 15

1001. 90. adiunximus F: adiecimus E. 1002. TIT. VTRIVSQVE . . . EXIMIO  
om. H. 5. sub auroram redormiscens add. H.

1001. 88. Cyprianum] Ep. 1000.  
93. Principi] Duke Frederick.  
sodalitatem] the University of  
Wittenberg; cf. l. 23.  
94. Amat victoria] Cat. 62. 16.  
1002. 6. redormiscens] For Erasmus'  
difficulty in sleeping cf. Ep. 296. 18-19.  
8. non eo spectant] An interesting  
indication of Erasmus' views as to  
what was as yet practicable in the re-  
form of university studies. Cf. Epp.  
541. 60-145, 1003. 15-25, 1127. 12-16.

9. scholis publicis] This term may  
be elucidated from the *De Pronuntiatione*:  
'scholae quas ob omnium disciplinarum  
publicam professionem vulgus appellat  
Vniuersitates'; 'publicae scholae quas  
ambitioso vocabulo, vt dixi, nunc appel-  
lant Vniuersitates' (LB. i. 918 E, 919 C).  
Cf. also Epp. 1211. 486, 512, 1220. 23;  
and Ep. 1021. 115n.

15. lacunis] A favourite figure with  
Erasmus; cf. Epp. 384. 51, 529. 70, 805.  
33, 1007. 19, 1033. 199, 1062. 41.

quaque puris solemus haurire plerique. Neque nihil hic profecimus, quibusdam huc adductis, quibusdam etiam compulsis, ut magis serio theologi sint. Ad laudes quas largiter effundis in me, quid aliud respondeam quam te valde amanter hallucinari in Erasmo.

- 20 Atque hactenus quidem ad epistolam quam Luteciae scripseras decimo Calend. April. ; nunc ad eam quam reddidit Nesenius, amicus cum paucis fidus ac syncerus. Quid Caluo commiseris aut quid ille mihi reddiderit, non satis commemini. Certe Basileae nec vnquam me conuenit, neque quicquam ab illo redditum est. Louanii  
25 extorserat a me prolixam epistolam ad Grolierium, praefectum Insurbriae, pollicitus montes ut aiunt aureos. Vides euulgatam epistolam ; iactitat ille respondisse Grolierium, cum ipse nondum habeam certum an Grolerio reddita sit epistola. Ais breui magnis de rebus ad me venturas literas ab archiepiscopo Senonensi, Stephano Poncherio.  
30 Mihi quidem hoc ipsum erit magnum, si vir tantus animoque meo cum primis charus ad me scripserit : alioqui nihil moror magnam fortunam cum onere pari coniunctam. Mihi semper animus fuit oculi ac libertatis amans et a strepitu rerum abhorrens. Quid ad Dorpium scripseris adeo mihi non indicauit Nesenius, ut ne hoc quidem ex eo  
35 cognouerim, scripsisse te. Ante pauculos dies audiui literas illi redditas abs te per Hermannum Phrysium, nescio quid cum illo expostulantes. Si quid acerbius est, nolim, mi Beralde ; nam Dorpius si quid peccat, magis obsequendi facilitate peccat quam malicia destinata. Quod theologi partim resipiscunt partim mitescunt, non perinde  
40 meo ut ipsorum nomine gaudeo.

Iam ne nihil respondeam ad eas quas attulit Hermannus Phrysus, erat is adolescens mihi multorum literis commendatus, et quidem diligenter : quibus omnibus habeo gratiam, quod per eos contigerit nosse ingenium tot modis amabile. Nihil ille petebat praeter collo-  
45 quium et congressum ; neque maligne mei copiam feci, quatenus per studiorum occupationes licuit. Eum tibi vicissim commendo, quo tuae in illum beneuolentiae nonnihil accedat mea causa. Bene vale.

Antuerpiae. quinto Idus Augusti. [M.D.XVIII.]

29. *ELB*: Senoneñ. *F*. 36. *EN<sup>2</sup> LB*: Hermanum *HN<sup>3</sup>*. 48. *M.D.XVIII add. II*.

21. decimo] In spite of the divergence of date Erasmus clearly is referring to Ep. 925.

Nesenius] Cf. Ep. 994. 9n.

25. ad Grolierium] Ep. 831.

27. respondisse] In May 1519 Alex. Minutianus, the Milan printer, wrote to Grolier that he had found 'earum literarum exemplum quas ad Erasmus Parisiis scripseras tertio circiter abhinc anno, cum in Galliam processisti. . . . Descriptum ad te mitto': see his letter-book in the Brera at Milan, AD. xi. 31,

f. 148 v°. In spite of the discrepancy of date it seems possible that Grolier's letter found was the answer to Ep. 831 : for he was summoned to France in the summer of 1518 (*BRE*. 120; cf. *BE*.<sup>4</sup> 24).

39. resipiscunt] Cf. Ep. 993. 55.

41. Hermannus] See Ep. 903. 12n. The letter that he brought is probably Ep. 989, which must belong to this period, since it elicited Ep. 1003 : it was perhaps delivered later than Ep. 994.



## 1003. TO WILLIAM HUÉ.

Farrago p. 373.

Antwerp.

F. p. 462: HN: Lond. xi. 22: LB. 326.

9 August (1519).

[Contemporary with Ep. 1002. For Hué see Ep. 989. 9n. It appears from Ep. 1185 that this letter elicited no reply.]

ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVVS GVILHELMO HVEO, PARISIENSIS  
ECCLESIAE DECANO, S. D.

AGIT hoc miro conatu per litteras Nicolaus Beraldu, homo Gratiis  
natus, vt nos committat. Quod si certamen foret eruditionis aut  
eloquentiae, non poterat magis deterrere quam cum sic adhortatur:  
'In hac' inquit 'palaestra prouocari abs te mauult quam te prouo-  
care; vir alioqui in quouis scribendi genere non mediocriter antehac  
versatus.' Cum inter pares semper impudentior habeatur qui lacessit,  
quis diceret quicquam esse mihi vel frontis vel cordis, si Thersites  
Achillem ausim lacessere? Nunc cum nulli sua obstet fortuna con-  
ditioe, quo minus cum quamlibet magnis amore beneuolentiaque  
certet, et modestior habeatur quisquis hic lacessit prior, non veritus  
sum tuo ac Beraldi animo morem gerere. His igitur literis lacesso  
virum eruditissimum minime doctus, virum integerrimum non ad-  
modum probus, sed tamen amandi vicissitudine non cessurus nec  
posteriores laturus.

Audio non sine summa voluptate Parisiorum Academiam pristinis  
suis studiis, in quibus hactenus haud dubie primam laudem possi-  
debant ac etiamnum possident, propensis animis trium linguarum  
addere cognitionem, et ad purissimos sacrorum voluminum fontes  
subinde recurrere; neque sentire cum istis aliquot sibi parum amicis  
qui putant has litteras cum vera theologia pugnare, cum nullae magis  
omnibus honestis disciplinis famulentur. Id partim Gallici ingenii  
tribuo candori, partim eximii praesulis Stephani Poncherii sapientiae,  
viri instaurandis optimis literis ac verae pietati diuinitus facti; sed  
in primis optimo Regi Francisco. Soli nos nondum hoc nomine  
possumus nobis gratulari. Sed tamen spes est non pessima.

Faxit Christus Optimus Max. vt, quemadmodum principes passim  
fauent fouentque recta studia, ita philosophiam amplectantur dignam  
iis qui Christi vices gerunt: hoc est vt quam longissime absint a  
barbarica tyrannide, neque per ambitionem labefactent orbis Chri-  
stiani tranquillitatem simul ac libertatem; et, quando suo fauore  
prouehunt eas literas quibus principum gesta solent posteritatis me-  
moriae tradi, ea gerere studeant quae mereantur omnium saeculorum  
suffragiis celebrari.

18. addere N: amplecti E.

4. inquit] Ep. 989. 10-12.

15. Parisiorum Academiam] Lefranc  
(*Collège de France*, pp. 59-69) cites Zw.  
E.<sup>2</sup> 38 and Ep. 925. 23-9 for the studies  
of Paris University at this time; and

points out that Lascaris (Ep. 269. 51n)  
had recently arrived in France. Cf.  
Ep. 1002. 8n.

24. nos] at Louvain.

30. libertatem] Cf. Ep. 1001. 82n.

Bene vale, vir optime; quem ego posthac inter Guilhelmos illos  
35 meos fatales sum relaturus.

Antuuerpiae quinto Id. Augusti. [Anno M.D.XVIII.]

915, 987, 992 1004<sub>1011, 1015</sub> TO WILLIAM BUDAEUS

Farrago p. 359.

<Antwerp.>

F. p. 208: HN: Lond. iii. 67: LB. 494.

<c. 9 August 1519.>

[The bearer of this letter (Ep. 1011. 8n) may in all probability be identified with Hermannus Phrysius, who went to Paris in August, carrying Epp. 1002, 3. An approximate month-date may therefore be assigned: a little later than that suggested in Ep. 992 introd. Ep. 1011. 1-11 shows that this letter did not reach Budaeus till the evening of the day on which Longolius had left Paris; therefore not before 19 Aug. (Ep. 1011. 4n)—an inference which is confirmed by a letter of Budaeus to Vives, 19 Aug. 1519 (BE.<sup>4</sup> 43), complaining that Erasmus had not yet replied to Epp. 915, 992.

The Greek text here and in Ep. 1011 presents many points of divergence from modern usage, which are repeated in one edition after another; sometimes trivial variations in accent, in the use of short vowels for long or in the iota subscript, sometimes positive errors. Many of these are doubtless due to the correctors, who with inadequate knowledge of Greek revised the proofs without supervision by the author. But even the foremost scholars of the Renaissance had much less mastery of Greek than of Latin: so that some of the irregularities to be noted here are perhaps original.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS GVILHELMO BVDAEO S. D.

Και πολλοὶ παρὰ σοῦ ἀπαγγέλλουσι, φίλτατε Βουδαῖε, καὶ αὐτὸς τρίτον  
ἤδη οἶμαι γράψας ἐπιστέλλεις, οὐ μετρίως θαυμάζειν σε διὰ τί τοσοῦτον  
χρόνον σιωπῆσας οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνομαι πρὸς ἐπιστολὴν σου, τὴν οὕτω πως ἀρ-  
χομένην, Vidi enarrationem quam &. Τούτου μὲν ἴσθι οὐδὲν ἄλλο μοι  
5 αἴτιον εἶναι, εἰ μὴ ὅτι τὴν φιλίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν ὡς κτῆμα τιμιότατον περὶ  
πολλοῦ ποιῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ παντὸς ἀξίαν ἡγούμενος, μάλιστ' ἂν εὐξάμην τοιαύ-  
την δοκεῖν παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁποῖαν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀληθῶς εἶναι πάντῃ πέπεισμαι, τοῦτ'  
ἔστιν ἀκέραιόν τε καὶ εἰλικρινῆ. Οὐ γὰρ νομίζω πρὸς τὸ συνέχειν καὶ συν-  
τηρεῖν τὴν ἡμετέραν ὁμόνοιαν δεῖν πως Λοδοβίκου Βιβέως ὥσπερ κολλαστήρος  
10 ἀμφοτέρων, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐπιστολῶν χαριέστερον καὶ μετρίτερον παιζομένων,  
ἵνα καὶ ἄλλοις οὕτω φιλικῶς ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους δοκῶμεν. Τῷ γὰρ ἑμαντοῦ  
γε θυμῷ αἱ παιδιαί σου καὶ σκώμματα, ἐνίοτε μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἀκνίσσῃ ἀεὶ δὲ  
παιδείας μεστὰ, οὐδεμίαν δυσχέρειαν οὐπώποτε προσέφερον. Οὐκ ἄχθομαι

1003. 36. Anno M.D. XVIII add. H.

1004. 3. οὕτωπως ELB: οὕτως Lond.

7. F: πέπειμαι E.

10. ἐπιστολῶν E: γραμμάτων H.

1003. 34. Guilhelmos] Cf. Epp. 534. 32 seq., 957. 132-6, 1184. 2, 1191. 54, 1224. 1; also Ep. 1005. 15n.

1004. 1. τρίτον] The third letter, beside Epp. 987, 992, is not extant. But, as his words suggest, Erasmus is perhaps miscounting: cf. Ep. 1023. 2-3, and Budaeus' figures in Ep. 1011. 93-7.

3. ἐπιστολὴν] Ep. 915.

9. Βιβέως] He continued to act as a mediator between the two friends: writing to Budaeus from Louvain, 7 March (1520) (Goldast, *Phil. ep. cent.*, 1610, pp. 222-3), 'Epistolae illae ad

<Erasmum> tuae quae sunt in principio huius nouae Farraginis (Epp. 810, 896, 915), me nunc, quum eas attentius et consideratius lego relegoque, vsque adeo non aliqua in re offendunt vt mirifice me oblectent. In eandem sententiam eundemque affectum adductus est et Erasmus ipse. Quocirca si quid vnquam ad te de illis scripsi, ignosce, quaeso, mihi, qui tunc parum attentus eas percurreram'.

κολλαστήρος] This word seems to be unknown in classical Greek: but its sense is clear from Ep. 987. 3.

λοιδορίαῖς ταῖς εἰς ἐμέ, ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι τῇ φήμῃ σου, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν ἐμὴν εἶναι ἡγοῦμαι, ἐπεὶδὴ πάντα κοινοὶ ἢ φιλία. Ἀλλὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Βιβεύς, 15 δεικνύσαντος ἐμοῦ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν σου, μείζονα τρόπον ἐθαύμασεν, οὐδαμῶς, ὥς ἔφη, πιστεύσων τοιαῦτα γραφθῆναι Βουδαίῳ πρὸς Ἑρασμὸν, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς αὐτῆς αὐτογράφου ἀναγνωστῆς γενόμενος.

Καὶ δὴ εἰπέ μοι πρὸς τῶν χαρίτων, βέλτιστε Βουδαίε, τί ἀποκρίναιτ' ἂν τις πρὸς τοιαῦτα, οὐ μόνον σκαιῶς καὶ ἐχθρῶδῶς λεχθῆναι δοκοῦντα ἀλλὰ καὶ 20 ἀκαίρως καὶ ἀπροσδιονύσως, ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν; Πρῶτον δὴ ἐγεγράφειν πού ἀντεπιστέλλων σοι πάντα τῶν λόγων καὶ γνωμῶν προῖπτά σοι καὶ παρὰ χειρὸς, ὥς φαμέν, εἶναι, δηλονότι εὐδαιμονίζων σε τῆς τε εὐφυνίας καὶ μνήμης τρεῖς μακαρίας, ἥ σύ γε σπουδὴν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἴσῃν προσθήσεις. Τοῦτο εὖμενως λεχθὲν καὶ ἀπλῶς διαστρέφεις ὥσπερ εἰς ψόγον καὶ ὕβριν ῥιφθέν, 25 ἐμοῦ δῆθεν αἰνιξαμένου τὸν Βουδαῖον ἐξ ὑπομνημάτων καὶ ἐλέγχων, οὐδὲν ἄλλο, λόγιον καὶ πεπαιδευμένον εἶναι.

Πρὸς τούτοις εἰς πεδῖον τι οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ἀποτραπείς, ἐγκαλεῖς ἐμὲ φθόνου τε καὶ τυραννίδος, ὥς ἀπαξάπαντας ἐμποδίζοντα καὶ κωλύοντα μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνθεσι, ὅμως δημοσίοις ἤδη καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ γενομένοις, ὑποπιάζων 30 μετὰ τὸ τῆς ἐμῆς παροιμιολογίας περιττόν. Πάλιν αὖθις ἐρωτῶ, τί πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποκρινάμην (ἄν); Αὐτὸ φασι δείκνυσιν, ἃ ἐγὼ εἰς τὸν ἔπαινον σου γέγραφα, ταῦτά σε διεστραμμένως πρὸς ὕβριν ἐρμηνεύσθαι. Πῶς δὲ δὴ φθονερῶς καὶ βασκάνως ἐνοχλῶ τοῖς ὁπωσοῦν χρωμένοις ταῖς παροιμίαις, ὥς κωλύων ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἁλιεύειν, ὃ εἰς τοῦτο αὐτὸ τοσοῦτους πόνους ἐξαν- 35 τλήσας, ὥστε μᾶλλον κοινὰς ἅπασιν καὶ δημοσίας γενέσθαι; ἢ πῶς ἐμποδῶν εἰμι τοῖς ἐκδιδοῦσι τὰ αὐτῶν συγγράμματα, ὃ πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἐποτρύνας ἐπὶ τοιαύτην σπουδὴν καὶ ἀμύλλαν; εὖμενῆς ὢν οὐ μόνον τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπισήμοις καὶ τὸ Ἑρασμικὸν ὄνομα ἐπισκοτίζουσιν, εἴ τί γε πάντως ἐστὶν ὄνομα τοῦμόν. Πολὺν βέλτιον οὖν ἔδοξε πρὸς ταῦτα πάντως ἀποσιωπᾶν, 40 ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἔπος ἀποκρινόμενον μάτην ἐρεθίζειν ἴσως καὶ ἐξοργίζειν τὸν φίλον, ἢ οὐδὲν πρὸς ἔπος ἀποκρινόμενον γέλωτα παρέχειν τοῖς φιλοσκώμμοσι, τάχα κεν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ Δημονάκτους εἰς ἡμᾶς καταβολισομένους, ὃ μὲν τὸν τράγον ἀμέλγει, ὃ δὲ τὸ κόσκινον ὑποτίθησι.

Οἶμαι γὰρ ἐλάχιστον διαφέρειν τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πόσας ἐβδομάδας ἢ μυριάδας 45 ἐτῶν μεμελέτηκα τὰ νῦν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπαλλήλως, ὥς φῆς, ἐκδιδόμενα· εἰ καὶ σαφὲς καὶ φανερόν ἐστι τοῖς ἐμοῖς πλησιάζουσιν καὶ οἰκοθεν ἐγνωκόσι τὰμά, ὅτι πάνν εἰς ὑπέρτερον μέρος ἀμαρτάνω, πάντα σχεδὸν ἀμελητὶ καὶ αὐτοσχεδιασμένως ἐκχέων μᾶλλον ἢ τίκτων, ἄμορφα ἔτι καὶ ἀτελῆ ὄντα, ἡγουν λεόντων καὶ ἄρκτων δίκην. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ μέρει οὐκ ἐγὼ παιδευτότερος ἀξίῳ νομίζεσθαι, 50 ἀλλὰ σέ φημι εὐτυχέστερον ἅμα καὶ φρονιμότερον εἶναι. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἴσως πλείονά σου γράφω, ἀλλὰ καὶ χείρονα, αὐτὸς θάσσον ἐκτίκτω, ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τεθνηξόμενα· ὅπου σὺ βραδύνη μὲν ἐν τῷ τίκτειν, ἀλλὰ τίκτεῖς ἀθάνατα.

19. ἀποκρίναιτ' *scripsi*: ἀποκρίνετ' *E*. 23. φαμέν *E*: φασιν *H*. 24. προσ-  
θήσεις *scripsi*: προσεθήσεις *E*. 30. ὑποπιάζων *Lond*. 32. ἀποκρινάμην  
*scripsi*: ἀπεκρινάμην *E*. ἂν *addidi*; *cf. v. 19*. 34. βασκαίνως *E*, *sicut in Ep. 915*. 50.  
ὁπωσοῦν *H*: ὁποσοῦν *EN*. 37. αὐτῶν *E*: αὐτῶν *N*. 39. εἰτιγε *F*: εἰπιγε *E*,  
*et in marg.* ἐπείγε. 46. φῆς *E*: φῆς *F*. 49. ἄμορφα *scripsi*: ἀφορμα *E*.  
λεόντων καὶ *E*: τῶν λεόντων καὶ τῶν *H*.

21. ἐγεγράφειν] *Ep. 906. 29 seq.*

25. διαστρέφεις] *Ep. 915. 14-19.*

26. ἐξ ὑπομνημάτων] *Cf. Ep. 906. 98-100.*

28. ἐγκαλεῖς] *Ep. 915. 22 seq.*

34. ἐνοχλῶ] *Cf. Ep. 915. 50.*

39. ἐπισκοτίζουσιν] *Cf. Ep. 1107. 8n.*

43. Δημονάκτους] *Luc. Vita Demon. § 28:*  
*cf. Adag. 251.*

45. ἐβδομάδας] *Cf. Ep. 915. 58, 9.*

49. ἐκχέων] *Cf. Ep. 935. 33.*

Περὶ τούτων μὲν τοσαῦτα· περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἱερωνύμου καὶ Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν, τοῦ  
 55 μνημικοῦ ἀμαρτήματος συγγνώμην καὶ δίδωμι ἀσμένως καὶ ἐκὼν ἀποδέχομαι,  
 κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, ἴσον ἴσῳ ἐπιφέροντός σου· εἰ καὶ κλοπῆς γένει τινὶ  
 θανάσιμος ἦν ἐκδίκησις παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ νῦν, οὐδ' ἀγνοεῖς, εὖ  
 οἶδ' ὅτι πάντα κριτὴν ἐσχηματισμένως Ἀρεοπαγίτην καλεῖσθαι.

Τί γε δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα πῶς οὐ πικρῶς λεχθέντα δόξεται, οὐ μόνον ἀτόπως ;  
 60 “Εἴ τινα” φῆς “ἐν τοῖς ἑμοῖς πρὸς Τούνσταλλον γράμμασιν ἀτόπως καὶ οὐκ  
 ἐν καιρῷ λεχθῆναι δοκεῖ, (ἔξεστι) σοι, τῷ τῶν ἀπάντων κριτῇ τε καὶ διαιτητῇ,  
 ἐμοῦγε ἐπιτρέψαντος, ἀλλάξαι ταῦτα καὶ ἐπανορθῶσαι.” τοῦτο δηλονότι  
 ὑπαινίττων, ἅτινα ἐκεῖ ἐπαινεῖς μου, οὐ σπουδῇ σοι οὐδ' ἐκ θυμοῦ γεγράφθαι·  
 εἰ καὶ τὸ ἐκείνο ἐγκώμιον οὐκ ἔλαθεν ἐμὲ μυκτῆρας καὶ στροφὰς ἔχον. Ἀλλ'  
 65 ἵνα δὴ ἀνυποκρίτως λέξωμαι, ἐπιφανέστατε Βουδαῖε, ὥσπερ ἡδομαι ἐπαινούν-  
 μενος παρ' ἀνδρὸς ἐπαίνων ἀξίου, οὕτω στερηθεῖς πῶς τῶν ἐγκωμίων σου οὐκ  
 ἂν ἀδημονήσαιμι οὐδὲ σχετλιάσαιμι. Διὸ εἰ ταύτης εὐεργεσίας ἢ μᾶλλον  
 χρηστότητος μετάνοιά σε εἴληφεν, οὐ μέλλοιμι ἂν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν ὅλην δωρεάν.  
 Ὅρα δὲ δὴ ὡς ἀδίκως, ὅτι διὰ τὴν μετριότητα οὐκ ἀπεδεξάμην τὰ παρὰ σοῦ  
 70 ἐγκώμια, τοῦτο σὺ ὄγκον καὶ δυσκολίαν ἐρμηνεύῃ, κελεύσας κατενεγκεῖν ἑμαν-  
 τόν, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἐκ τοῦ κολοφώνου ἐν ᾧ σὺ δῆθεν ἐσθήκεις ἐμέ. Καὶ τίς ποτε  
 ἀγανακτεῖ παραιτουμένῳ, ὅταν λίαν καὶ ἐπιφθόνως ἐπαινεθῇ; Τίς οὐ μᾶλλον  
 τὴν σωφροσύνην ἀγαπᾷ τοῦ τὰ διδόμενα οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκοντος; Εἴτα γυνὸς  
 Ἑρασμος, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο, εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν ἀφικνήσομαι, εἰ σὺ τῶν ἐπαίνων  
 75 σου κόσμον ἀφελῆς.

Ἐνταῦθα δὲ φῆς οὐκ οἶδα τί ὑπάρξει ἐν τοῖς γράμμασί σου ὃ τι ἐγὼ μολί-  
 βδινος ὅλος οὐ συνήκα. Τί τοῦτο ἦν οὐ δύναμαι εἰκάζειν, ἀλλὰ μέμνημαί σε  
 λόγοις πάνυ σαφέσι γεγραφέναι δεδοχθαι σοι παύσασθαι τοῦ πράγματος,  
 ἀμφοτέρων ἕνεκα, σοῦ τε καὶ ἐμοῦ. Τοῦτό γε καὶ ὁ Δαῦδος ὁ ἐκ τῆς κωμωδίας  
 80 συνέσειεν ἂν, οἶμαι. Οὐδ' ἐτι τέλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀχαριστίας, κακίστου πάντων  
 ἐγκλήματος, δίκην μοι γράφεις· νῆ τὸν Δία, ὅτι πρὸς τὰ οὕτως ἀσαφῶς ἐπηγ-  
 γελμένα καί, ὡς τύπῳ εἰπεῖν, κατ' ὄναρ μόνον ἀποδειχθέντα οὐδὲν σαφές  
 ἀπεκρίθην, ὁφείλων μεταξὺ καὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια. Ἐξεστίν, οἶμαι, ἐπιτρεψόντων  
 ὑμῶν τῆς παρουσίας τύχης, εἰ οὕτως δοκεῖ, ἀγαπᾶν, ὅποια τις οὖν ὑπάρχει ἢ  
 85 ὑπάρξει· μάλιστα ὅπου ὃ τι πράττετε, ὥσπερ πράττετε ἐμοῦ τὴν εὐμένειαν τὴν  
 ὑμετέραν ἀποδεχομένου, οὕτως οὐπώποτε δεηθέντος ἐμοῦ ἢ ἀντιβολήσαντος  
 πράττετε. Ὅμως γε μέμνημαι διὰ γραμμάτων νοθεύσας ἵνα μὴ ἄγαν σπου-  
 δάσης τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα· ὑποσημαίνων ὅτι ἐμοὶ οὐ λίαν αὐτοῦ μέλει. Καὶ  
 διὰ τί μετὰ ταῦτα ἀγανακτεῖς μοι;

90 Καὶ τούτων ἐτι πικρότερα ἔστιν ἃ ἐπιφέρεις περὶ τοῦ ἀρουραίου μυός, περὶ

54. Ἱερωνύμου H. 60. φῆς E: φῆς F. 61. ἔξεστι addidi; cf. v. 83.  
 62. καὶ E: δὲ F. 63. F: αἵτινα E. 66. N: στερηθηῖς E. 67. εἰ H: ἦν E.  
 72. ἐπηνήθη E: ἐπηνήθη F. 75. F Lond.: ἀφελῆς EH. 76. H: ἐνθαῦτα E.  
 φῆς E: φῆς F. ὑπάρξει scripsi: ὑπῆρξαι E. 80. συνέσειεν E. ἂν add. F.  
 84. ὑμῶν EN<sup>2</sup>: ἡμῶν HN<sup>3</sup>. 85. F: ὑπάρξει E. 90. F: τούτων E.

54. Ἱερωνύμου] Cf. Ep. 915. 74 seq.  
 56. παροιμίαν] *Adag.* 35 and 3567.  
 60. Εἴ τινα] Ep. 915. 84 seq.  
 70. ἐρμηνεύῃ] Ep. 915. 88-92.  
 76. φῆς] Ep. 915. 97 seq.  
 78. γεγραφέναι] Cf. Epp. 568. 53-5,  
 744. 37n.

80. συνέσειεν] The form given in all  
 the printed editions is comparable with  
 a 'forma barbara', *συνήσας*, cited by  
 Stephanus. But as confusions between

long and short vowels are often due to  
 the compositor, it seems likely here  
 that Erasmus may have been thinking  
 of such Homeric forms (cf. l. 104) as  
*ἀνέσαιμι* (*Il.* 14. 209). Cf., however,  
 l. 24.

ἀχαριστίας] Cf. Ep. 915. 94-6.  
 83. εὐαγγέλια] Cf. Ep. 915. 96-7.  
 87. γραμμάτων] Not extant; cf. Ep.  
 778. 4-7.  
 90. ἃ ἐπιφέρεις] Ep. 915. 100 seq.

χολῆς τῆς ὑπὲρ τὸ λίαν μοι περισσευούσης, καὶ τάχα τεθνηξομένῳ, εἰ μὴ σοῦ τὴν ἀλεξίκακον κάθαρσιν εἰς ἔμετον παρέξοντος. Τούτοις ὅμοιον καὶ ἐκείνο ὁ γράφεις, “οὕτως ἐθιζόμενος δῆπουθεν συμπαίζειν ἐμοί”· ὡς ἀτόπου ὄντος τοῦ τὸν Ἑρασμον ἀντιπαίζειν Βουδαίῳ, ἢ ὡς ἐγὼ οὐ τολμήσαιμι ἂν ἀντιμύζειν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰθισμένος. Τί ἄλλο, πρὸς τῶν μουσῶν, λέξειεν βασιλεὺς 95 τις ἢ σατράπης πρὸς δοῦλον ἀλώνητον; Καὶ ταῦτα σὺ γράφεις φίλος πρὸς φίλον, ταῦτα γράφεις αὐτὸς προκαλέσας εἰς τοῦτο πεδῖον· ταῦτα γράφεις ὁ φιλοπαίγμων καὶ φιλοσκώμμων καὶ μηδαμῶς δυσχεραίνων τὰ ὅπως οὖν ἀντισκωπτόμενα, ταῦτα γράφεις ὁ πειρόκαλος τῶν τε χαρίτων μύστης.

Τοιαῦτα δὴ παίξας καὶ λιθοβολήσας εἰς ἐμέ, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπειλὰς μετα- 100 βαίνεις, λόγοις μάλα μελιχίους θέλγων ἐμὴν κεφαλὴν, οὕτως δὲ γράφεις· “Εἰ ὁμοίως ἔτι μανίας ὁ δαίμων ὁ σὸς κακὸς ἄγει σε καὶ φέρει, ἔα, στρέψαι τὸ τοῦ καλάμου ἄκρον καὶ τοῦ βέλους ἀκμὴν εἰς τὸν μονόγραμμον θεολόγον πολλὰ κακὰ σοὶ βυσσοδομεύοντα, ὡς Ὀμηρικῶς λέξω, κἀγὼ ἐν τῷ μέρει ἕξω βελῶν φασὶ καθήμενος θεάσομαι σε ἐκείνῳ ἀνταγωνιζόμενον, ἀπολαύσων 105 δηλονότι φίλος φίλου κακῶν”.

Πολλὰ σπουδῇ ἔω λέγειν, ἐν οἷς ἔστιν ἃ γράφεις περὶ τοῦ Δελοίνου καὶ τοῦ Ρουζαίου. Οὐχ ὁρῶ διὰ τί φιλοκόλακα ποιεῖς ἐμὲ τὸν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλοις ἐλευθέρους χαίροντα. Οὐ πρέπει μὲν τῇ φιλίᾳ τὸ κολακεύειν, ἦττον δὲ πρέπει τῷ φίλῳ λοιδορίαις ἐντρυφᾶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς μόνον ἐμὲ τοιαῦτα 110 παίξεις, ἢ φιλεῖς μάλα οἰκείως ἢ ἑτερόν τι εἶναι δόξεται. Πρὸς δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις καὶ τῆς συκοφαντίας ἐγκλημά μοι εἰσενέγκεις, ὅτι τόπον τινὰ ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων σου παρατιθεῖς πού το “φῆς” ἔλεξα ἀντὶ τοῦ “φήσειας ἂν”· ὡς δῆθεν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις πολὺ διαφέροντος ἐν τῇ λογοποιίᾳ πότερον φήσειεν τις “λέγεις τοῦτο” ἢ “λέξεις ἂν τοῦτο”. Αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐσήμα(ι)νον, τὸν λόγον δὲ 115 ἐμοὶ προσποιεῖς, οὐχ ἀρμόζειν ἐμοί.

Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀναγινώσκων οὐδαμῶς δυσχεραίνω, πάντα εὖ τιθέμενος τὰ ἀπὸ φίλου· φοβοῦμαι δὲ μή τις ἀπειρόκαλος καὶ ἦττον οἰκείος τῷ τῶν χαρίτων χορῷ καὶ ἄλλῃ τρέπων τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ Φραγκικῶς πεπαιγμένα, χεῖρονα ἢ ἔγωγε (ἂν) θέλωμι περὶ Βουδαίου λάβῃ γνώμην. 120 Αὐτὸς γὰρ οὔτε φοβοῦμαι τι οὔτε κινδυνεύομαι. Οὐκοῦν ἐμοί, ὦ ἀνδρῶν λογιότατε, βέλτιστον ἔσεσθαι δοκεῖ, εἰ ταῦτα στροφώδῃ καὶ μιξόχολα παίγνια πάντως ἔασαντες, ταῖς μουσαῖς καὶ ταῖς χάρισι τῇ τε φιλίᾳ καὶ φιλολογίᾳ πρέποντα εἰς τὸ ὕστερον γράψωμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀμνηστία ἔστω τῶν ἀπάντων πρὸ τούτου ὅπως οὖν εἰρημένων καὶ πεποιημένων. ἔρρωσο. 125

Non admodum mihi placuit quod in vna quapiam epistola tua videris literarum causam velle deserere, posteaquam in aulam es cooptatus. Imo mea sententia nunc maxime patrocinandum est iis

91. F Lond. : περισσευούσης E : περισσευούσεις N<sup>3</sup>. 92. παρέξοντος E. 94. ἂν add. F. 98. H : ὅπως οὖν E. 102. El scripsi, cf. v. 67 : ἦν E. 110. λοιδορίαις E ; sed cf. v. 14. 111. δόξεται E, sicut in v. 59 : δοκῆσεται F Corrīg. 112. συκοφαντίας E. 113. φῆς E. 115. ἐσήμανον E : εὔημανον Lond. 119. ἄλλῃ E. 120. ἂν addidi : cf. vv. 80, 94. 124. γράψωμεν H.

93. γράφεις] Ep. 915. 109.  
101. γράφεις] Ep. 915. 113-18.  
103. θεολόγον] Lee.  
104. Ὀμηρικῶς] Od. 17. 66.  
108. φιλοκόλακα] Ep. 915. 119, 20.  
112. συκοφαντίας] Cf. Ep. 915. 130 seq.  
126. epistola] Probably a letter to Lupset (BE.<sup>4</sup> 36 : (c. March fin. 1519)) prefixed to Linaere's *Methodus Medendi*,

Paris, June 1519 (Ep. 785. 17n) ; in which Budaeus excuses himself for making only summary examination of Linaere's translation, on the ground that he is busy with preparations for departure : no doubt, as M. Delaruelle points out, on his mission to Montpellier (Ep. 924. 18n), the course of which is indicated by BE.<sup>4</sup> 28-32.

literis quas tu per omnem vitam et adamasti vehementissime, et  
 130 coluisti sic vt vix alius diligentius, et fortissime defendisti. Dabit  
 hoc aulae dignitas, vt nunc magis prodesse queas honestissimis  
 studiis, praesertim merenti sub eo Principe, cui cum primis videtur  
 esse studio vt hoc studiorum genus quam honestissimum reddat :  
 135 fortasse nec ocium negabitur absoluendis eruditissimis luebratio-  
 nibus quas olim instituisti. An tu mediocre praesidium existimas  
 paratum nostris studiis, posteaquam Morus et Ricardus Paceus regio  
 famulatio sunt ascripti? Thomas Linacrus ocium ad aedenda quae  
 nunc partim vides aedita, quod domi desyderabat, in aula repperit.  
 140 Permagni refert in quam aulam immigres: nunc video tales vt prae  
 his ipsae etiam scholae frigeant. Tu modo fac paulisper assuescas,  
 non dubito quin mox futurum sit vt fatearis tibi calcar additum ad  
 culturam Musarum. Neque multum negotii fuerit vt coalescas: iis  
 lutandum est quos tenues et obscuros accipit aula. Tu et clarus  
 imaginibus et re lauta et literarum stemmatis nobilissimus in aulam  
 145 venis, nec venis nisi rogatus ac pertractus. Quod si nobis esset aula  
 similis, non dubitarem me illi committere, quamlibet reclamante  
 valetudine atque etiam aetate. Rursum vale, Budaee charissime.  
 Vt Deloino me excuses qui non rescripserim, etiam atque etiam te  
 rogo. Rusaao respondi cum legatus ageret apud Leodios.

## 1005 TO PETER ZUTPENIUS.

Farrago p. 372.

F. p. 461: HN: Lond. xi. 21: LB. 451.

Antwerp.

10 August 1519.

[The date is confirmed by the reference to Ferdinand (l. 47).

Peter Zutpenius of Cassel, NE. of St. Omer (?), is described in the index to H as  
 'oeconomus principis Adolphi Veriani'. It appears from Ep. 952. 54-6 as if in  
 April 1519 Erasmus had only recently made his acquaintance. Barland's epitome  
 of the *Adagia* (Ep. 1204) is dedicated to him with a preface from Louvain,  
 4 June (1521), which describes him as 'M. Petrus Cassiletanus, iureconsultus  
 et illustri Veriensium principi Adolpho a consiliis', and sends greetings to him  
 from Dorp (Ep. 304), 'iam inde a puero tibi amicus'. Barland had been hos-  
 pitably received by him when on a visit to Veere in April 1521.

The name Zutpenius, here and in Ep. 952, is a later addition, made in H  
 (1529). It is presumably a surname derived from a place, accompanied in a  
 later generation by a second place-designation. Similarly John Butzbach styles  
 himself Piemontanus because his father lived at Miltenberg on the Main; but  
 the family had evidently come earlier from Butzbach, N. of Nauheim.]

1004. 138. repperit *EN*<sup>3</sup>: reperit *N*<sup>2</sup> *Lond*.149. Ruzeo *Lond*.: Rusaao *LB*.143. accipit *E*: recipit *N*.1005. TIT. ZUTPENIO *add. H*.

136. regio famulatio] Cf. Epp. 999.  
 221n, 1005. 31-3.

138. aedita] Cf. l. 126n.

145. nobis] in the Netherlands. Epp.  
 948. 195, 969. 16, 970. 13-14, 1007. 107,  
 1094. 41, show how keenly Erasmus felt  
 Charles' absence. For his view of the  
 Court see Epp. 1028. 2-3, 1148. 9-11,  
 1220. 44-8.

146. me illi committere] For this  
 change of outlook as compared with the

determination expressed in Ep. 809.  
 127 seq., cf. Epp. 964 introd., 1005.

24-7, 1032. 17-23; and see Ep. 994. 11n.

148. Deloino] Cf. Ep. 915. 120-2. He  
 answered Ep. 535 in the course of 1517,  
 but retained his letter for some time  
 (Ep. 744. 53-4). By 22 Feb. 1518 it  
 appears that Erasmus had received it  
 (Ep. 778. 31-3); so that it was no doubt  
 dispatched with Ep. 744.

149. respondi] Ep. 928.

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS PETRO ZVTPENIO CASSILETANO S. D.

VIDEO plerosque mortales in hac esse persuasione, vt felicitatis aut infelicitatis causas e supernis corporibus petant. Ego vero non arbitror vllum sydus affulgere cuiquam felicius quam syncerum ac tuo accommodum ingenio amicum; contra, nullum aduersius ac funestius quam fucatum et insyncerum sodalem. Proinde stellas 5 obseruent alii, si lubet; ego in terris quaerendum existimo quod nos felices aut infelices reddat. Caeteri negocium auspicaturi anxii consyderant qua figura Venus, Iupiter et Mercurius sese contueantur. Ego satius esse duco perpendere quibuscum agas. Sunt enim quidam sibi tantum prosperi, caeteris omnibus inauspicati. Itaque 10 vix vlllo sermone consequi queam, Petre mortalium candidissime, quam opimum lucrum mihi putem obtigisse, cum te nactus sum amicum; quo non alium optare poteram magis ad naturam moresque meos factum sculptumque.

Antehac abunde fortunatus mihi videbar vnico Petro Aegidio, 15 quem amiculum ego nolim cum vlllo Pylade commutare. Eam felicitatem mihi congeminavit accessio tui, adeo similis illi vt dubitem vtrum vtri praeferam. Nam omitto fortunam satis amplam, omitto literaturam haudquaquam vulgarem, omitto vim ingenii ad omnia negocia mirum in modum versatilis: qui pectoris candor, 20 quae morum simplicitas, quae consuetudinis suauitas, quae modestia, quae fides, quae in officiis praestandis promptitudo. Vbi sunt interim qui temporum horum mores vt deploratos damnare solent, quando tales animas habent aulae principum? Olim non ferebam ingenia literis ac Gratiis nata pertrahi in regum familias: nunc 25 video virtuti rectisque studiis nusquam esse plus honoris quam apud principes. Omnibus itaque qui studiorum sacra colunt, expedit tui similes aliquot in aulis versari, ne non sint qui summates viros ad fauendum literis ac probitati suis dictis inflamment, qui ad benignitatem stimulos addant, qui submoneant quibus artibus nunquam 30 intermoriturum honestae famae decus paretur. Quanto studiorum omnium bono in regia Britannica viuere credis Thomam Morum, Thomam Linacrum et Ricardum Paceum? in Gallia Guilhelmum Budaeum? quorum felicitati gratulandum quod in tales principes inciderint, officio habenda gratia si tales reddunt. 35

Scio tibi nihil esse dulcius ocio literario, nec deesse in aula, praeter negociorum tumultum, quod offendat animi tui puritatem: quae omnia hoc moderatius ferre debes, quod sub optimo principe Adolpho meres, qui fauorem erga literas ac viros virtutibus ornatos, a teneris vsque vnguiculis olim haustum e Batto praeceptore, in 40 hanc vsque aetatem retinet; qui nos quoque non ob aliud diligit ac tuetur, nisi quod persuasum habet his rebus praeditum esse me a quibus longissime absum. Is intelligens quanti referat primam aetatem principum optimo viro formandam committi, filiolum suum

15. Aegidio] The collocation of Zutpenius with Gilles is probably based on the identity of Christian name: cf. Ep. 1003. 34n.

23. deploratos] Cf. Ep. 994. 21.

24. non ferebam] Cf. Ep. 1004. 146n.

32. regia Britannica] Cf. Ep. 999. 92n.

39. Adolpho] See Epp. 93 introd., 932. 47.

40. Batto] See Ep. 35 introd.

44. filiolum] Either Adolphus' eldest son, Philip, born 1 Oct. 1512, or

45 Ioanni Borsalo in gremium tradidit; viro, vt compendio virtutes innumeras complectar, Batti mei simillimo. Talis erat admouendus Ferdinando nostro: qua quidem in re demiror cessari a nobis, Midis, opinor, quibusdam id agentibus, quibus expedit principes ex sese nihil sapere. Ac vereor ne quis interim ingerat sese, qui prae-  
50 ceptorem professus aucupem sacerdotiorum agat, ingenti totius populi malo. Ambiunt hanc prouinciam theologi, et theologum esse decet qui principem instituat; sed vere theologum, nec auariciae nec ambitionis morbo corruptum. Bene vale.

Antuerpiae, Quarto idus Augusti. ANNO M.D.XIX.

# 1006. TO JACOB HOCHSTRAT.

Farrago p. 389.

Antwerp.

F. p. 116: HN: Lond. xvi. 19: LB. 452.

11 August 1519.

[Since Sept. 1514 (RE. 192) Hochstrat (Ep. 290. 10n) had been at Rome engaged in the affair of Reuchlin; but in the summer of 1517 he had recently returned (Ep. 615. 10, 11), the case having come to a standstill (cf. Ep. 622. 32n). Already in May 1517 he had threatened 'persecution' of Erasmus for the *Novum Instrumentum* (HE. 51, § 7); and some report of this had perhaps reached Erasmus' ears. They had never met (Ep. 856. 31-2); but Erasmus knew enough of Hochstrat's part in harassing Reuchlin to have been tempted often to intervene with a protest (Ep. 856. 27-45), and to have strong feelings against him (Ep. 877. 16-31). At length when the *Destructio Cabale* appeared (l. 74n), publicly attacking the views on divorce expressed in the *Novum Instrumentum*, 1516, Erasmus felt compelled to reply with what he considered an *apologia*, though of a friendly character (cf. Ep. 1022. 14-17), rather than a letter (cf. p. 10), defending himself anew, although he had already stated his opinions more definitely (cf. l. 203n). In replying to Lee, *Annot.* 12 (LB. ix. 138 E), Erasmus refers to this letter as containing his views on divorce.

By the middle of Oct. 1519 Erasmus had had no answer to this letter. Feeling that there was still reason to complain of Hochstrat's attitude (cf. Epp. 1030. 16n, 1040. 2-6), he made another attempt to approach him through Gratius (Ep. 1022). A passage in the *Spongia* (cf. Ep. 1078. 38n) shows that these negotiations were successful. Later on they had two interviews at Louvain, perhaps in Jan. 1520 after the death of Atensis; for in explaining his action Hochstrat sheltered himself behind Atensis' authority. After that some degree of intimacy appears to have arisen between them; for in Ep. 1342. 614-15 Erasmus speaks of Hochstrat as 'vetus meus, si non familiaris, certe amicus'.

For the position of this letter in F see p. 9.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS EXIMIO P. IACOBO HOOCHSTRATO,  
THEOLOGO, S. D.

ANTEHAC legenti mihi libellos quibus tumultus inter R.P.T. et Cap-  
nionem continetur, saepenumero suasit vt ad te scriberem, primum

1006. TIT. EXIMIO P. om. H. 1. R. P. T. E: te H. 2. suasit F: mihi suasit E.

Maximilian, the second, born 28 July 1514; see J. Ermerins, *Zeeuwsche Oudheden*, iii (1786), p. 132. Probably Maximilian, for Becar was afterwards tutor to him at Louvain, 1522-7, and describes him then as 'primogenitus', with no mention of having had an elder brother in his hands (EE. 11, 61, 73, 77); but

I cannot discover at what date Philip died.

45. Borsalo] John Becar of Borselen: see Epp. 291, 737. 8n, and for his present position Ep. 932.

47. Ferdinando] See Ep. 917 introd.

1006. 1. R. P. T.] reuerendam paternitatem tuam.



Christiana charitas, deinde studiorum communium professio, ad haec peculiaris quidam fauor quo iam olim inde a puero vestrum prosequor ordinem, postremo non vulgaris animi propensio erga te, 5 quem audio moribus esse commodis ac ciuilibus. Nam literarum nostrarum audissimum esse te vel tua scripta palam clamitant, quae cum nusquam non affectent politiem ac venerem orationis, dubitari non potest quid de bonis literis sentias. Neque enim refert quam feliciter hoc agas; imo cum palam sit te sedulo ac pene dixerim anxie affe- 10 ctare, quo minus succedit, hoc magis intelligimus animi tui propensissimum studium; alioqui sermonis ornamenta videri poterant vltro nolentem secuta.

Haec, inquam, mihi subiecerunt stimulos vt T. P. admonerem quae et ad tuam dignitatem et ad ordinis negotium et ad reipublicae Chri- 15 stianae tranquillitatem pertinere videbantur; sed rursus hinc deteruit non incompertum mihi mortalium ingenium, quorum admodum paucos esse video quibus feliciter cedat quamuis amica admonitio. Sacra quidem res est consilium, sed eadem periculosa. Vetus est,

Consultum male consultori pessima res est.

20

At ea nunc est morum corruptela vt bonum etiam ac verum consilium saepe damno sit bene consulenti. Hunc tamen scrupulum exemit animo meo R. P. Suffraganeus Coloniensis, vir incredibili morum comitate suauitateque praeditus. Quod si is mihi tui simulachrum bona fide depinxit, non accipies in malam partem, quae 25 nos optimo atque amantissimo pectore nunc admonebimus.

Iam olim Capnionis Apologiam magno cum animi dolore legeramus, licet carptim; nec eum dolorem dissimulauius, scriptis ad Capnionem literis, quod tam manifestis conuiciis tamque impotenter in aduersarios debaccharetur, qualescunque essent; nam ii mihi 30 tum non minus erant ignoti quam Capnion ipse. Idem deplorabam apud amicos; inter quos erant qui Capnioni studentes sic placare conarentur aegritudinem animi mei, vt dicerent inuidiam omnem in eos conferendam qui, cum debuissent esse modestiae Christianaeque lenitatis exemplum, tam virulentis tamque atrocibus insecta- 35 tionibus priores lacessissent: alioqui Capnionis ingenio nihil esse

14. T. P. E: te H.

23. R. P. E: episcopus H.

4. prosequor ordinem] Though Erasmus frequently writes of Dominicans both singly and collectively, with great bitterness (cf. Epp. 597. 56-8, 694. 26-8, 784. 50, 808. 13 seq., 830. 7-8, 872. 18-19, 948. 104, 145, 221, 1033. 203-4, 249-52, 1166. 25 seq., 1196), he nevertheless on occasions expresses genuine respect for the Order (cf. Epp. 694. 32-3, 808. 9-12, 948. 146-7, 993. 74-7, 1173. 127-8, 1192. 74) on account of its comparative freedom from formalism (cf. Ep. 1196). For friendly relations with individuals see Epp. 718. 6-7, 1149-52.

18. amica admonitio] Cf. Ep. 1076. 6n.

19. Sacra] Cf. *Adag.* 1047.

20. Consultum] Cf. Gell. 4. 5. The verse here is Erasmus' own translation, in *Adag.* 114, of Hes. *Op.* 264.

23. Coloniensis] Probably Wichwael, who is mentioned with commendation in Ep. 413. 16, 7. But as he died in 1519, it is possible that his successor, Quirinus Wilich, is meant.

27. Apologiam] Cf. Ep. 290. 6n: Böcking xiii.

29. literis] Ep. 300. 21-4.

31. deplorabam] For Erasmus' attitude in the matter cf. Epp. 636. 26-34, 951. 41-3.

32. Capnioni studentes] Cf. Ep. 747.

placidius ac mitius. Dubitanti credere mox ingesserunt scripta Pepericorni, scripta Gratii, scripta M. N. Arnoldi Tongrensis, aliaque quae nunc non necesse est commemorare. De moribus tuis varia-  
 40 bant sententiae. Erant qui praedicarent ipsum te moribus esse satis commodis sed quorundam instinctibus inflammari: rursus bona pars asseuerabat tibi nullos esse magis in consilio quam ambitionem et auaritiam, quod et plurimi fieri velles ob plusquam tyrannicam ingenii ferocitatem, et ob inexplebilem habendi famem Iudaeorum  
 45 facultatibus inhiare. Mihi sane semper hic mos fuit, vt in meliorem partem credulitate vergere mallet quam in deteriorem: ac tum quidem non potui refellere omnia, lenii tamen pro viribus sermonum atrocitatem.

Aliquanto post euenit vt et acta legerem totius causae, et tuus  
 50 libellus exiret in manus hominum, quo Benigni dialogum refellis; quem ipsum tamen non nisi carptim legi. Vis dicam quomodo me affecerit? Eloquar inuitus sed verissime. Melius senseram de R. P. T. priusquam te tibi patrocinantem legissem. Quoties illud mecum inter legendum mussitabam, Vtinam hic se meis oculis  
 55 cerneret! Non excutiam caetera quae meum animum illic offenderint, neque de tota causa quicquam attingo; neque enim mea refert. Certe plurimis in locis animi lenitatem moderationemque desyderabam, dignam homine Christiano, dignam theologo, dignam Praedicatore. Quoties indolui, quoties erubui tuo nomine, priusquam  
 60 praefationem illam perlegerem! Quid hic mecum cogitarim, quid aestuarim, quid stomachatus sim, placabilius opinor in sinum tuum effundere, si colloquendi copia daretur.

Ante dies vero non ita multos casu nactus sum in aliena bibliotheca iacentem libellum quendam, habentem epistolas aliquot magna  
 65 libertate stomachantes in R. P. T.: prima, ni fallor, erat Capnionis, altera clarissimi Comitis a Noua aquila, tertia Hermannii Buschii, quarta Hutteni. Harum omnium amarulentiam nullo pacto ferre potuissem, nisi scripta prius ea legissem quibus ad hanc intemperiem videbantur efferati. Eas igitur non simplici cum dolore legi, nunc  
 70 illorum, nunc tuam vicem ingemiscens, subinde metuens ne bonis et aequis viris tam acerba conuicia non omnino in immerentem contorta viderentur: et tamen illos iudicabam indignos a quibus eiusmodi scriberentur, et te cupiebam indignum videri in quem scriberentur. Nam paucis ante diebus exierant libelli duo, quorum

38. M. N. *om. H.* Tongari *F.* 53. R. P. T. *E: te H.* 58. praedicatore  
*E: Dominicano H.* 65. R. P. T. *E: te H.* 66. *EN<sup>2</sup>: Hermani FN<sup>13</sup>.*

38. Pepericorni] See Ep. 487. 20n.  
 Gratii] See Ep. 526. 8n.

Tongrensis] See Ep. 543. 7n.

39. variabant sententiae] Cf. Ep. 856. 37, 8; and for a specimen see Ep. 849. 21-30.

50. libellus] Hochstrat's first *Apolo-  
 logia*, Feb. 1518 (Epp. 808. 6n, 889. 42n): Böcking xxix.

Benigni dialogum] See Ep. 680. 25-7: Böcking xxvi.

64. libellum] *Epistolae trium illustrium  
 virorum ad Hermannum comitem Nuena-*

*rium*, Cologne, E. Ceuicornus, May 1518; containing RE. 251, 255, HE. 75, a letter from H. Busch to Ct. Hermann, 12 April (1518, Cologne), and a letter from the Count to the reader, 13 April. See HE. pp. 20\*, 21\*.

67. Hutteni] He demurred very much to this passage; but Ct. Hermann, Erasmus states, approved of the whole letter. See Hutten's *Expostulatio* (HE. 310, §§ 58, 9) and Erasmus' *Spongia* (HE. 333, §§ 61-70: LB. x. 1637 E-38 D).  
 74. libelli duo] *Destructio Cabale seu*

altero oppugnas Cabalisticam Capnionis, altero respondes iis qui 75  
student Capnioni; cuius phrasis tamen magis resipit Gratium.  
Nihil hic rursus attingam vtrius causa mihi magis arrideat: neque  
enim mihi mandata est haec prouincia, et, si mandetur, videor mihi  
libenter recusaturus. Nec tantam mihi arrogo doctrinam vt existi- 80  
mem me posse pronunciare de causis tam arduis, in quibus identi-  
dem haereseos fit mentio. Siquidem in praesentia non ago nego-  
cium Capnionis, tuum potius ago negocium; et hactenus ago, vt  
velim te magis in posterum dignitati tuae consulere ac decori memi-  
nisse. Nec dubito quin ipse et perspicias et memineris; sed haud  
scio an tibi quoque more hominum vsu veniat, vt impetus et calor 85  
contentionis oculos tuos auocet alicubi. Nam mihi iam non leuis  
est fiducia te nostram admonitionem a fraterna dilectione tui pro-  
fectam aequi bonique consulturum.

Primum de titulo, quem isti vehementer lacerant vt arrogantiae  
plenum, me res non admodum mouet: siquidem id videri poterat 90  
opificum opera factum, ni constaret te tum Coloniae praesentem  
fuisse. Illud minus potest excusari, quod ad singula capitula repetis  
et inculcas, 'Capnion praeco Cabalisticae perfidiae'. Vix enim  
cuiquam persuadebitur hoc inscio te factum quod toto opere tam  
subinde repetitur. Quisquis autem credet abs te factum, non dubi- 95  
tabit quo animo sis in Capnionem. Atqui cum primis non solum  
ad dignitatem tuam verumetiam ad causam tuam attinebat argu-  
mentis duntaxat ac ciuilitate rem tractare, neque tam manifestam  
odii significationem dare. Si Christianae pietatis esset in quenquam  
conuiciis debacchari, in Celsum debacchatus fuisset Origenes; nam 100  
is vniuersam Christi doctrinam simul ac vitam non ferendis conuiciis  
lacerauit, aeditis etiam voluminibus. Et tamen in hunc nusquam  
sic inuehitur Origenes vt tu passim in Capnionem; qui, vt ne quid  
aliud dicam, certe nondum damnatus est eorum sententia quorum  
est pronunciare. Nec in hoc laborat Origenes, vt Celsi dicta in pessi- 105  
mam partem detorqueat aut exaggeret; quod tu mihi passim miro  
calore videris facere, nihil interim non trahens ad haeresis causam.

At dices, 'Fungor officio meo'. Laudo quod fungeris, sed ea  
moderatione te velim fungi vt euident sit omnibus te nihil aliud  
quam Christi negocium agere, longissimeque te subducas ab ea 110  
specie vt videaris defendendae fidei praetextu vel ambitioni seruire  
vel auaritiae, vel ad priuatum odium saturandum abuti. Quid enim  
omnino tam circumspecte scriptum erit quod ab irato non possit  
deprauari sinistra interpretatione? Porro qui prae se fert odium  
animi, protinus sibi fidem abrogat, in causa etiam iustissima; neque 115  
dubito quin haec res in primis obstiterit quo minus assecutus sis  
quod, vt putant, venabaris. Inquisitio tibi mandata est, non ius  
pronunciandi. Quoties autem de Capnione pronuncias, praesertim  
cum lis adhuc sub iudice pendeat, et sub eo iudice vnde negant

106. detorqueat E: torqueat H.

*Cabalisticae perfidiae* ab Ioanne Reuchlin *Capnionem iam pridem in lucem editae*, Cologne, Quentel, April 1519, with a preface to Leo x, 7 April 1519 (Böcking xxxv); and *Apologia secunda*, (Cologne, Quentel),

1519, with a preface to John Inge-  
winkel, 12 Aug. 1518 (Böcking xxxiii).  
93. Capnion praeco etc.] This catch-  
word recurs continually throughout  
the *Destructio Cabale*.

- 120 appellari posse. An non satisfecerat officio tuo, posteaquam tot annos tanto tumultu libellum nescio quem obscurum, nec vlli forte cognoscendum nisi tu nobilitasses, insectatus eras? posteaquam Rhomanus Pontifex, intelligens eiusmodi causae genus esse vt magis expediret obliterari quam longius exagitari, quiesci iussit? Si quis error extiterit perniciosus Christianae pietati, primum eruditorum disputatione diligenter est excutiendus, mox indicandus episcopo. Id vbi factum est abs te, iam Inquisitoris officio functus es. Inuestigasti, prodidisti quibus oportuit. Non est tibi necesse coelum miscere terrae et tantas excitare tragoedias.
- 130 Vtinam eam operam, eos sumptus, eos annos praedicando Christi Euangelio impendisses! aut plane me fallit animi praesagium, aut maior esset Iacobus Hoochstratus quam nunc est, et nomen esset apud optimos quosque gratiosius, aut certe minus inuidiosum. Iam vero bona pars odii redundat in ordinem; quem et antehac saepe multis occasionibus graui inuidia laborantem non oportebat nouis odiis degrauare. Quin et illud erat tuae prudentiae, perpendere num libellus ille Capnionicus haberet aliquid quod pestem aliquam grauem religioni Christianae posset inferre. Nihil autem illic agitur nisi ne quid praeter aequum patiantur Iudaei. Quorsum autem 140 attinebat tanto spiritu agere vt Iudaeos in odium adduceres? An quisquam est nostrum qui non satis excretur hoc hominum genus? Si Christianum est odisse Iudaeos, hic abunde Christiani sumus omnes. Sunt qui cum alia permulta, tum illud in primis adducunt in suspicionem, quod cum tot vbique libri scribantur, in vnum 145 illum libellum inquisieris tam odiose. Nihil vsquam offendit animum tuum in libris Augustini Iustiniani, in libris Syluestri Prieratis, in libris F. Thomae a Vio, nunc Cardinalis *TT. S. Sixti*: atque in his sunt permulta quae non mediocriter offendunt theologos Parisienses; nam ipse degustaui duntaxat. Negant igitur tibi ad Praedicatorum 150 errores oculos esse, ad vnus Capnionis aut eorum qui Capnioni bene volunt, oculatum esse te.

Haec dico, non quo Capnioni patrociner, sed quo tibi tuisque consulam: nam ille sic est amicus vt me causae non admisceam, quod tu tamen videre suspicari. Siquidem hac gratia clarissimum Comitem

132. *EN<sup>13</sup> LB*: Hoochostratus *F Lond.*: Hochstratus *N<sup>2</sup>*. 147. *F. om. F.*  
*Thomae a F*: Iacobi de *E.* nunc . . . *Sixti om. F, non liquet quare.* 149.  
 praedicatorum *F*: Dominicanos *H.*

131. praesagium] Cf. Ep. 1009. 68n.

142. odisse Iudaeos] A very frank utterance for Erasmus, who, in spite of his virulence against individuals, is usually free from prejudice against classes and careful of his words about them. It illustrates well the position of the Jews at this period. For other contemptuous expressions about them in his letters see Epp. 164. 27, 181. 49, 296. 82-3, 541. 137-9, 694. 34-56, 697, 700-1, 703. 9, 20, 710. 81, 713. 9.

146. Iustiniani] See Ep. 810. 356n.

Prieratis] See Ep. 872. 16n.

147. Thomae] Another case of an in-

accurate name (see crit. n.) needing correction; cf. p. 152.

a Vio] See Epp. 891. 25n, 256. 45n.

153. sic est amicus] Cf. Ep. 1155. 18n.

non admisceam] For Erasmus' close concern in Reuchlin's case see a letter of Reuchlin, 21 Nov. 1514 (RE. 198): 'Louanii fertur hoc aduersariis esse constitutum, vt, si me oppreserint, Erasmus Roterodamum sint aggressuri, et ita singillatim omnes se velle poetarum (sic enim bonarum literarum studiosos appellant) eradicare'.

a Noua aquila dictitant abs te plusquam odiose perstrictum in 155  
 praefatione tua, nec alia de causa me quoque voluisse attingere in  
 libellis quos aduersus Cabalam aedidisti. Neque enim me magno-  
 pere subleuat ea ciuilitas, qua nomen Erasmi suppressis, cum et  
 operis titulum et locum expresseris, ad verbum recitans quae illic  
 scripserim. Sed illud miror in primis, cur nos admiscueris ei 160  
 negotio quod et tu vis odiosissimum videri et a quo sum alienissi-  
 mus. Vtinam mihi tam propitius sit Christus quam ego Cabalae  
 sum parum propitius! Et ad huius rei mentionem non admodum  
 inuitabat disputationis cursus, sed obtorto collo videris affectasse ac  
 ceu pannum male cohaerentem intertexuisse. Deinde quam exacerbas 165  
 omnia, quam seditiose detorques quae scripsimus? Quod ego de  
 me meique similibus dixi, id tu perpetuo interpretaris dictum in  
 Ecclesiam; et vnum duntaxat adducis locum qui tibi videbatur ad  
 calumniam esse cum primis idoneus, cum ego compluribus locis  
 eius rei meminerim. Ex horum collatione deprehendi poterat quo 170  
 animo scripsissem quae reprehendis. Nam alibi testor me misere-  
 scere quorundam infelici matrimonio male cohaerentium; quos  
 tamen si dirimas, spes non sit fore vt se contineant a stupro. Horum  
 saluti volebam aliqua ratione consuli, si fieri posset; nec id aliter  
 opto fieri nisi si in hoc consentiat Ecclesia. Non ego cuiquam 175  
 praeo; rem omnem ad Ecclesiam refero.

'At non potest' inquis 'Ecclesia quod optas'. Primum, non  
 ego definitio quid possit Ecclesia; quod si maxime constet non posse,  
 tamen a me nihil aliud audis quam votum charitatis. Non faueo  
 diuortio, sed miseret pereuntium; et optat saepenumero Christiana 180  
 charitas quae fieri non possunt, et saepe pium est optare quae tamen  
 non possis efficere. Id ego cum paucis verbis admonuerim duntaxat  
 vt annotator, non vt dogmatistes, tu subinde dogmatis vocabulum  
 inculcas, quo mihi concilies inuidiam. Et adeo toto corpore con-  
 tremiscis, quemadmodum scribis, ad meum sermonem vt parum 185  
 abfuerit quin prae horrore concideres, et annotatiunculam Ecclesiae  
 iudicio relictam totius Ecclesiae vocas suggillationem.

Huiusmodi iactis fundamentis, multum diuersis a nostra sententia,  
 in longum protrahis disputationem, nihil non adducens quo doceas  
 a diuortio non esse fas instaurare matrimonium: quasi vero nos 190

155. in praefatione tua] To the first *Apologia* (l. 50n): cf. Ep. 377. 21n.

156. me quoque] Bk. ii, ch. 5, of the *Destr. Cabale* is headed, 'Contra quendam doctorem ostendit inseparabilitatem matrimonii non esse ex institutione Ecclesie'; and over the page (f<sup>o</sup>. dd v<sup>o</sup>) follows a passage of some length quoted from Erasmus' *Annot. on Matt.* 19. 8 (1516, ii, p. 276: withdrawn in 1519). On f<sup>o</sup>. qq<sup>4</sup> v<sup>o</sup> Erasmus is mentioned by name.

162. Cabalae] Cf. Epp. 967. 71, 1033. 35-6.

171. alibi] In an *Annot. on 1 Cor.* 7. 39 (added in 1519, p. 325): 'Videmus autem tot hominum milia infelici coniugio sibi cohaerere, cum exitio vtrius-

que, qui fortasse disiuncti seruari possent'. In 1522 (p. 381) he added at another point in the same note: 'Miserebat me illorum quos videbam huiusmodi vinculis inextricabilibus implicatos: quos sciebam esse plurimos, praesertim apud Britannos, apud quos hoc opus primum deformabam'.

173. dirimas] sc. sine diuortio.

183. dogmatis] *Destructio Cabale*, f<sup>o</sup>. dd<sup>2</sup>.

184. contremiscis] The next words suggest that this quotation is verbal, but it is only so at the end: 'dictum istud... artus meos metu perculit, velut totius Ecclesie ferme pre se ferens suggillationem', *Destr. Cabale*, f<sup>o</sup>. dd<sup>2</sup>. 5, 6.

fugiat quid hac de re vel senserint olim doctores vel Ecclesia decreuerit. Sed fieri potest vt non omnia semel aperuerit Christi spiritus Ecclesiae. Et vt Ecclesia non potest irritare decreta Christi, ita potest ad hominum salutem interpretari commode, quaedam  
 195 interim relaxans, quaedam astringens pro rerum ac temporum statu. Optabat Christus omnes suos esse perfectos, inter quos nullum incideret diuortium: tentauit Ecclesia dogmatis Euangelici vigorem ab omnibus impetrare. Qui scis an eadem, infirmorum quoque saluti consulere studens, putet hinc aliquid esse remittendum? Non  
 200 antiquatur Euangelium, sed ab iis quibus eius credita est dispensatio, ad salutem omnium accommodatur. Postremo non antiquatur quod rectius intelligitur. Verum hic non est animus disputationis ingredi labyrinthum, praesertim cum in posteriore aeditione fere contraxerim quicquid ad hanc causam pertinet, videlicet annotans in epistolae  
 205 prioris ad Corinthios caput septimum.

Atque hic etiam, vir optime, cogor desyderare moderationem tuam, qui putaris hunc locum exagitandum, cum non ignorares me nouam aeditionem adornasse: quam in priore fueram pollicitus. Neque enim verisimile est te latuisse quod nemo nesciebat, etiam  
 210 multo antequam proxime reciperem me Basileam, nimirum huius rei gratia. Proinde videberis aut anteuertisse carpendi studio, aut noluisse perire quod iam conscripseras. Ergo, vt dixi, non ingredior hic campum argumentationis—neque enim id patitur epistola; tantum expostulo quod iniquius nos attigeris. Nam quod ego de com-  
 215 moda interpretatione meminèrim, vide quam tu non commode interpreteris, quasi calumnier Ecclesiam Christi decreta antiquare: cum ego senserim nos, id est me meique similes, abuti dogmatum Euangelicorum interpretatione, atque ita fieri vt vigor Euangelicae doctrinae in nostris moribus obsolescat.

220 Christus, vt exempli gratia loquar, adeo voluit suos abesse ab homicidio vt interdixit omne conuiuium, nec irasci permiserit. Nos interpretamur 'irasci temere'. Hac interpretatione fretus saepe qui irascitur ita sibi blanditur: 'Non temere est quod illi succenseo'. Item Christus adeo voluit suos abesse a periurio vt prorsus inter-  
 225 dixerit iusiurandum. Id sic interpretamur, non iurandum temere. Hoc interpretamento sibi blandiuntur qui passim quamlibet leui de causa iurant. Ad eundem modum adeo voluit suos abesse a Iudaeorum diuortio, qui quamlibet friuola de causa repudiabant vxores, vt diuortium in totum interdixit. Quid hic possit interpretari  
 230 Ecclesia non pronuncio: vellem posse, quo saluti multorum consu-

215. meminèram H.

194. commode] Cf. l. 214n.

203. contraxerim] In a lengthy dissertation, *Annot. in N. T.* 1519, pp. 325-34.

208. fueram pollicitus] See Ep. 809. 60n. The statement is repeated in the *Apol. qua respondet* with the addition of *palam* (f<sup>o</sup>. A<sup>2</sup>: Jortin ii. 497). See also Epp. 1053. 292, 1074. 97.

209. nemo nesciebat] Cf. Ep. 1225 init. and *Apol. qua respondet*, f<sup>o</sup>. A<sup>3</sup> (Jortin ii. 497).

214. commoda] See the *Annot.* 1516, on Matt. 19. 8 (cf. l. 156n): 'Ex hoc potissimum loco lex inducta apud Christianos ne dirimantur matrimonia. Cum caetera Christi dogmata de non iurando, de non resistendo, de in diem viuendo, de iuuandis ac diligendis inimicis, atque id genus per multa vel antiquare patiamur vel (*scripsi*: vt *Annot.*) interpretatione commoda prorsus abrogemus, solum vrgemus de matrimonio'.

latur. Et tamen aliquod diuortium admittit Ecclesia, et plures diuortii causas admittit quam Christus indulserit. Et distinxit inter matrimonium consummatum et non consummatum: illud non patitur dirimi, hoc patitur, si intercedat votum quod nescio quare vocent solenne. Horum nihil docuit Christus, sicut nec de casibus quibus coit aut non coit matrimonium: in quibus nec veteres consentiebant orthodoxi, et Ecclesia aut certe Rhomani Pontifices sua decreta mutarunt.

Cum viderem Christi spiritum mire pro temporum ratione dispensare suos afflatus, et animaduertentem quanta sit autoritas Ecclesiae, submonebam, si qua fieri posset, ut tot hominum pereuntium saluti consuleretur. Nec hic quicquam statuo, sed decernendi ius Ecclesiae defero, ipse nihil aliud quam monitoris officio functus. Hic te quaeso, quid erat quod putares tam atrocibus verbis exaggerandum? Nam toties spargis in disputatione doctorem quendam 'submurmurare' et 'stomachari' aduersus Ecclesiam, imo 'ream peragere' sacrosanctam Ecclesiam, 'secus dogmatizare quam sacrosancta praedicet Rhomana Ecclesia'; et periculum esse ne 'praestetur fomentum audacitatis in regimen Ecclesiasticum', et 'in Ecclesiae consurgatur despectum', et 'carnalia vitia in sui damnationem impudenter sectentur' homines. Agnoscis, opinor, tua verba, quae nemo non iudicabit seditiosius esse dicta quam aptius aut moderatius. Nam illa fortasse salsa videbuntur aliquibus, cum doctorem illum, quicum agis, frigidum tractatorem eloquiorum Christi facis, ipse fortassis plus satis calidus; cum illi nunc praeter phalerata dicta, nunc praeter grammaticalem, ut vocas, sensum nihil tribuis; cum illum noctuam aut vespertilionem facis, teipsum, opinor, aquilam esse sentiens. Equidem in rebus diuinis minus arbitror cernere me quam cernat noctua, quae per tenebras etiam cernit; et tamen si liberet totum hoc argumentum iusto studio tractare, videres me fortasse non vsqueadeo caecutientem quam tu videri vis.

Verum et res foret non vnus voluminis, et iam pleraque a nobis attacta sunt in posteriore aeditione, quasi praesagientibus fore qui locum eum labefactare conarentur. Quanquam nec illic quicquam asseuero, sed Ecclesiae iudicio suam vbique reuerentiam et auctoritatem defero: argumentor, non decerno. Quod si dices nephas esse quae iam recepta sunt, ea vocare in disputationem, quid faciemus sacrosanctis doctoribus qui non verentur in disputationem vocare an

251. *E, secundum Hochstratum: impudenter H.*

234. votum] *sc. castitatis*; of which there were two kinds, 'alterum quod solenniter fit ac certis ritibus in templo, alterum simplex quod absque ceremoniis eiusmodi peragitur'. See Erasmus' long discussion of this in the *Inst. Christ. matrimonii* (LB. v. 634 B), citing the distinction of the canonists, 'Professio vitae monasticae dirimit ratum matrimonium, at consummatum nequaquam' (ibid. 646 B).

246. submurmurare] *Destr. Cabale*, ff. dd<sup>6</sup> v<sup>o</sup>. 10, ff<sup>2</sup>. 3.

stomachari] *ibid.* ff<sup>o</sup>. dd<sup>4</sup> v<sup>o</sup>. 1.

ream peragere] *ibid.* ff<sup>o</sup>. dd<sup>4</sup> v<sup>o</sup>. 3.

247. secus dogmatizare] *ibid.* ff<sup>o</sup>. dd<sup>4</sup> v<sup>o</sup>. 1.

249. fomentum] *ibid.* ff<sup>o</sup>. ff<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>. 17.

250. despectum] *ibid.* ff<sup>o</sup>. ff<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>. 19.

carnalia vitia] *ibid.* ff<sup>o</sup>. ff<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>. 20.

254. frigidum] *ibid.* ff<sup>o</sup>. dd<sup>3</sup>. 30, 1.

255. phalerata dicta] *ibid.* ff<sup>o</sup>. dd<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup>. 4.

256. grammaticalem] *ibid.* ff. dd<sup>3</sup>. 4; ee<sup>2</sup>. 19.

257. noctuam] *ibid.* ff<sup>o</sup>. dd<sup>6</sup> v<sup>o</sup>. 12, 13.

Eucharistia sit sacramentum? an fornicatio simplex sit peccatum?  
 270 Leuiter autem me mouet quod initio disputationis obiter me taxas,  
 quod e capite Matthaei decimonono scripserim legem inductam apud  
 Christianos ne dirimantur matrimonia: his videlicet tuo iudicio  
 peccans, et quod senserim lege humana inductum ne dirimantur  
 matrimonia, et quod putarim ex eo loco sumptum, cum ex quinto  
 275 eiusdem Euangelistae capite potius sumptum appareat. Atque vt  
 praepostere respondeam, si vtriusque loci eadem est sententia, quid  
 refert ex vtro sumptum dicatur? imo probabilius erit ex decimonono  
 sumptum, vbi nominatim tractatur negotium diuortii, quanquam  
 ego non dixi locum eum qui est in codice, sed totum hoc argu-  
 280 mentum, vbicunque tractetur, locum vocaui: alioqui nec ex quinto  
 nec ex decimonono capite sumptum videbitur, sed potius ex Paulinae  
 epistolae ad Corinthios prioris capite septimo. Nam illic mulierem  
 quae digressa a viro nolit reconciliari, iubet manere innuptam.  
 Rursus hic vbi excipitur fornicatio, non videtur in totum adimi ius  
 285 diuortii, sed astringi magis, quod apud Iudaeos aequo licentius  
 erat.

Deinde negari non potest extare Pontificum leges, quae vetent  
 diuortio diuulsos aliis iungi matrimonio, si modo constiterit verum  
 matrimonium intercessisse. Eas si hauserunt ex Euangelicis literis,  
 290 non video cur sim reprehendendus si scripsi legem extare quae vetat  
 dirimi matrimonia. Atque his etiam leuius est, quod cauillaris  
 mihi parum proprie dictum Mosen Iudaeis concessisse diuortium, in  
 tam paucis verbis geminum errorem indicans. 'Permisit', inquis,  
 'non concessit'; quasi quicquam intersit inter permittere et conce-  
 295 dere, nisi quod permittit qui quocunque modo ius facit, concedit  
 qui de iure suo remittit aliquid: vnde fit vt posterius verbum sit  
 ad hunc sensum accommodatius. Deinde 'Permisit' inquis 'Moses,  
 sed autore Domino'; quasi quod Moses iussu Dei praescripsit  
 populo, non recte dicatur iussisse, aut quod ex doctrina Christi  
 300 docuit Matthaeus, improprie dicatur docuisse.

Si stilum exercere cupis, quod mihi sane non paulo rectius esse  
 videtur quam quod quidam faciunt, alieno calamo scribere, malim  
 te in his argumentis versari quae minus habeant odii, plus fructus.  
 Aut si res poscit huiusmodi tractare quaestiones, ita totius negotii  
 305 phrasim habitumque modereris, vt non solum applaudant aliquot  
 ordinis tui sodales, sed eruditissimus quisque et cordatissimus lector,  
 atque ipsa etiam posteritas, agnoscat pectus vero theologo dignum.  
 Si causa seueritatem postulabit, absit tamen vbique saeuitia; maxime  
 vero vitandum necubi suboleat ambitionis aut auaritiae venenum,  
 310 multo magis hypocrisis. Habet vera pietas aliquoties indignationem  
 suam, sed charitatis dulcore temperatam. Non est consultum irritare  
 quibus possis mederi, nec alienandi sunt quos possis lenitate reuocare.  
 Nomen haereseos quo magis est inuisum, eo magis ab hoc tempe-  
 randum quoad licet. Nunc nihil magis est in ore quibusdam. At  
 315 recte quidem distinguit tua prudentia haereticum ab haeresi, tum

270. initio disputationis] *Destr.*

*Cabale*, f°. dd v°; cf. l. 156n.

293. inquis] *ibid.* f°. dd v°. 14-15.

302. alieno calamo] *As Pfefferkorn*

with the aid of Gratius; see Ep. 526.

8n. It appears from l. 76 above that

Erasmus suspected Hochstrat of doing

the same.



haeresim pro factione impia, ab haeresi, errore qui pertinaciter defensus faceret haereticum. Verum has subtilissimas distinctiones non intelligit crassum hominum vulgus: cum audit haereses huius aut illius, nihil aliud intelligit quam haereticos esse de quibus fit mentio. Nec possunt imaginari quomodo bellum dicatur Gallorum, cum ipsi bellatores non sint. Imo cum publice loquuntur, ubi metuunt observari se, dicunt haereses Capnionis; cum priuatim et inter suae factionis homines, Capnionem vocant haereticum, obliti videlicet eruditae distinctionis. Adeo vilis est istis aliena fama, qui suam habent charissimam. 325

At te quidem video moderatiorem aliquanto in libellis posterioribus, speroque futurum ut posthac magis ac magis hac laude teipsum superes. Consulueris autem non ordini modo Praedicatorio verum etiam uniuerso theologico, si quorundam maledicentiam insulsissimam autoritate tua reprimas, qui passim in publicis aut priuatis praedicationibus, in disputationibus, in conuiuibus, in conciliabulis, in colloquiis, et, quod grauissimum est, in sacris ac publicis concionibus virulentissime deblaterant in linguarum peritiam, in politiores literas; in harum inuidiam antichristos, haereses, et alias id genus tragoedias admiscentes, cum obscurum non sit quid Ecclesia debeat 330 335 340 345 350 355 360 365 370 375 380 385 390 395 400 405 410 415 420 425 430 435 440 445 450 455 460 465 470 475 480 485 490 495 500 505 510 515 520 525 530 535 540 545 550 555 560 565 570 575 580 585 590 595 600 605 610 615 620 625 630 635 640 645 650 655 660 665 670 675 680 685 690 695 700 705 710 715 720 725 730 735 740 745 750 755 760 765 770 775 780 785 790 795 800 805 810 815 820 825 830 835 840 845 850 855 860 865 870 875 880 885 890 895 900 905 910 915 920 925 930 935 940 945 950 955 960 965 970 975 980 985 990 995 1000 1005 1010 1015 1020 1025 1030 1035 1040 1045 1050 1055 1060 1065 1070 1075 1080 1085 1090 1095 1100 1105 1110 1115 1120 1125 1130 1135 1140 1145 1150 1155 1160 1165 1170 1175 1180 1185 1190 1195 1200 1205 1210 1215 1220 1225 1230 1235 1240 1245 1250 1255 1260 1265 1270 1275 1280 1285 1290 1295 1300 1305 1310 1315 1320 1325 1330 1335 1340 1345 1350 1355 1360 1365 1370 1375 1380 1385 1390 1395 1400 1405 1410 1415 1420 1425 1430 1435 1440 1445 1450 1455 1460 1465 1470 1475 1480 1485 1490 1495 1500 1505 1510 1515 1520 1525 1530 1535 1540 1545 1550 1555 1560 1565 1570 1575 1580 1585 1590 1595 1600 1605 1610 1615 1620 1625 1630 1635 1640 1645 1650 1655 1660 1665 1670 1675 1680 1685 1690 1695 1700 1705 1710 1715 1720 1725 1730 1735 1740 1745 1750 1755 1760 1765 1770 1775 1780 1785 1790 1795 1800 1805 1810 1815 1820 1825 1830 1835 1840 1845 1850 1855 1860 1865 1870 1875 1880 1885 1890 1895 1900 1905 1910 1915 1920 1925 1930 1935 1940 1945 1950 1955 1960 1965 1970 1975 1980 1985 1990 1995 2000 2005 2010 2015 2020 2025 2030 2035 2040 2045 2050 2055 2060 2065 2070 2075 2080 2085 2090 2095 2100 2105 2110 2115 2120 2125 2130 2135 2140 2145 2150 2155 2160 2165 2170 2175 2180 2185 2190 2195 2200 2205 2210 2215 2220 2225 2230 2235 2240 2245 2250 2255 2260 2265 2270 2275 2280 2285 2290 2295 2300 2305 2310 2315 2320 2325 2330 2335 2340 2345 2350 2355 2360 2365 2370 2375 2380 2385 2390 2395 2400 2405 2410 2415 2420 2425 2430 2435 2440 2445 2450 2455 2460 2465 2470 2475 2480 2485 2490 2495 2500 2505 2510 2515 2520 2525 2530 2535 2540 2545 2550 2555 2560 2565 2570 2575 2580 2585 2590 2595 2600 2605 2610 2615 2620 2625 2630 2635 2640 2645 2650 2655 2660 2665 2670 2675 2680 2685 2690 2695 2700 2705 2710 2715 2720 2725 2730 2735 2740 2745 2750 2755 2760 2765 2770 2775 2780 2785 2790 2795 2800 2805 2810 2815 2820 2825 2830 2835 2840 2845 2850 2855 2860 2865 2870 2875 2880 2885 2890 2895 2900 2905 2910 2915 2920 2925 2930 2935 2940 2945 2950 2955 2960 2965 2970 2975 2980 2985 2990 2995 3000 3005 3010 3015 3020 3025 3030 3035 3040 3045 3050 3055 3060 3065 3070 3075 3080 3085 3090 3095 3100 3105 3110 3115 3120 3125 3130 3135 3140 3145 3150 3155 3160 3165 3170 3175 3180 3185 3190 3195 3200 3205 3210 3215 3220 3225 3230 3235 3240 3245 3250 3255 3260 3265 3270 3275 3280 3285 3290 3295 3300 3305 3310 3315 3320 3325 3330 3335 3340 3345 3350 3355 3360 3365 3370 3375 3380 3385 3390 3395 3400 3405 3410 3415 3420 3425 3430 3435 3440 3445 3450 3455 3460 3465 3470 3475 3480 3485 3490 3495 3500 3505 3510 3515 3520 3525 3530 3535 3540 3545 3550 3555 3560 3565 3570 3575 3580 3585 3590 3595 3600 3605 3610 3615 3620 3625 3630 3635 3640 3645 3650 3655 3660 3665 3670 3675 3680 3685 3690 3695 3700 3705 3710 3715 3720 3725 3730 3735 3740 3745 3750 3755 3760 3765 3770 3775 3780 3785 3790 3795 3800 3805 3810 3815 3820 3825 3830 3835 3840 3845 3850 3855 3860 3865 3870 3875 3880 3885 3890 3895 3900 3905 3910 3915 3920 3925 3930 3935 3940 3945 3950 3955 3960 3965 3970 3975 3980 3985 3990 3995 4000 4005 4010 4015 4020 4025 4030 4035 4040 4045 4050 4055 4060 4065 4070 4075 4080 4085 4090 4095 4100 4105 4110 4115 4120 4125 4130 4135 4140 4145 4150 4155 4160 4165 4170 4175 4180 4185 4190 4195 4200 4205 4210 4215 4220 4225 4230 4235 4240 4245 4250 4255 4260 4265 4270 4275 4280 4285 4290 4295 4300 4305 4310 <

## 1007. TO LEO X.

Farrago p. 354.

F. p. 452: HN: Lond. xi. 9: LB. 453.

[Louvain.]

13 August 1519.

[A further appeal to Papal authority against his opponents among the Louvain theologians, with whom he had not yet come to a reconciliation (cf. Ep. 1016. 15n). For prosecution of the appeal in other directions see Epp. 1033, 1060, 1062. The date of time is confirmed by the Imperial Election (l. 106); but in view of the conflict with Ep. 1008 the place is perhaps only a permanent address (cf. p. 12).]

LEONI X. PAPAE ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVS S. D.

BEATISSIME Pater, exiit iamdudum in manus hominum Nouum Testamentum, rursum a me non aestimandis sudoribus nouatum, vna cum Annotationibus accessione non mediocri locupletatis. Exiit autem felicibus, vt videtur, auspiciis, non modo Romani Pontificis titulo verumetiam Leonis vocabulo commendatum, quo non aliud nomen orbi Christiano gratius. Antehac quotquot erant vera pietate praediti, venerabantur vt tibi ceu numini consecratum; nunc audius etiam amplectuntur vt summi Praesulis oraculo comprobatum. Parum religiosum est non venerari quod dicatum est religionis antistiti; summae vero dementiae sit si quis homuncio tentet reiicere quod amplectitur summus Christi vicarius, <vel> priuata temeritate damnare quod approbat summus diuinae mentis interpres, cuius auctoritati debemus et quod Euangelio credimus. Nam ipse nihil hic mihi laudis vindico praeter animum iuuandi studio nihil vigiliarum recusantem. Tuum est quod opus audissime rapitur ab eruditissimis omnibus, tuum quod amatur, quod manibus teritur, quod per hoc passim omnes inflammantur ad sacrarum literarum amorem. Quos prioris aeditionis nouitas nonnihil offenderat, hi nunc resipiscunt et errorem agnoscunt suum. Qui hactenus e putribus lacunis perturbatam quandam ac frigidam theologiam hauriebant, nunc e purissimis fontibus Christi et Apostolorum haurire malunt.

Priorem aeditionem candidissimus quisque et eruditissimus amplectebatur. Poteram horum suffragiis esse contentus: nam cui non satis sit praecipuis placuisse, quando nulli adhuc mortalium contigit omnium emeruisse suffragia? Hanc mire consentientibus calculis approbant omnes, exceptis perpaucis: quorum alii stupidiores sunt quam vt possint rectis rationibus coargui, alii superbiore quam vt velint meliora discere, alii pertinaciores quam vt non pudeat in male coeptis parum esse constantes, nonnulli natu grandiores quam vt sperent se facturos operaeprecium, quidam ambitiosiores quam vt sustineant videri nescisse quicquam antehac; sed omnes eiusmodi vt non referat talium ambisse suffragium. Siquidem non inscite dictum est illud Senecae, quosdam esse tales vt pulchrius sit ab his vituperari quam laudari. Et inter hos vix quisquam est qui nostra legerit. Metuebant tyrannidi suae, quidam etiam quaestui, si mundus respi-

II. , vel addidi : E.

5. commendatum] by Ep. 864.

6. nomen] Cf. Ep. 335. 130-58.

7. consecratum] by Ep. 384.

13. Euangelio] Cf. Ep. 347. 231-2.

18. resipiscunt] Cf. Ep. 993. 55n.

19. lacunis] Cf. Ep. 1002. 15n.

24. praecipuis] Cf. Hor. Ep. 1. 17. 35.

33. Senecae] Loco ignominiae est apud indignos dignitas: p. 640 of Erasmus' edition, 1515 (Ep. 325).

sceret. Quid sibi persuaserint nescio, certe rudibus et indoctis persuadere conantur linguarum cognitionem bonasque quas vocant literas aduersari theologiae studio, cum nullis disciplinis ea magis vel ornetur vel adiuuetur.

Hi, vt sunt omnibus Musis et Gratiis iratis nati, sine fine belligerantur aduersus studia sese nostris temporibus ad meliorem frugem erigentia. Summa vero victoriae spes in meris sycophantiis illis est sita. Si libris agent, nihil aliud quam suam traducunt stulticiam simul atque inscitiam. Si rationibus conflictantur, nimirum superat manifesta veritas. Tantum apud imperitam plebeculam stultasque mulierculas vociferantur, quibus imponere facillimum est, praesertim religionis praetextu, cuius simulandae miri sunt artifices. Praetexunt horrenda nomina, haereses, antichristos: iactitant periclitari nutareque religionem Christianam, quam ipsi scilicet suis humeris sustinent; atque his tam odiosis admiscunt mentionem linguarum ac politioris literaturae. 'Haec' inquit, 'horrenda dictu nascuntur ex poetica'; nam hoc vocabulo traducunt quicquid est elegantioris doctrinae, hoc est quicquid ipsi non didicerunt. Huiusmodi naenias non pudet etiam in sacris concionibus deblaterare, qui se praecones Euangelicae doctrinae haberi postulant. Abutuntur et Romani Pontificis et Romanae sedis nomine, videlicet apud nullos, ita vt par est, non sacrosancto.

His technis, his cuniculis adoriri parant efflorescentes optimas literas ac puriorem illam theologiam suos fontes respicientem. Nihil non tentatum est, nullum calumniae genus non excogitatum, in eos quorum opera vident haec studia gliscere: inter quos me quoque numerant, qui quantum attulerim momenti nescio. Certe magno conatu sum adnixus vt homines ab his frigidis argutiis, in quibus tantum consenescebant, ad purioris pariter ac seuerioris theologiae studium accenderem. Neque laborem hunc mihi prorsus frustra susceptum esse vel hinc intelligo, quod quidam sic in me saeuunt, quibus aegre est quicquam in precio esse quod ipsi nec docere possunt et erubescunt discere. Ast ego primum Christo teste, cui potissimum meae vigilant literae, deinde tuae sanctitatis iudicio, ad haec recti conscientia, postremo tot insignium virorum suffragio fretus, istorum latratus semper neglexi.

Hoc quantulumcunque est ingenium semel Christo dicatum est. Vnius huius gloriae seruiet, seruiet Ecclesiae Romanae, seruiet Ecclesiae Principi, praesertim autem sanctitati tuae, cui me plusquam totum debeo. Poteram aliis argumentis tractandis ad opes, ad dignitates prouehi: grauissimis testibus docere possum verum esse quod dico. Hoc lucrum mihi visum est potius; Christi gloriae seruire malui quam meae. Semper a puero mihi curae fuit ne quid aut impie scriberem aut spurce aut seditiose. Quod si quid etiam olim per aetatem licentius effutiui, hanc certe aetatem nihil decet nisi serium ac sanctum. Nullus adhuc meis scriptis factus est vel pilo nigrior, nullus

43. agent *E*: ? agunt scribendum.

37. linguarum] Cf. Ep. 934. 3n.

47. Praetexunt] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 172.

80. licentius] In the *Moria* (Ep. 222); cf. also Epp. 622. 21-2, 636. 4-5,

967. 181-5. Erasmus was doubtless thinking, too, of the unacknowledged

*Iulius* (Ep. 502). See also Ep. 1195. 4n.

81. nigrior] Cf. Epp. 337. 59 seq.,

minus pius; nullus mea causa tumultus ortus aut oriturus. Hoc animi decretum nulla vincet obtrectatorum improbitas.

Quid alii scribant ipsi viderint, ego seruum alienum non iudico; 85 suo domino stat aut cadit. Doleo tamen maiorem in modum quorundam amarulentis contentionibus labefactari tranquillitatem studiorum ac rei Christianae. Neque res iam intra argumentorum conflictationem consistit; atrocibus vtrinque conuiciis pugna crudescit, dentatis libellis res agitur, ac reciprocantibus maledictis tumultus in 90 rabiem exit. Nemo non labitur alicubi, nisi qui homo non est. At deceat humanos lapsus, si tales sunt vt non oporteat ad eos conuiuere, Christiana lenitate corrigere. Nunc deprauant et quod recte dictum est, saepe et quod non intelligunt. Amarulentis dictis exacerbant quibus poterant Christiana mansuetudine mederi; alienant saeuitia 95 quos comitate poterant retinere. Protinus haeresis vocabulum in ore est, sicubi dissentiant aut videri volunt dissentire: si quid parum arridet, seditiose quiritantur apud crassam et indoctam multitudinem.

Haec aliquoties paruis initiis orta saepenumero vastissimum gignunt incendium, fitque vt malum, quod initio ceu leue negligebatur, paulatim auctum tandem erumpat in graue discrimen tranquillitatis Christianae. 100 Hac quidem in re multum laudis debetur optimis monarchis qui autoritate sua dissidium hoc oriri coeptum sedarunt; velut Henricus eius nominis octauus apud Anglos, Franciscus huius nominis primus apud Gallos. Apud Germanos, quod ea regio in 105 regulos complures dissecta est, non potest idem fieri: apud nos, quoniam et nuper Principem habere coepimus, atque eum habemus optimum quidem pariter et maximum sed ingenti semotum interuallo, tumultuantur adhuc impune quidam.

Proinde mihi videtur T. S. rem factura Christo longe gratissimam, 110 si contentionibus huiusmodi silentium indixerit, atque id praestet in orbe toto Christiano quod Henricus et Franciscus in suis vterque regnis praestitere. Tua pietas summos reges redegit in concordiam: superest vt per eandem et studiis sua reddatur tranquillitas. Id fiet si tuo iussu homines qui loqui non possunt, desinant obgannire 115 politioribus literis, et ad benedicendum elingues desinant in linguarum studiosos maledicere, sed suam quisque professionem gnauiter tueatur citra contumeliam alienae. Ita fiet vt grauiiores illae quas vocant facultates, theologia, iuris prudentia, philosophia, medicina, harum literarum accessione non mediocriter adiuuentur. Sine vt hoc 120 quoque beneficium debeant bonae literae, quae iam beatitudini tuae nihil non debent: quam in multam aetatem religioni suae instaurandae propagandaeque tueatur Christus Opt. Max.

Louanii Id. August. Anno M.D.XIX.

89. agitur E: geritur F.

112. redigit F.

123. Idus H.

950. 11-12, 1053. 385, 1061. 440-2, 1139. 49-50, 1171. 71, 1196. 271-2; and 936. 16-18.

105. apud nos] In the Netherlands.

106. nuper Principem] Cf. Ep. 968.6n.

107. semotum] Cf. Ep. 1004. 145n.

109. T. S.] tua sanctitas.

112. redigit] Cf. Ep. 964. 32-5.

## 1008. TO CHRISTOPHER HACK.

Farrago p. 371.

Antwerp.

F. p. 461: HN: Lond. xi. 20: LB. 454.

13 August 1519.

[The year-date is unquestionable; for the letter is no doubt subsequent to Erasmus' first relations with Erfurt in Oct. 1518 (Ep. 870 introd.) and is printed in E.]

Christopher Hack or Hacke of Jerichow on the Elbe, n. of Magdeburg, matriculated at Erfurt in 1509 and was B.A. 1512. He was a friend of Eobanus (Ep. 874) and Cordus (Ep. 941), both of whom addressed verses to him. In Dec. 1517 he was preparing to lecture at Wittenberg on the Gospels (see a ms. letter cited by Krause in editing Cordus' *Epigrammata*, 1892, p. xxvi). In the summer of 1518 he was travelling with Cellarius (Ep. 877. 5n), and visited Hutten at Mainz (HE. 104) and Reuchlin at Zell in Baden (RE. 261 = MRE<sup>2</sup>. 578); but returned to Erfurt, where he took orders and became 'Euangelii minister'. Like many other priests he married c. 1523 (EHE. p. 90; cf. ME. 1647); but little else is known of him. See Krause's *Eobanus*, i, pp. 146, 236, 299, 336. Camerarius, *Narratio de Eobano*, 1553, f<sup>o</sup>. B<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, praises his skill in 'melicis carminibus'.

The circumstances of this letter are explained by a poem of Cordus, *Palinodia quod mortuum Erasmus scripserat*; which shows that Cordus heard a rumour of the death of Erasmus (cf. Epp. 950. 28, 1021. 13-15; LE<sup>2</sup>. 172; and perhaps EHE. p. 86, where Krause throws doubt on the date of Eobanus' letter to Draco) and wrote an elegiac poem addressed to Hack, deploring the event. The preface to the *Palinodia* shows that on the suggestion of Draco (Ep. 871) the poem was printed; but that shortly afterwards, while it was still engaging public attention, Cordus received a letter from Erasmus (evidently Ep. 941) and learnt the falseness of the rumour: whereupon he composed the *Palinodia*, also addressed to Hack. The *Palinodia* is printed among Cordus' *Opera poetica*; but the former poem is not known.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS CHRISTOPHORO HACO S. D.

ALLATVM est huc carmen elegiacum, a quo scriptum incertum, certe titulus ad te scriptum arguit: eo, quisquis est, mortem meam deplorat meque tandem inter diuos collocat. Agerem gratias homini pro suo officio, si nossem; nunc tuum est illi meo nomine gratias agere. Cuius animus sic in Erasmum propensus hoc mihi gratior est 5 quod haec tribuit sepulto: nam viuum qui laudat, non solet abesse prorsus ab assentandi suspicione. Sed quid imprecemur rabulis istis qui me quotannis fere bis efferunt, idque, quo crudelius sit, viuum, coguntque toties me mihi superstitem esse? quid imprecemur miseris, nisi mentem illis meliorem dari? ne semper, quod hactenus faciunt, 10 viuant mortui. Etenim cum Deus sit charitas, atque is vita sit animae, qui possunt haberi viui qui sic odere proximum, adeo non laedentem vt studeat de omnibus bene mereri, vt quem viuere doleant, falsissimis istiusmodi rumoribus subinde sepeliant? interim imaginatione fruentes, dum re non licet; tum ex eorum dolore quos 15 tristibus fabulis exanimant, crudelissimam voluptatem capientes. Nos, siue viuimus siue morimur, Domino viuimus ac morimur. Bene vale, vir optime. Antuuerpiae. Id. Augusti. Anno M.D.XIX.

2. quisquis est add. H.

18. Idus F Lond.: idib. N<sup>3</sup>.

8. efferunt] For previous rumours of Erasmus' death cf. Epp. 194. 9-15, 270

introd., 479. 3, 854. 7-14. See also this introd., and Epp. 1142 introd., 1208. 2n.

<sup>988</sup>1009. TO ALBERT OF BRANDENBURG.

Farrago p. 358.

F. p. 454: HN: Lond. xi. 11: LB. 456.

Antwerp.

15 August 1519.

REVERENDISSIMO IN CHRISTO PATRI AC PRINCIPI ILLVSTRISSIMO  
DOMINO ALBERTO, RO. ECCLESIAE TT. S. CHRYSOGONI PRAES-  
BYT., MOGVNTINEN. AC MAGDENBVRGEN. ARCHIEPISCOPO, SA-  
CRI IMPERII PRINCIPI ELECTORI, PRIMATI ET ADMINISTRA-  
TORI HALBERSTATEN., MARCHIONI BRANDENBVRGEN., ETC.,  
ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS S. D.

IN tam immensis studiorum laboribus lassescenti nonnunquam non  
modo calcar sed et robur addit adeo propensus tuae celsitudinis fauor,  
cui in negotio cum per se omnium maximo (quid enim maius quam  
orbi dare Caesarem?) tum multis etiam difficultatibus transuersim  
5 incurrentibus vehementer perplexo, vacauerit et nostras tam incondi-  
tas literas legere et lectis non indiligerenter respondere. Gratias agerem  
celsitudini tuae pro tam singulari in hunc homuncionem ciuilitate, ni  
magis gratulari liberet orbi Christiano, cui sapientissimorum princi-  
pum, et in his tua praecipue, opera Carolus Imperator contigerit;  
10 vnus hac tempestate merito visus idoneus qui cum tantam imperii  
molem sustineat, tum Maximiliano succedat. Et fortasse minus erat  
difficile reperire qui oneris magnitudini par esset quam qui Caesaris  
demortui virtutibus responderet. Omnibus vero summa spes est  
fore vt Carolus noster auita decora nobis referat aequetque; non  
15 enim ausim dicere 'superet', sed tamen ausim optare tacitus. Deinde  
ea est Caroli felicitas vt imperii titulo, qui superioribus aliquot seculis  
plus habuit iuris quam autoritatis, par responsura videatur potestas.  
Nam complures magnos reddidit commissum imperium, Carolus ipsi  
imperio dignitatem adiunget. Aliis imperii nomen adserebat ius  
20 orbis, Carolus orbis principatum adseret imperio. Denique ea est  
aetate vt propicii numinis praesidio spes sit fore vt sub eo Principe  
quam diutissime floreat orbis Christianus. Et eiusmodi regnis imperat  
vt nemo magis sit formidandus barbaris Christianae religionis  
hostibus.  
25 Illud omnium votis optandum a superis, vt hanc eximiam virtutis  
indolem quam nunc praesefert Carolus, et seruent et semper in  
melius prouehant; quo profligatis ab omni republica Christiana  
bellorum impiis tumultibus, Christi populus iugi pace tranquilloque  
ocio laetus, honestissimis artibus ac pietatis studiis eximie floreat;  
30 aut certe, si res ita poscet, concordēs nostrorum principum vires et  
arma in Christiani nominis hostes conuertantur. Quod si quid etiam  
Carolo gratulandum est, duplici nomine cum primis gratulandum  
arbitror, et quod vestro iudicio sit ascitus, et quod Francisco Gallia-  
rum rege tanto videlicet competitore sit imperii fastigium assecutus,  
35 ipse promerens magis quam ambiens: vt, quemadmodum olim  
Hectoris virtus Achillis victoriam illustrauit, quemadmodum Turnus  
vir fortissimus Aeneae laudem auxit, ita summus Rex eiusdem hono-

TIT. E: ERASMVS ROT. ALBERTO CARD. MOGVNTIN. S. D. H.

30. ita N: ista E.

ris aemulus Caroli gloriam reddiderit illustriorem. Mandatum est, non venditum imperium, et mandatum est ei qui quam fortissime possit obire; mandatum est ei qui velit quam sanctissime administrare. Nihil superest nisi vt summus ille Princeps, cui vni cor regum omnium in manu est, et vestrum iudicium et Caroli conatum et nostrum votum bene fortunet. Ad id omnibus pro sua cuique portione est adnitendum, quando negotium agitur omnium.

Non poenitebat antehac libelli quo quod sit Principis munus vteunque praescribimus; quem libellum Ferdinandus noster, adulescens virtuti natus, semper habet in manibus. Nunc etiam magis gaudeo, quod sperem eam, si qua est, vtilitatem ad vniuersum orbem peruenturam. Etenim quemadmodum plurimum laedit qui fontem inficit vnde bibant omnes, ita latissime patet illius beneficium qui pectus instruit omnibus imperaturum.

Ricardus Paceus, optimi Regis orator optimus, non dubitabam quin R. D. T. modis omnibus esset placiturus. Atque ille reuersus ad nos dici vix queat quantopere sibi gratulatus sit, cui contigisset talem Principem, non minus integritate morum quam imaginibus maiorum aut fortunae dignitate clarum, et nouisse et vicissim innotuisse. Quam ille gestiens, quam ardenti oratione plurima cupidissime percontanti totum te mihi depinxit!

Ego porro quid dignitatis aut adiumenti possim adferre sacris literis, alii viderint; nobis certe propositum est hisce laboribus 60 immori: quos Christo non ingratos esse confidimus, vel hoc certe nomine quod simplici animo in illius gloriam a nobis suscipiuntur. Quid ni boni consulat hanc nostram sedulitatem, qui pauperculae viduae quadrantem omnibus diuitum muneribus praetulerit? Aliis alii benefactis Christum demerere student: nos, quando 65 nihil aliud possumus, hac illi victima litabimus.

Iam vero vide quantum benignitati tuae et Hutteni nomine debeam; de quo sic mihi praesagit animus, hominem aliquando magnum ornamentum nostrae Germaniae futurum, si modo et Dei praesidio vita suppetat et tuae celsitudinis fauore non destituatur; nam hanc ingenii lasciuiam, vt ita loquar, satis per se corrigit aetatis accessio. Quod nihil te commouet error eius qui dicato libello sedulo verius quam prudenter studuit alteri gratificari, ea res mihi animum vere excelsum et tanto Principe dignum arguit. Munus nondum est allatum: vbi redditum erit, mihi semper vt res quaequam sacra 75 seruabitur, atque etiam ostentabitur, vt tui erga me animi pignus tuique de me iudicii monumentum. Bene valeat R. T. D.: cui semper commendatus esse cupio.

Antuerpiae. XVIII. Calend. Septemb. An. M.D.XIX.

53. R. D. T. E: tibi H. 56. aut om. F. 57. plurima H: mihi plurima E.  
71. vt ita loquar add. F. 77. R. T. D. E: tua sublimitas H. 79. XVIII E:  
XVII Lond., quod sequitur LB. EN<sup>2</sup>: Septembris HN<sup>3</sup>.

41. cor regum] Cf. Prov. 21. 1.  
45. Principis munus] See Ep. 853.  
47. in manibus] Cf. Epp. 917 introd.,  
943. 23-4, 970. 24-5.  
53. reuersus] Cf. Ep. 1001. 53n.  
68. praesagit] Cf. Epp. 990. 20, 1006. 131.  
71. lasciuiam] The qualification  
added in F shows that this word is  
used here with no reprehensive intent.  
Erasmus was no doubt thinking of  
Hutten's recent publications men-  
tioned in Ep. 923. 18-21, 29.  
72. error eius] Cf. Epp. 745 introd.,  
976. 13-27.

## 1010. TO THE READER.

Nouum Testamentum, 1519, tit. v<sup>o</sup> (a).

(Bruges ?)

1 September 1519.

[A preface written for a separate issue of Erasmus' Latin version of the New Testament, as printed from his original translation (cf. Ep. 384 introd.) in the edition of March 1519: *Nouum Testamentum omne iuxta Graecorum emendata volumina, interprete Erasmo Roterodamo*, Louvain, Th. Martens, 1519, 16<sup>o</sup> (Ghent Univ. Lib., Rés. 1137). In the *Apol. qua respondet* (f<sup>o</sup>. D<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup>; Jortin ii. 512) he describes this issue as undertaken against his wishes; and says that he added this preface 'haudquaquam in rem typographi', in order to warn the reader not to accept any text, not even that of Greek manuscripts, without critical examination. At the same time he testifies, as here, that his desire was not to supersede the Vulgate, but only by what he considered a more correct translation to throw light on the meaning of the Greek text: cf. Epp. 809. 84-93, 860. 44-9.

The separate issue proved a success, and was quickly reprinted, either complete or the Gospels only, by Schumann at Leipzig 18 Oct. 1519 and 1520, by Cratander at Basle Aug. 1520 and March 1521, by Morhard at Strasburg Sept. 1520 and 1521, and by Anshelm at Hagenau 1520 (see BEr<sup>1</sup>. pt. ii, pp. 26, 57). Unless there is a prior Martens or Froben edition of 1520, Cratander's issue of Aug. 1520 is notable as containing a new piece by Erasmus—the only case that I know of where Cratander printed anything of his for the first time: a 'noua praefatio' to the reader—*Quod apud Matthaeum*, without date—, which again disclaims any intention of finding fault with the Vulgate, but otherwise is of little interest, and therefore need not be included among Erasmus' letters. A Froben edition of 14 June 1521 reprints this of Cratander's closely; but in a later edition—after Erasmus' return to Basle—by Froben, July 1522, which has the text as slightly modified in the New Testament of Feb. 1522, two new prefaces are substituted for that of 1521, also addressed to the reader and without dates. The first, *Toties iam dictum*, repeats again his disclaimer 'hac versione non damnari mihi vulgatam aeditionem qua nunc vtitur Ecclesia Romana, sed vt illa sit emendatior magisque perspicua'. The second, *Quaquam in rebus diuinis*, which comes at the end of the book, is of the nature of a *Paraclesis* rather than a letter, and was doubtless composed 'in rem typographi' (cf. Ep. 43 introd.) to fill the last eight pages. Neither is suitable for inclusion here. All the three later prefaces appear in Froben editions of Jan. and Oct. 1523, Nov. 1524, and s. a.; but so far as I can discover—there are Froben editions of 1521 (8<sup>o</sup>) and 1532 which I have not seen—, this preface was not reprinted in any authorized volume.

After 1521 unauthorized reprints of Erasmus' Latin version of the New Testament become very numerous, especially in Germany and Switzerland. Translations of it appeared, too, into German 1523, Flemish 1525, Bohemian 1533, English 1538, Italian 1545, Polish 1552, French 1554; see BEr<sup>1</sup>. pt. ii, *N. Test.*

Erasmus' movements at this time are not clear (Ep. 1013. 23n); but there is reason to suppose that about 1 Sept. he was at Bruges (Epp. 1012, 1025. 4n), staying, no doubt, with his friend Marcus Laurinus, the Dean of St. Donatian's.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS AEQVIS LECTORIBVS S. D.

ME plane reclamante factum est, optime lector, vt Nouum Testamentum a me verum absque Annotationibus excuderetur typis, hoc est nudum et inermis Zoilorum dentibus obiceretur. Sed quando vicit aliorum vel consilium vel quaestus, quod proximum est et vnum  
 5 restat, admonitum te volo, ne, quicquid senseris a vulgata receptaque translatione dissonare, protinus sic interpreteris quasi mea noua veterem suggillet ac reprehendat. Nos quod in emendatis Graecorum codicibus repperimus, sic vertimus vt aliquoties nostra Graecis praeferamus, nonnunquam ita conferimus vt lectori iudicium relinqua-  
 10 mus vtra sit potior lectio. Certe docuimus, et negari non potest, in nostris codicibus multa esse loca deprauata, nonnulla vel obscure vel ambigue vel barbaramente reddita, quaedam hactenus parum intellecta.



In his si senseris tuo studio nostram industriam adiumento fuisse, gratiam habeto non mihi sed Iesu Christo, cuius praesidio geritur quicquid recte geritur a nobis. Quod si quid offenderis quod prima statim specie displiceat, ne sis praeceps ad calumniandum. Suspende sententiam donec consulueris nostras Annotationes. Absit autem vt quorundam inauditam impudentiam velis imitari, qui priuatim ac publice damnant quod profitentur se non legisse; in hoc vel ipso Zoilo iniquiores, quod is in Homeri carminibus diligenter excussis quaedam carpserit, et haud scio an recte, atque interim ea certe comprobauit quae non attigit. Isti clausis oculis andabatarum ritu impugnant quod non vident, damnant quod quale sit nec intelligunt nec curant intelligere. Atque, o mirum inscitiae supercilium, quod summus Pontifex inspectum et examinatum dignum censuit quod legatur a studiosis omnibus, id isti non inspectum odiosis clamoribus insectantur, praesertim apud imperitos. Vnde haec iniquitas, ne dicam peruersitas, inter Christianos, imo inter hos qui professione religionis haberi volunt insignes?

Sed cum his litigare non est animus. Te, lector, appello, qui ad Christi doctrinam adfers animum vere Christianum. Si quid satisfacit palato tuo, fruiere; tum aequior esto, sicubi prodesse studentii parum successit pius conatus.

Calendis Septembribus. Anno M.D.XIX.

1004<sup>1011</sup><sub>1066</sub> FROM WILLIAM BUDAEUS.

Epistolae Budaei, 1520, f. 121 v<sup>o</sup> (a).

Marly.

F. p. 210: HN: Lond. iii. 68: LB. 455.

(September 1519.)

Budaei Epistolae, 1531, gr., f. 5 v<sup>o</sup> (b).

Id. 1540, p. 30 (c): 1574, p. 40 (d).

[This letter was first printed by Budaeus with Epp. 1015, 1073 in BE<sup>1</sup>, Paris, J. Badius, 20 Aug. 1520 (a<sup>1</sup>: Bodl. B. 18. 16 Linc.), corrected in a later impression bearing the same date (a<sup>2</sup>: Bodl. Byw. K. 9. 9); and it was again included, with Epp. 403, 435, 493, 522, 583, and others of later date to Erasmus, in BE<sup>3</sup>, Feb. 1531 (b). It might be conjectured that F would have been printed from the actual letters received by Erasmus; but examination of its readings shows its close dependence upon a. Such differences as there are between them are mainly rectifications of the iota subscript—a matter in which the early printers of Greek were very uncertain, probably through the inadequacy of their supply of type; there are a few necessary corrections (ll. 31, 62, 109), and some degenerations (ll. 30, 43, 74, 101). As between a<sup>1</sup> and a<sup>2</sup>, the readings of ll. 4, 17, 28, 44, 73, 117, 124 show unquestionably that a<sup>2</sup> was the archetype of F. This inference is even more markedly evident in Ep. 1015, where some obvious misprints which are special to a<sup>2</sup>, are faithfully reproduced in F.

It is clear therefore that Erasmus—remembering perhaps Budaeus' notice (Ep. 493. 45 seq.) of a misprint in Ep. 403. 149 as printed in B—instructed the editors of F to follow Budaeus' published text with scrupulous care, leaving them, however, free to correct undoubted errors in their original; and further that they used for the printing a copy of a<sup>2</sup>. This view of the facts supplies a further and conclusive proof (cf. vol. iii, pp. 627–8) that Ep. 1206 is to be placed in 1521. It may be noticed that in printing some of his own letters in BE<sup>3</sup>, (b) Budaeus

21. atquae a.

22. andabatarum] A kind of gladiator, whose helmet had no eyeholes. The figure is a favourite with Jerome: cf. *Adag.* 1333.

25. Pontifex] Leo's Brief, Ep. 864, is printed in Martens' present volume: also Ep. 384. For this appeal to Papal authority cf. Ep. 1007.

appears to have used not the rough-drafts but the text printed by Erasmus in C<sup>1</sup>: see vol. ii, p. xx.

The section of Budaeus' Greek letters in b, of which this is one, aroused continued interest throughout the century. Shortly before Budaeus' death (23 Aug. 1540) a young scholar, Wm. Plancius or Plantius of Le Mans—afterwards well-known for his translations from Plutarch, Hippocrates, and Galen, and for his edition of the *Pharmacia* of his master, John Fernelius—, asked permission to edit them again; and Budaeus, readily assenting, lent his own copy of the letters with further corrections and improvements by himself. Plancius' volume, *G. Budaei graecae epistolae, ab ipso nuper tum locupletiores tum emendatiores redditae*, Paris, C. Wechel, 1540 (c<sup>1</sup>), represents therefore the final polish given to the letters by their author. It is followed by two reprints issued by the Wechel firm in Paris, 1550 (c<sup>2</sup>) and 1556: the latter of which I have not seen. Later Ant. Pichonius of La Chartre on the Loir, who in 1585 was Regius Professor of Greek at Tours, produced a Latin translation of the Greek letters, and at the same time made a few corrections in the text, Paris, J. Benenatus, 1574 (d). Finally in imitation of Tusanus' notes on BE<sup>1</sup>, and BE<sup>2</sup>, (Ep. 810. 450n), Claudius Credonius Colaeneus published a volume of notes, grammatical rather than explanatory, Paris, J. Februius, 1579.

In the sigla a of course has the priority: for the sake of convenience I have placed b, c, d after N, and have neglected the occasional, but unimportant, variants of Lond. and LB. The corrections made in N<sup>2</sup> at ll. 30, 74 (cf. Ep. 1073. 45n) perhaps imply that its editors had seen b. There is a ms. copy at the British Museum (Harl. 1675, ff. 99 v<sup>o</sup>–103: c. 1591); but it is incomplete and otherwise of no value, and probably was made from one of the printed volumes.

The month-date given for this letter in all the contemporary editions is identical with that for Ep. 1015, 15 Sept. Both letters answer Ep. 1004; but this was written somewhat the earlier, and not long after the arrival of Ep. 1004 (Ep. 1015. 166–8). The correction required might be made in either letter. Thus Leclerc dates this 15 Aug.; or in Ep. 1015. 165 *Nouembris* might be read for *Octobris*, or *Septimo* for *Septimodecimo*. But as the postscript to Ep. 1015 shows that this letter was brought back and the two sent off at the same time, though by different messengers, it seems easiest to suppose that the month-date was altered here, perhaps by Budaeus himself, to accord with that of the second dispatch. In any case Longolius' movements (l. 4n) make Leclerc's correction impossible; for ll. 3–11 show that by the time Ep. 1004 reached Budaeus, Longolius had already left Paris. Ep. 1023. 2 also indicates that when he left, Budaeus had not yet written to Erasmus. The letters were not delivered quickly; for on 2 Jan. 1520 Budaeus wrote to Vives (BE<sup>4</sup>. 51), in answer to a letter not extant, 'Quod miraris me non scribere, velim vt scias Erasmi epistolae nouissimae Graece et Latine rescripsisse'. By 2 Feb. he had heard that they had arrived (BE<sup>4</sup>. 52).]

#### ΒΟΥΔΑΙΟΣ ΕΡΑΣΜΩ ΕΤ ΠΑΤΤΕΙΝ.

Ἦδὺ μοι πάνυ ἐγένετο τὰ γράμματά σου λαβεῖν, ἐτύγχανον γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ τούτου ἐφιέμενος. Οὐ μὴν δὲ οὕτως ἡδέα μοι τὰ γράμματα αὐτὰ ἀνεωγμένα, τό γε πρῶτον ἀναγνόντι, γέγονε. Ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν ἡμέρα Χριστοφόρος ὁ Λογγόλιος, ἀνὴρ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὑπάρξων τῶν ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ εὐδοκιμούντων, διὰ τῆς ἀγροικίας τῆς ἐμῆς μεταβεβήκει, σὺν τισὶ δὴ χαρίεσιν ἀνδράσιν εἰς Βρετανίαν ἰὼν· ἐπὶ γε μὴν τῇ συγγενέσθαι σοι καὶ Λουνάνιον δὴ πόλιν ὀφόμενος ἐν τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ, ὥς γέ μοι ἔφασκε. Περὶ δέιλῃν οὖν ὀψίαν ἔχοντί μοι περὶ

2. c: ἀνεωγμένα a.

4. a<sup>2</sup>: Λογγόλιος a<sup>1</sup>b.

5. χαρίεσιν a.

4. Λογγόλιος] His departure from Paris clearly is to be placed later than 12 Aug. (BE<sup>4</sup>. 40); and, as he was going to Louvain (l. 6), presumably he carried with him also BE<sup>4</sup>. 41–3, dated 16–19 Aug.

οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν κτλ.] sc. mox inter eos futurus qui . . .

5. μεταβεβήκει] The absence of augment is perhaps due to reminiscence of Hom. *Od.* 12. 312, 14. 483: cf. Ep. 1004. 80n.

ἀνδράσιν] M. Delaruelle points out that Longolius was accompanying Abbot L. Bartolini (Ep. 1187).

6. Λουνάνιον] Cf. Epp. 1023, 4.

τὰ τῆς φιλολογίας ἀπήγγελλέ τις τῶν οἴκοι νεανίσκων τινὰ περὶ τὴν αὐλειον  
θύραν εἶναι, ἵππῳ ἐποχούμενον. Καὶ παραχρῆμα καταβάντι μοι νεανίσκος  
οὗτος ἐπέστη, μετὰ δὲ τὸ προσειπεῖν ἐμέ, γράμματα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑράσμου κομίζειν 10  
φάμενος καὶ τινος ἄλλου τῶν φίλων. Τούτου τοίνυν ἀκρώμενος οὐκ οἶδ'  
ὅπως ὑπὸ χαρᾶς διεκείμην, μετὰ δὲ αἰσθανόμενος τῆς καρδίας ἀττούσης ἀνὰ  
τὰς φρένας ἐμάς.

Κομισάμενος οὖν αὐτὰ καὶ ἀνοίξας, ὡς Ἑλληνιστὶ φθεγγομένην εὐθὺς εἶδον  
τὴν ἀρχήν, τὸ ἄηθες δὲ ἡγάσθην· εἶπ' ὁξέως ὑπὸ σπουδῆς διεξίναμι ἀρξάμενος, 15  
μεταξὺ ἀναγινώσκων ἐρυθρός, ὠχρός, ὑπομειδιῶν, σεσηρώς, δυσχεραίνων ἐν  
μέρει καὶ εὐγνωμόνως ἔχων, διακεχυμένος, συγκεχυμένος, διαποίκιλος, παντοῖος,  
καὶ τί γὰρ οὐκ ἐγενόμην, ἀπαλλαξείων δῆθεν τοῦδε τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὅτε μὲν, ὅτε  
δὲ πάλιν πολεμῆσιόν. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπ' ἐμαυτοῦ σκεπτόμενος,  
εἶπ' ἐπιβραχὺ ταλαντευόμενος τὴν γνώμην, διασπώντων δῆθεν τῇδε κάκεισε 20  
τὸν λογισμὸν ὑπεναντίων παθῶν ἀλλήλοις, εἰς σύννοιάν τινα καθέστηκα συμ-  
φιλοσοφῶν ἐμαυτῷ· ἄχρι δὲ τελευτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς διανοίας ἰσορροποῦντος  
ἐπὶ τὸ εὐάρεστον κατέρρεψα καὶ ἐπιεικές, τῆς φιλίας δῆπουθεν ἐχόμενος τῆς  
ἄγαν ἐμοὶ κεχαρισμένης· οὐ τοσοῦτόν γέ σου τὸ ἐπιτιμητικὸν ὑπολογιστέον  
εἶναι ἀναμνησκούσης με ταύτης, ὅσου χρὴν τιμᾶσθαι τὸ εὐμένες καὶ προσ- 25  
φιλὲς τῆς ψυχῆς.

Ἄμα δὲ καὶ ἐπῆρι τοῦτο μοι τηνικαῦτα ἐπισκεψαμένῳ, εἴποτέ τι κατὰ τοῦ  
φίλου θεοῦ πεπλημμέλῃται ὑπ' ἐμοῦ (συμβαίη γὰρ ἂν τοιόνδε τί που ἐν τῷ  
παγινώδει ἐκεῖν τῆς ἀληθοῦς συμβολῆς ἀπεικονίσματι, τῷ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς  
ἡμῶν), τοῦτο δὲ ἐκπρίσθαι δεῖν ἐμὲ ἱεροθύτῳ τινὶ οὐ τῷ τυχόντι οὐδ' ὡς ἂν 30  
τύχῃ ἱερουργηθέντι. Ὅτι τοίνυν οὐδ' ἂν ἐνὶ ἱερεῖᾳ τὸν πλημμελοῦμενον θεὸν  
εὐχερέστερον ἐξίλασαίμεθα ἢ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἐξομολογήσει τε καὶ  
μετανοίᾳ, ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστιν ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐμφιλοσοφοῦσιν τοῖς θεοῖς.  
Τοιγὰρ οὖν, ἄνερ προσφιλέστατε, σὲ μὲν προκαλούμενον ἐμὲ εἰς χαριεστέραν  
τινὰ καὶ φιλοπρεπεστέραν τῶν ἀμοιβαίων γραμμάτων ιδέαν τε καὶ ὑπόθεσιν, 35  
οὕτως ἀποδέχομαι τῆς τε εὐγνωμοσύνης (ἐνεκα) καὶ τῆς μισεγκλήμονος ψυχῆς,  
ὥστε τῇ νενομοθετημένῃ ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀμνηστία κομιδῇ τε ἀρέσκομαι, διατελέσειν  
τε ὑπισχνούμαι αὐτῇ ἐναπομένων. Ἴσθι οὖν τὸν σὸν Βουδαῖον ἔξω τὸ ἀπὸ  
τούτου τοῖς φιλίας νομίμοις πειθαρχοῦντα, εἰ καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ δὴ τῶν δοκίμων  
σοῦ καὶ ἐξητασμένων φίλων.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ οὐκ ὀκνήσω ἐγωγε οὕτω περὶ φιλίας φρονῶν καὶ σοῦ δέεσθαι  
μίαν δέησιν τήνδε, σὺ δὲ δὴ ταύτην οἶμαι οὐκ ἂν βαρυνθείης αἰτουμένῳ μοι  
συγχωρεῖν· ἴν' ἐξῇ μοι, σωζομένης τῆς ἀμνηστίας οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν τε βιαζομένης  
τῆς ἡσυχίας, τό γε τοσοῦτον μεμνήσθαι τῶν παρεληλυθότων ὅσον διαμαρ-  
τύρεσθαι ἐναντίον ἀπάντων, ἂν τ' ἐχθρῶν ἂν τε φίλων ἐμῶν τε καὶ σῶν, ἅτ' 45  
ἂν ἡ καὶ ὅποι' ἅτ' ἂν δόξῃ τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ποτὲ περὶ σοῦ τε καὶ πρὸς σε γεγραμ-  
μένα τε καὶ εἰρημένα, ταῦτα δὲ γεγενῆσθαι ἀπὸ φιλονεικίας μὲν ἴσως, οὐκ  
οἶδ' ὅπως τῇ ψυχῇ παρεισδύσης καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἀκονησάσης, ἴσως δέ που καὶ

17. a<sup>1</sup>H: εὐγνωμόνως a<sup>2</sup>. N: δυακεχυμένος a. 27. Fc: ἐπῆρι ab. 28. a<sup>2</sup>:  
φίλου a<sup>1</sup>. 30. ἱεροθύτῳ aN<sup>2</sup>b: ἱεροθύτῳ FN<sup>2</sup>. 31. F Corrīg.: ἱερουργηθέντι a.  
33. F: μετανοία a. ac: ἴσθι b. ἡμῖν a: ὑμῖν c. 35. b: ἀμοιβαίαν a.  
γραμμάτων aad. c. 36. ἐνεκα coni. Credonius, p. 29. 37. F: ἀμνηστία a.  
43. F: ἐξῇ a. H: ὅτι οὖν a. aN: βιαζομένης F. 44. τῆς ἡσυχίας aad. c.  
a<sup>2</sup>: διαμαρτύρεσθαι a<sup>1</sup>. 45. ac<sup>2</sup>: ἐναντίων c<sup>1</sup>. 46. ἡ b: ἡ a. 47. τε aad. c.  
48. ab: ἀκονισάσης N.

8. νεανίσκων] Doubtless Herm. Phry-  
sius (Ep. 903. 12n); by whom Budaeus  
endeavoured to send this reply (Ep.  
1015. 167). He was the bearer of Epp.

1002,3 also; see Ep. 1002. 41-7. He  
returned to Paris in March 1520.

12. ἀττούσης] sc. αἰσσοσύσης.

34. προκαλούμενον] Ep. 1004. 121-5.

παρεισφθαρείσης ἂν τὸ τελευταῖον (οἷα φιλεῖ τοῦ θυμοῦ τὰ ὀρμήματα εἰς  
 50 χεῖρον ἐπιτείνεσθαι)· οὐκ ἔτι δέ τοι ἀπὸ τῆς δυσέριδος φιλονεικίας καὶ ἀμίλλης  
 τῆς κακόνου, οὐ μὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, ἧς τὸ θεῖον ἡμῖν σεπτὸν τυγχάνει ὃν καὶ  
 σεβάσμιον. Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τούτου μάρτυρα ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὴν αὐτοαλήθειαν  
 οὐκ ἂν ὀκνοίην αὐτός, τὴν τῶν εὐ φιλοσοφούντων προαίρεσιν κατευθύνουσιν  
 καὶ καρδιῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔφορον. Καίτοι οὐκ ἀδεῶς ἔγωγε οὐδ' ὅτε ἔτυχε  
 55 διόμνυσθαι εἰθώς, οὐδὲν νῦν, ὡς οἶμαι, πιστώσασθαι τὴν εὐνοίαν ἡμῶν ἐδεόμην,  
 εἰ μὴ οἱ φίλοι οἱ σοί, τάχα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι, μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ τὴν  
 ἡμετέραν φιλοκαλίαν δυσχεραίνοντες, πιστώσασθαι μὲ σιγῇ ἐδόκουν, καὶ τουτονὶ  
 τὸν ὄρκον ὀρκῶσαι· δυσμένειάν τινα δῆπου ὑφορώμενοι ἐν ἡμῖν ταύτῃ τε  
 ἐφηρόμενοι, ἐξ ὧν ἡκροβολισάμεθα πρὸ τοῦ μελετητικῶς.

60 Σὺ γε μὴν, ὦ δαιμόνιε, εἰ τοῖόνδε τι καὶ σοὶ σύνοισθα εἰργασμένῳ, περὶ γε  
 τῆς ἐφαμίλλου τῆσδε φιλονεικίας τῆς χωρούσης πόρρω τοῦ ἀποχρῶντος εἰδείης  
 ἂν, εἰ καὶ σοὶ καθαρτέον ἔστιν ὡς τὰς φρένας σου. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐν δέοντι  
 θεῖτό τις τῶν χρηστῶν καὶ προσφιλέστερον ἔχόντων τὸ ἀπομνημονεύειν νῦν  
 ἐκεῖνα ὧν ἔγωγε τυγχάνω τεθναμακῶς ἐν τῇ σῇ ἐπιστολῇ, δεξιῶς μὲν καὶ  
 65 σοφῶς, φιλαιτῶς δὲ πῶς ἐρμηνευθέντων, καὶ δὴ καὶ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἡκριβο-  
 λογημένων, ὡς γε δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀμνηστίας παραχρήμα παρεισείοντος.  
 \*Εἶδε γάρ τοι πραῦντικὸν μᾶλλον λόγου καὶ κατακλητικῶς, ἐφ' ᾧ τε παρα-  
 σκευάσαι με πειθήνιον καὶ εὐμενῶς τὸν νόμον ἐνδεξόμενον τὸν σόν· ἐπεὶ εἰ  
 αὐτὸς ἀγωνιστικῶς ἔχων ταύτῃ ἐπεχείρησα τῇ διαδικασίᾳ ἐπεξίων θυμοειδεῖ  
 70 τῇ ψυχῇ μου χαρίζεσθαι ἐμπαθέστερον, οὐκ ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ πέρας ἔσχεν  
 οὐδεπώποτε· εἴτ' ἐκ τῆς ἄγαν ἀμίλλης τῆσδε δυοῖν φίλοιον Ἰλιάς τις κακῆς  
 φιλονεικίας ἀνεφάνη ἂν, ἐκατέρου δῆπουθεν τὸ δίκαιον ἐαυτῷ περιποιούμενου  
 ἔσαι, καὶ δικαίως κἀδίκως.

Καὶ μὴν ἔγωγε συνήδομαί μοι ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸς ἐμαντοῦ ἔφθην εἶναι αὐτεξού-  
 75 σιος, ὅσα καὶ τῇ φιλόφρονί σου ἀμνηστία εὐγνωμόνως ἐπαναπαύσασθαι,  
 ἐπεικεστέρα ἂν δῆπου καὶ ταύτῃ γενομένη, εἰ μὴ ταύτην πρὸς ἐγκληματικῇ  
 ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἐπεισήγαγες, πολυπραγμονούσῃ γε τὰ καὶ τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ  
 παρανενομήσθαι δοκοῦντα, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀσυμμέτρου ἐν τῷ ἀγωνίζεσθαι. Οὐ γὰρ  
 ἔξαρνός εἰμι τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ ὑπάτιον, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἂν αἰσχυνθείην ἀνατίθεσθαι τὰ  
 80 ἐσφαλμένα μοι ὅπῃ παρείκοι, συγγνώμην τε παραιτεῖσθαι ὧν ἔφθην ποιήσας  
 οὐκ ἐν δέοντι. Πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τοῦτο δὴ ὠνάμην τῆς δεινότητος τῆς  
 σῆς, ὅτι τὸν νομοθετοῦντά μοι φέρειν ἤδη κοσμίως τε καὶ τεταγμένως ἐθισθή-  
 σομαι, καὶ νομβετοῦντος εὐλαβῶς ἀκροᾶσθαι, μέχρι δὴ καὶ τοῦ κρατεῖν δυσκα-  
 θέκτου παθήματος καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀπάντων πρὸς τὸν λογισμὸν ἀπαυθαδιαζο-  
 85 μένου. Οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅτι τῶν παθῶν ἥττον ὑπήκουσε τοῦ λόγου, οὐδὲ  
 δυσχερέστερον ἐπειάρχησε τῇ ἐγκρατείᾳ, τῆσδε τῆς ἀνταγωνιστικῆς ὁρμῆς,  
 καὶ ταῦτα διαφιλοτιμουμένης περὶ τοῦ δικαιολογῆσαι δοκεῖν. Σοῦ δὲ δὴ  
 ἔργον ἔσται, ὦ φιλότῃς, καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν σε ἀνεπεικέ-  
 στερον τούτου ἀπαλλάξαι τοῦ ἀγῶνος· ὅπου γε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁρῶν σε περὶ τῇ  
 90 φήμῃ μου δεδιώτα, ὡς ἔφης, πρὸς τοῦ καθήκοντος δὴ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ᾤθηθην εἶναι,  
 καὶ δὴ δοκήσεως, ἀντεπιμελείσθαι τῆς σῆς.

52. ab: αὐταλήθειαν N. 57. d: σιγῇ a. 59. προτόυδε c. 60. F:  
 εἰργασμένῳ a. 61. Fc: εἰδείης ab. 62. F Corrig.: καρθατέον a. H: ψ δέ ab.  
 67. b: κατακλητικῶς a. ἐφ' ᾧ scripsi: ἐφῶ a. 69. a¹F: ταύτῃ a².  
 71. οὐδεπώποτε a: οὐδέ-/ποτε c. tis add. c. 73. κἀδίκως a². 74. aN²: συνή-  
 δομαί FN³. 75. F: ἀμνηστία a. 76. H: ἐπεικεστέρα a. καὶ ταύτῃ add. c.  
 H: γενομένη a. ταύτην om. c. 77. αὐτὴν post ἐπιστόλῃ add. c. F:  
 πολυπραγμονούσῃ a. 81. ab: ὠνάμην H. 83. a²: νομβετοῦτος a¹.  
 87. δικαιολογείσθαι c. 90. Fc: ᾤθηθην ab. 91. καὶ om. d. δὴ a: τῆς c.

Τί οὖν πρὸς θεοῦ; ἔστιν ὅστις τῶν κοινῶν ἡμῖν φίλων ἐν καλῷ τοῦτο θήσεται, ὅτι τριῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γραφεισῶν ἐφεξῆς ἐπιστολῶν, μᾶ μὲν μόνον σύ γε τῇ χειρίσθαι καὶ ἤδη ἀπρηχαιωμένη ἐπεξιῶν, ἅπαντα ταύτης μόρια ἀηδῶς γε ἔχοντα πάντῃ πάντως μετιῶν, ἐπηγιάσω, οὕτω τοι παρερμηνεύσας ὥς 95 ἀκατανόητά μοι εἶναι τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐπεσταλμένα· δυοῖν δὲ ταῖν προσφιλῶς καὶ εὐνοικῶς ἐχούσιν οὐδ' ὅλως ἐμνήσθης οὐδεπώποτε. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνη γε ἡ περιεργία, τὴν πικρίαν τε καὶ ἀτοπίαν ἐπανακυκλοῦσα τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπιστολῆς, τῆς ἄγαν γλυκυθυμίας ὄξει, οὐδὲ δὴ τῶν ἀπομνημονευτέων ἐκείνων τῶν εὖ καὶ φιλικῶς ἐχόντων γραμμάτων ἢ ἀποσιώπησις ἢ σὴ πιστώσασθαί μοι δοκεῖ τὰ 100 περὶ φιλίας τῆς εὐσταθοῦς τὸ σὸν μέρος. Σὺ γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς αἰεὶ εἶναι τὰ κατὰ τὴν φιλίαν φήσας, ἀπιστεῖσθαι οὐ δέδοικας, τηλικαύτην σου τὴν μνησικακίαν κατεγνωκώς; Εἴτα τοῦτο ποιεῖν φθάσας, ἀναπέσειν οἶε τοὺς ἄλλους πάντα σε εὖ τίθεσθαι ὅπωςτιοῦν εἰρῆσθαι φθάσαντα; Πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε τῇ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων διεξόδῳ ἐντροφῶν δεινотικῶς τε καὶ σμικρολόγως, πάντων τε τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ 105 γεγραμμένων ἐπιλαβόμενος ἀπρίξ, ἀνεπίληπτόν σε παντάπασιν ἀποδεικνύει ἐγκεχειρηκας. Τοῦτο μέντοι οὐ πείσεις οὐδ' ἦν πείσης, τὸ τοῦ κωμικοῦ.

Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ, ὦ φίλε, τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τὴν ἐμὴν εὐήθως ἀνομολογούμενος συγγινώσκεσθαι ἀξιῶ, εἰ βαρυνθεὶς τὴν αὐστηράν σου καὶ ὑπερακριβῆ ἐπιτιμήσιν, δῖδου γε σεαυτὸν ἀθώωσαντος, μέχρι τοῦδε παρεξέτεω τὸν λόγον· 110 εἰ καὶ πάντως γε πέπεισμαι ἀληθῆ σε φίλον εἶναι καὶ εὐνοικῶς ἔχοντα. Ἄμφω γὰρ ἴσως που δεδεκασμένην γνώμην ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἔχομεν τῆς φιλαντίας ὥς ἔοικεν ἐχομένης ἐμπαθέστερον, οἷα φιλεῖ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι. Ἄλλα μὴν αὖθις αὐτὰ δέδια μὴ ἔλαθον τὴν ἐπιτετηδευμένην ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μετάνοιαν διαταράττων· ᾧ γὰρ μεταμέλει τῶν ἡμφισβητημένων, οὗτος εἰ μὴ εἰς τοῦτιον 115 τὸ παράπαν ἀναδύνειτο τὰ τῆς ἡμφισβητήσεως, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πταῖσμα πάλιν καλινδούμενος. Τοῦντεῦθεν οὖν ἤδη ἀνεπιστρέπτως μετανοοῦντά με παρέχομαι καὶ εἰς ἅπερ ἂν βούλῃ πρόθυμον καὶ εὐτρεπῆ, ἄλλως τε οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένως φύσει διακείμενον τῆς ἀστειοτέρας τε καὶ χαριεστέρας ἀμοιβῆς. εἰς δὲ δὴ πεδίον σύ γε ἡμᾶς προκαλῆ, ὃ ταῖς χάρισι σύντροφος. 120 Ἔστω δὴ σὺν θεῷ ὁ ἀμνηστίας νόμος τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε κύριος. Ὅποτερος δ' ἂν ἡμῶν τῶν ἀφειμένων ἐκατέρωθεν οἰοῦν ἀνανεῶται, οὗτος ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν παρανομίας δίκην φεύγειν, καὶ ζημίαν δὴ οὐ μικρὰν προσοφλέτω, τὴν τῶν κοινῶν φίλων ἐχθραν δηλονότι. Ἴδου δὲ τῆς νομοθεσίας συνεπιλαμβάνομαί σοι, καὶ συνεπιψηφίζω δὲ τὸ δόγμα καὶ συνεπικυρῶ τῆς βουλῆς σου τὸ διαγράψον 125 τε, ὥς ἐλπίς, καὶ ἀναιρήσον πάντα τὰ ἐγκεκλημένα. Ὅπως οὖν μνησθεῖς ὧν συ εἰσηγηγὴς γέγονας, πιθανοῦ τινος εἶδους καὶ κομψοῦ προκατάρξῃ, οἷου καὶ τὰ προγεγενημένα καλῶς θέσθαι.

Ἐν Μαρλιανῷ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ μαμακτηριῶνος πέμπτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα.

Ἐρρωσο, καὶ διατέλει εὐτυχέστατα πράττων.

130

93. b : μία a. 94. γε add. c. 99. ἐκείνων add. c. 101. σὺ ab : σὴ F.  
104. ὅπως τιῶν a. 105. a<sup>1</sup> F : διεξόδῳ a<sup>2</sup>. δεινωτικῶς c. τε add. c ante καὶ.  
106. ab : πανταπασῶν H. 107. Fc : πείσης ab. 109. Fc : ἀνστηράν ab.  
113. H : ἐμπαθέστερον a. 115. εἰ μὴ ab : εἰμί H. 117. a<sup>2</sup> : καλινδόμενος a<sup>1</sup>.  
ad : μετανοῶντα c<sup>2</sup>. 119. τε add. c ante καὶ. 120. δὲ δὴ Hc : ὅδῃ ab.  
b : προκαλῆ a. 122. d : ἐκατέρωθεν a. 124. a<sup>2</sup>c : συνεπιλαμβάνομαί a<sup>1</sup>b.  
125. δι add. c. 127. εἶδους add. c. Fb : προκατάρξῃ aN<sup>3</sup>. 129. ac<sup>2</sup> : ὑμετέρῳ b.

93. τριῶν] Epp. 915, 987, 992; cf.  
Ep. 1004. 111.  
μᾶ] Ep. 915.

98. πικρίαν] Cf. Ep. 1004. 59.  
107. κωμικοῦ] Ar. Pl. 600.  
120. πεδίον] Cf. Ep. 1004. 28, 97.

## 1012. TO JOHN FEVINUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 505.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xiii. 8: LB. 269.

9 September (1519?).

[The year-date added in H has no value. In 1517 Erasmus was at Antwerp on this date, and had not recently been to Bruges. Either 1519 or 1520 is possible; for in each year he visited Bruges during the summer (Epp. 1013. 23n, 1129. 1n). But 1519, when at this date his visit was quite recent, is perhaps the more probable: see also l. 7n.]

John Fevinus († 27 Nov. 1555) of Furnes was Dean of the Bachelors of Law at Louvain (Val. Andreas, p. 210). On 15 June 1510 he was appointed canon at St. Donatian's, Bruges (J. Gailliard, *Inscr. funér. de la Flandre*, 1861, i. 135); where he was an intimate friend of the Dean, Marcus Laurinus (l. 10), and also of Cranevelt (Ep. 1145). Vives in 1522 praises him as a young man of great promise (note on Aug. *Ciu. Dei*, xix. 21; p. 660). He performed the marriage ceremony, 26 May 1524, for Vives; who presented him with two books now in the Royal Library at Madrid (A. Bonilla, *Vives*, pp. 757-8). In March (1530?) he wrote to Erasmus announcing that he had been made master of the Cathedral school at Bruges (EE<sup>2</sup>. 71, 159). His relations with Erasmus were always cordial. Above ninety of his letters written to Cranevelt exist in ms., and are being edited by Prof. H. de Vocht of Louvain. One is printed in Geldenhauer's *Collectanea*, ed. J. Prinsen, 1901, pp. 73-4. Adr. Barland's *Inst. artis oratoriae* was dedicated to Fevinus with a preface from Louvain, 13 Feb. 1535; but no copy of the first edition is known (*Bibl. Belgica*).]

ERASMVS ROT. D. IO. FEVINO, CANONICO APVD DIVVM  
DONATIANVM BRVGIS, S. D.

FACIT hoc cum multorum, tum tua praecipue patruique tui Caroli  
rara quaedam humanitas, mihi pauculis diebus degustata, vt et minus  
quam antea placeat Louanium, et magis lubeat animo Brugis vitam  
agere, si modo detur commodus nidus ac mensa digna philosophico  
5 palato. Audio Carolo ferme idem esse palatum quod Erasmo. Amat  
epulas elegantes magis quam multas, et conuiuia lauta potius quam  
longa. Nec locus deesse possit in Principis vacuo palatio, neque  
non perspexi quam sit in nos affectus animus patrui; nam de te nihil  
interim dicam. Porro ne congerones quidem deesse poterunt, vbi  
10 adest praeter alios Marcus noster. Proinde si videtur, hac de re agito  
cum patruo, quando quidem id licebit nullius omnino fraude. Si  
nihil obstat alioqui, de precio inter nos facile conuenerit: sin erit  
quo minus id commodum sit, fac me per literas certiolem, ac bene  
interim vale. Salutem dices humanissimo Carolo, ac Roberto affini  
15 cum sua coniuge. Louanii. quinto Idus Septembr.

Saluta collegas tuos omnes, sed in primis D. Cantorem ac Nicolaum  
Fistulam. [Anno M.D.XVII.]

TT. D. IO. F: IOANNI H.  
bres N<sup>o</sup>. 16. D. om. H.

14. Affini F.

15. Septembr. FN<sup>o</sup>: Septem-  
17. Anno M.D.XVII add. H.

1. Caroli] C. Hedenbault († 28 Aug. 1527, of plague), son of Fevinus' father's sister; consierge of the Princenshof (l. 7). See Gailliard *ibid.* and EE<sup>2</sup>. 71.

4. nidus] Cf. Ep. 1209. 4n.

7. palatio] The now demolished Princenshof, a palace of the Counts of Flanders, in which the Archduke Philip was born, 1478; towards the w. side of the town. In 1520, after Charles' return from Spain, Erasmus

would perhaps hardly have felt so sure that the palace was likely to remain empty: though it is described in the same words in EE<sup>2</sup>. 71.

14. Roberto] R. Hellyn († 15 Oct. 1527), pensionary of Bruges; husband of Fevinus' sister Eleonore († 13 Oct. 1526). Both died of plague. See Gailliard *ibid.* and EE<sup>2</sup>. 71.

16. Cantorem] I cannot identify; nor Fistula.

## 1013. TO JAMES TUTOR.

Copenhagen MS. G. K. S. 95. Fol., f. 194 (a).

Louvain.

Officia Ciceronis, 1520, p. 3 (β).

10 September 1519.

N. p. 1201: Lond. xxviii. 17: LB. 457.

[The preface to a new edition of the *De Officiis*; cf. Ep. 152. The best source is an autograph rough-draft (α) in the Copenhagen MS. (App. 13, in vol. iii). Of the printed editions the first is probably that by Martens, 'rursus accuratissime recognita,' Louvain, s. a. It is fully described in *Le Bibliophile Belge*, xvii, 1862, p. 58; but copies are rare and I have not seen one. Other authorized issues are by Froben, Basle, Aug. 1520 (β); reprinted in 1528 by Herwagen and Jerome Froben, without any change in this preface, but with some revision of the notes by Erasmus and with additions by Goclenius. According to Erasmus' wish (1, p. 39. 26 seq.; cf. Ep. 1000 introd.) this preface is included in N.

In a volume of the *De Officiis*, Louvain, John of Paderborn, c. 1483, bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge by the late F. McClean (No. 332 in C. E. Sayle's *Catalogue*, 1916), are xvi<sup>2</sup>. ms. copies of this letter and Ep. 152. From examination of the variants it seems probable that the copies were made from one of the Froben editions, 1520 (β) or 1528, or from Martens' undated Louvain edition; and that they have no independent authority.

The Göttingen University Library possesses a copy of β, which was presented by Froben to Goclenius and has the latter's marginal notes: see J. C. Orelli's *Onomasticon Tullianum*, 1836, i. 344.

It may be mentioned here that in 1916 there came into my possession a copy of Erasmus' earlier work, in an edition not enumerated in BÉr.<sup>1</sup>: a reprint of Philippi's volume of 1501 (see Ep. 152 introd.), by Wm. Le Rouge for Denis Roce, 'Et de nouo correctā et emendata,' s. a., with commendatory verses by S. P. of Auxerre. Le Rouge was printing in Paris 1493-1517, and produced books for Roce in 1513; see Ph. Renouard, *Imprimeurs Parisiens*, 1898, p. 238, and *Badius*, iii. 436.]

ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVVS ORNATISSIMO IACOBO TVTORI, INCLYTAE  
CIVITATIS ANTVERPIENSIS PENSIONARIO, S. D.

QVEMADMODVM qui sunt a scorpiis icti, solent ab iisdem remedium  
petere, ita mihi conuenire videtur, Iacobe iureconsultorum aerudi-  
tissime, vt qui litteris sumus addicti, animi lassitudinem aut corporis  
affectionem e studiis grauioribus contractam, ab iisdem studiis sed  
amoenioribus recreemus. Etenim qui vere studiosi sunt, per omnem 5  
vitam nihil aliud agunt, quam diu licet illis suo arbitratu vitae cursum  
moderari; nec tam intermittunt studia quam remittunt, et relaxant  
aliquoties ingenium, cessant nunquam. Ociantur interdum, sed inte-  
rim agentes aliquid; feriantur aliquando, sed sic vt ocii rationem  
pulchre queant reddere. Et si libet, cessant etiam nonnunquam, sed 10  
vt horum cessatio plus adferat bonae frugis quam quorundam negocio-  
sissimae occupationes. Sic nimirum fortis et gnauus miles (conferam  
enim exemplum similis), dum in aestiuis aut hybernis agit, aut dum  
induciae praestant vt necesse non sit in acie stare aut excubare sub  
pellibus, tamen ita lusibus relaxat animum ac vires reficit, vt lusus 15  
ipsi militiam sapiant. Pugnat ad palum, iaculatur ad scopum, torquet  
fundam, vibrat hastam, decertat palestra, concurrit lanceis, torrentem  
natatu transmittit, armatus in equum insilit. Denique sic feriat  
a belli muniis vt ad ea redeat vegetior. Aliter ludit ganeo, aliter  
egregius princeps; aliter scurra iocatur, aliter vir probus et integer. 20

Ad hoc igitur exemplum cum nuper valetudo flagitaret vt ingenii

TTT. ORNATISSIMO om. N. INCLYTAE . . . PENSIONARIO om. N. 2. iuriconsulto-  
rum eruditissime β. 21. cum a LB: non Lond.

corporisque vires diutinis atque immodicis studiorum laboribus fatigatas instaurarem sarciremque, relicto Louanio per aliquot Brabantiae Flandriaeque oppida circumuectus sum, quo simul et a libris aliquantisper abessem et amicorum eruditorum conspectu  
 25 fabulisque memet oblectarem. Neque sic tamen abesse potui ab adamata bibliotheca mea, quin vnum aut alterum libellum itineris comitem circumferrem, vt siquando forte in vehiculo non contigisset congerro sat commodus, non deesset tamen cuius colloquio temporis  
 30 tedium fallerem. In his erant Officia Ciceronis, Lelius et Cato, vna cum Stoicorum paradoxis. Inuitarat autem voluminis exiguitas, haud multum additura sarcinulae ponderis. Ex huius lectione, mi Tutor, geminum fructum coepi. Primum enim pristinae consuetudinis nostrae, qua nihil esse potuit mellitius, memoriam sic mihi  
 35 renouauit vt incredibilem animo persenserim voluptatem. Deinde sic me totum inflammavit ad honesti virtutisque studium, vt iam pridem nihil tale senserim, nostrates quosdam neotericos legens, qui Christiani Christianae philosophiae mysteria profitentur, et iisdem de rebus magna, vt nobis videtur, subtilitate disserunt, sed aequae frigide.

Ego quid aliis accadat nescio, mihi quid acciderit ingenue fateor, siue id illorum vicio fit siue meo. Sic subinde mecum inter legendum cogitabam: Heccine ethnicus scribit ethnicis, prophanus prophanis? At in praeceptis viuendi quanta aequitas, quanta sanctimonia, quanta  
 45 synceritas, quanta veritas, quam omnia consentanea naturae, quam nihil fucatum aut somnolentum. Quem animum exigit ab his qui gerunt rempublicam! vt admirabilem illam et amabilem virtutis spetiem ponit ob oculos! quam multa, quam sancte, imo quam diuinitus tradit! de gratis etiam iuandis omnibus, de tuenda amicitia,  
 50 de immortalitate animorum, de contemptu earum rerum quarum gratia vulgus hodie, non dicam Christianorum sed theologorum etiam ac monachorum, nihil non et facit et patitur. Pudebat interim nostrorum morum, qui sacris libris edocti, qui tantis et exemplis et praemiis prouocati, doctrinam Euangelicam profiteamur, nec praestamus. Describe nostris satrapis talem principem aut magistratum  
 55 qualem describit Cicero, dispeream ni cum sua imagine vt delirus ridebitur. Quis nunc rempublicam nisi spe lucri aut honoris gratia capessit? Quis non ita gerit vt questum facere videatur, vt hostem agat eorum quibus debuerat etiam vite suae spendio consulere.  
 60 Vbi reperias inter Christianos par amicorum ad hanc imaginem quam proponit M. Tullius? vbi senes qui tam infracto animo ferant aetatis incommoda? vbi tam sancta senum cum iuuenibus colloquia?

Nunquam antehac magis expertus sum verum esse quod scribit Augustinus, ex ethnicorum benefactis acriores addi stimulos ad

43. Hiccine β.

47. illam et amabilem om. N.

23. relicto Louanio] Erasmus' movements cannot be closely followed. About 1 Aug. he was at Louvain (Ep. 1001. 3); c. 7 Aug. at Mechlin (Ep. 1001. 7n); 7-15 Aug. at Antwerp (Ep. 1001-9), and perhaps longer. Later he was at Bruges (Ep. 1012), where c. 28 Aug. he met Campegio (Ep.

1025. 4n); and there are indications of a visit to Brussels (Epp. 1040. 1, 1041. 25), which may, however, have been later (see p. 111).

33. consuetudinis] At Orleans in the autumn of 1500; cf. Epp. 133. 103-4, 147. 47-8.

64. Augustinus] in Psalm. 25. 14.



virtutem quam nostratium, cum subit animo quam turpe sit non id 65  
 perspicere pectus Euangelica luce illustratum, quod perspectum est  
 iis quibus sola nature scintilla praelegebat: non praestare nos, qui  
 sub Christi vexillis militamus pietati, qui stipendium immortalitatis  
 ab eodem expectamus, quod praestiterunt ii qui nihil hominis a rogo  
 superesse aut suspicati sunt aut plane crediderunt. Et postea non 70  
 desunt crassi quidam, qui studiosos ab huiusmodi libris deterreant  
 ceu poeticis, vt vocant, et ad morum integritatem officientibus. Ego  
 vero dignos censens quos et omnibus in ludis praelegant adolescentie  
 litteratores et sibi legant relegantque senes, quos olim emaculatos tibi  
 dicaui, nunc denuo dico non solum purgatiores verum etiam auctario 75  
 cumulos. Siquidem adiecimus libellum de Amicicia, alterum de  
 Senectute, tercium de Paradoxis, atque in omnes annotaciunculas  
 quasdam, breues quidem illas sed, ni fallor, haudquaquam incom-  
 modas; in quibus hoc potissimum agimus, vt quorundam morosam  
 in dicendo superstitionem retundamus, qui ad singulas pene voces 80  
 reclamitant, 'Non est Latinum,' 'Non reperitur apud probos scripto-  
 res'. Ad hec mendas aliquot prodidimus antehac a nemine, quod  
 sciam, animaduersas.

Superest vt quemadmodum mihi in hoc labore versanti Tutor  
 semper ob oculos versabatur, ita tibi, cum hec leges, Erasmus in 85  
 mentem veniat tui cum primis et amans et studiosus. Bene vale.

Louanii quarto Id. Septembr. An. m.d. 19.

Louvain.

11 September (1519).

[To this date should perhaps be transferred Ep. 660. In favour of the change  
 are the allusions to:

1. Lister's proposal about the *Enchiridion* (Ep. 660. 12); for an edition by him  
 appeared in Oct. 1519.
2. The *concordia* (Ep. 660. 16); for on 7 Oct. 1519 such a settlement was made  
 (Ep. 1016. 15n), whereas in 1517 there had not yet been much effusion of  
 'virus'.
3. Lister's wife (Ep. 660. 24), who is probably newly married. In BRE. 193  
 (March 1520) Lister announces his marriage and the birth of a daughter.  
 In corroboration of the change it may be noted:

1. That Ep. 660 is printed first in F. If it belonged to 1517, it would more  
 naturally have appeared in E.
  2. That the year-date assigned to Ep. 660 in H is the same as that wrongly  
 assigned to Ep. 1012, which immediately precedes it in F and H.
- If the change is accepted, the volume of Letters announced as forthcoming in  
 Ep. 660. 8, must be E; and the 'iustum volumen' to which it would be increased  
 by revision and the addition of new letters would be F.
- On the other hand, the connexion of Ep. 660 with Epp. 634, 732 makes it easy  
 to understand these two volumes as C<sup>1</sup> and C<sup>2</sup>.]

#### 1014. TO BEATUS RHENANUS.

Basle MS. KA. C. (a).

Schlettstadt MS. 246 (ß).

(Louvain.)

(September 1519.)

[The following extract is from a letter of Beatus to Bruno Amorbach, dated  
 Schlettstadt, 28 Sept. 1519 (BRE. 127); and may be included here as exhibiting

65. id scripsi: ea a.

72. et om. N.

74. olim] In 1501: see Ep. 152.

Erasmus' relations with Froben and his other friends at Basle. The *Panegyrici veteres* were printed by Froben in Dec. 1520, with a preface by Beatus (BRE. 187) to Lucas Bathodius (Ep. 883. 13n). In addition to the collection of Panegyrics published at Milan (c. 1481: Proctor 5837), Bruno's copy of which (ll. 2-3) was no doubt used by the printers, they contain, as Erasmus directed (ll. 1-2), his own (Epp. 179, 180) and Ausonius'; also others by Hermolaus Barbarus to Frederick III and Maximilian, delivered at Bruges, 1 Aug. 1486; by Pandulphus Colleenutius to Maximilian, at Innsbruck, (1494); and by Geo. Sauromanus to Charles and Ferdinand, c. 1 Feb. 1519, on Maximilian's death.

The autograph original of the letter from which this is taken is at Basle; there is also a copy at Schlettstadt, which I have not seen except as printed in BRE. From the variant in l. 4 it appears to have been made from Beatus' rough draft. He writes:

*Iubet Erasmus in suis ad me literis ut Frobenius Panegyricos veteres excudat, ipsius addendo Panegyricum et Ausonianum ad Gratianum Caesarem. Dabis igitur codicem tuum, quem in marginibus contaminavi, Frobenio, priusquam discedas. Et de hac re Frobenium monebis: nam non veniebat in mentem ut id ei dicerem, cum hic nudius quartus adesset.*

About a month later, after Bruno's death, Beatus wrote again to Nepos, conveying Erasmus' message in very similar words (BRE. 191).]

1004<sup>1</sup>1015<sub>1066</sub> FROM WILLIAM BUDAEUS.

Epistolae Budaei, 1520, f. 124 v<sup>o</sup>. (a).

Marly.

F. p. 213: HN: Lond. iii. 69: LB. 458.

15 September (1519).

Budaei Epistolae, 1531, f. 61 v<sup>o</sup>. (b).

[This letter, like Epp. 1011, 1073, was printed by Budaeus in BE.<sup>1</sup> (a) before it appeared in any of Erasmus' editions. The connexion of F with a, and specially with a<sup>2</sup>, is shown conclusively by the readings in ll. 111, 112, 142 and 94, 96, 100, 106. For BE.<sup>3</sup> (b) see Ep. 403 introd. Not being wholly in Greek, this letter is placed there in the Latin section, and therefore is not found in the later issues of Budaeus' Greek letters mentioned in Ep. 1011 introd.

It was carried by one of the Gourmonts, probably the printer (see Ep. 263. 9n), who chanced to visit Marly; see BE.<sup>4</sup> 51.]

BVDAEVS ERASMO.

Τί φῆς; Τὸ περὶ ἐγκωμίου σου τὸ πρὸς Τούνσταλλον οὐ λέληθέ σε μυκτηρισμὸν καὶ στροφὴν ἔχον; Θανμάζω τοίνυν ἐγωγέ σου ἀτεχνῶς δῆπου σαντοῦ κατεγνωκότος τοιαύτην τινὰ στροφολογίαν, ἐν οἷς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γέγραψαι σὺ πρότερος ἐγκωμιωδῶς. Viues tuus tibi testis esse potuit, cui epistolam ad me scriptam ostendi ab homine naris emunctae (tametsi nomen digito suppressi superposito); ὃς ὑπέμνησέ με, οἷονεὶ οὐκ αἰσθανόμενον τοὺς καθαπτικούς σου λόγους ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασί σου διεσπαρμένους. Quanquam ipse non vidit ἐπιστολὴν μίαν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καθήκουσαν, ἀνδρὸς Ἰταλιώτου εὐδοκίμου ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, οὐκ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἐπιστείλαντος, ἀνδρὶ

1014. 4. quartus a: tertius β. γέγραψαι scripsi: γέγραφας a.

1015. 1. φῆς a<sup>2</sup>. οὐ ab: om. N. 3.

1. πρὸς Τούνσταλλον] Cf. Ep. 1004. 60-4. 4. ἐγκωμιωδῶς] Ep. 583. 155 seq. Viues] See Ep. 987. 1. As he carried that letter (Ep. 992), his visit to Paris must have ended about the middle of June.

epistolam] Possibly from More or some other English friend—whose name Budaeus might have wished to conceal from Vives out of consideration

for Erasmus—commenting on Ep. 778, which, like Epp. 571, 583, had recently appeared in D<sup>1</sup>. Budaeus wrote to More and Linaere 9 Sept., to Pace 5 Nov. 1518 (BE.<sup>4</sup> 19, 20, 23).

9. Ἰταλιώτου] Perhaps Bapt. Egna-tius (Ep. 269. 52n), who had written to Grolier in Paris, 5 Jan. 1518<sup>3</sup> (Goldast, *Phil. epist. cent.*, 1610, no. 35), animadverting severely upon Erasmus, in

δέ τι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίμων καὶ φίλων ὅς δὴ τὸ αὐτόγραφον ἐπεμύε μοι 10  
 ἔναγχος. Et quum haec et huiusmodi permulta silentio praetermit-  
 tenda duxerim, atque etiam obliuione, tu mihi dolorem nunc re-  
 fricuiſti ac pene opinionem ex ſuſpitione feciſti: niſi vero ſupradictis  
 verbis exemplum in te ipſe ſtatuſſe inficiabere, id de te exiſtimandi  
 quod tibi in mentem veniſſe aiſ, vt de me eadem in cauſa exiſtimareſ. 15

Neque ideo velim vt exiſtimeſ non gratiſſimas mihi literas illas  
 tuas fuiſſe Graece ſcriptas: quibus iam Graece reſponſi, ſed tamen  
 ἀμφιλαφῇ μοι ἐνέδωκας ὑπόθεſιν ἀντικατηγορίας τινός, μὴ ὅτι γε ἀπολογίας.  
 Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; ὅς γε πάντα τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγραμμένα ἀνακυκλῶν, πᾶσαν δὴ  
 ῥητορικὴν ἐπιμέλειάν τε καὶ περιεργίαν ὑπερηκόντιſας, ὁ πολλὰ σὺ γε φράſας 20  
 ἔαν καὶ μὴ λέγειν τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπλημμελημένων, ἐμοῦ γε αὖ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ἀπο-  
 λογίᾳ ἐπίτηδες πολλὰ παρέντοſ. Noui enim, noui ea fere transmittere  
 in mea deſenſione, in quibus proloquendis ſtiloque proſequendis aut  
 indignationem obrepiſſe ingenio meo ſentio, aut vehementiam con-  
 tentionis tranſuerſum me rapuiſſe. Intelligo me nonnunquam im- 25  
 modicum atque ἐκπαθῶς διακείμενον fuiſſe. Quare aequo animo caſtigari  
 me ab amico paſſus ſum; quod quidem ad ea loca pertinet quae  
 tractata mitescere nequeunt. Tu autem animum meum nondum  
 pertrectaſſe videre, ſi tamen ex ſententia animi tui potius quam ex  
 aliorum loqueriſ. 30

Iam primum quod dixi, 'Catapotia epistolae meae iam, vt ſpero,  
 voraſti,' vide etiam atque etiam ne te commodius interpretari hoc  
 modo ego poſſim: amaras quidem literas meas fuiſſe (identidem  
 enim mihi πικρίαν obiicis et ἀτοπίαν), ſed tamen me ſperare concoxiſſe  
 te aut certe ita deuoraſſe omnem indignationem illam vt iam im- 35  
 memor eſſeſ iniuriæ (ſi tamen iniuria eſt, vbi animus non fuit iniuriam  
 inferendi); praesertim cum et tu in me ſatis deſtomachatus eſſeſ, et  
 ex pagina poſtrema literarum tuarum viderere mihi amarulentiam  
 illam meam (ſit enim ſane, quando ita tibi videtur) placidiore animo  
 ferre et recordari nolle, quippe qui te dictitares ingenium meum 40  
 iam noſſe.

Deinde quam illud δυſφοροῦντά με καὶ δυſπαθῇ διεξιέναι putas, quod  
 παραπραγῶν σὺ καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐπικαλούμενοſ τοῦτόν μοι τὸν  
 λόγον προφέρειſ ὡς ἐφύβριſτον, καὶ αὐτόν δὴ ὡſανεὶ δεſποτικὸν βδελύττη  
 καὶ ἐξουſιαſτικόν, 'iocis ſcilicet mecum aſſueſcens'. Πρὸς τῆς φιλαν- 45  
 θρωπίας τῆς σῆς, ᾧ φιλάττη μοι κεφαλῇ, πρὸς τῆς φιλοκαλίας τῆς ἡμῶν  
 ἀγχωμάλως ὡς οἶμαι περιſπουδάſτον, μὴ μοι τηλικαύτην δόξαν ἀλαζονείας  
 περιάψῃς, ὥſτε ſυμφέρεſθαί ſοι δοκεῖν μὴ ἐξ ἴſον καὶ φιλοπρεπῶſ. Audi

11. ab: huiusmodi H. 18. b: ἐνέδωκας a. μῆστιγε a. 19. δὴ  
 ab: δὲ Lond. 21. εἰν H: εἰν ab: εἰν με N. 26. ab: caſtigare Lond. 28.  
 mitescere b. 29. ab: pertractaſſe H. 32. te commodius a: commodius  
 quam tu b. 35. indignationem ſcripſi, ſecundum v. 24 et Ep. 810. 323: indigni-  
 tatem a. 42. a<sup>1</sup>F: δυſφοροῦντα a<sup>2</sup>. F: διεξιέναι a. 43. F: παραπραγῶν ab.  
 44. αὐτόν δὴ add. b. b: βδελύττη a: βδελυπτη Lond. 48. Fb: περιάψῃς aN.

reference to Ep. 648 (cf. vol. iii, p. xxvii).  
 It was through Grolier that Budaeus  
 renewed his correſpondence with Egna-  
 tius in Nov. 1518 (BE.<sup>4</sup> 24); and as  
 Egnatius' letter to Grolier contains  
 excuſes for not having yet replied to  
 Budaeus, it may well have been ſent

for him to ſee.

21. εἰν] Cf. Ep. 1004. 107.  
 31. Catapotia] Ep. 915. 106, 7.  
 34. πικρίαν] Ep. 1004. 59.  
 concoxiſſe] Cf. Ep. 810. 323-5.  
 44. προφέρειſ] Ep. 1004. 92-5.  
 45. iocis] Ep. 915. 109.

igitur interpretationem meam huius dicti, et aude post ea conqueri,  
 50 quasi ego non ex aequo tecum agam. Quoniam igitur tu immodicum  
 me esse iocorum saepe dixisti, etiam ex periculo petitorum, ut ita  
 loquar, et proxime contumeliam accedentium, quibus tu ipsum  
 adicere non poteras (neque enim istius esse modestiae fortasse et  
 grauitatis videbantur), ego illis tuis literis grandioribus ita me con-  
 55 uerberatum iocis tuis sentiens ac lapidatum, nihil ut amplius dicere  
 potuisses aut certe sustinuisses, etiam si stomachi res fuisset, non  
 ioci, scripsi ego ea simplicitate qua soleo, 'iocis te iam mecum  
 assuescere.' Religio enim fuit dicere tam te impudenter aut licenter  
 dicacem esse coepisse quam me esse conquerere. Amabo te, relege  
 60 locum, et versa intellectum eius; inuenies, ut spero, in me magis  
 quam in te dicacem me fuisse. Nisi vero non in me meumque caput  
 recidit, quod dixi aut significauit, ex tuo te ingenio migrasse contagio  
 literarum mearum et iocandi commercio. At tu id scelus prope  
 cothurnatum fecisti exclamatione tragica.

65 Porro autem quod plumbeum te coniectorem fecisse me criminari,  
 ni vererem cicatricem obductam refricare, locum hunc explicarem;  
 verum commonefacere te vno et altero verbo οὐδὲν φθόνος, οἶμαι.  
 Μέννησαι γοῦν, ὅτε ἕνα τῶν Γουλιέλμων ὥσπερ ἀνὲν ἐχειροδείκτους, ὅτι ἔγωγε  
 70 πρᾶγμα καὶ ὁποῖον διαπράξεσθαί σοι ἔμελλον, quidque inter nos conue-  
 nisset. Quem omnino ipsum nollem a te nominatum; πρὸς γὰρ τῷ  
 ὠτακουστῆς τοῦ ἀπάντων κυριεύοντος εἶναι ἱερός, ἔτι καὶ ἐν ἀξιώματι αὐτὸς  
 καθέστηκεν καὶ τάξει τῶν ἐνδόξων. Καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων δὴ ἄπτεται τῶν  
 ἐνδοθεν, ἵνα μὴ σαφέστερον φθέγγωμαι. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς καὶ τῶν προσφιλῶς  
 75 ἔχοντων ἐστὶν οὗτος πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ σπουδαζόντων ἐμοὶ τε καὶ σοί. Sed scilicet  
 periculo meo res agebatur, non tuo; quare tantum tibi pensi non  
 fuit. Quanquam nondum id attingo, in quo parum te acutum fuisse  
 iocatus sum, id est parum tui similem. Nam illa verba 'ἐν ᾧ δια-  
 πράξεσθαί σοι τὸ ὑφ' ἡμῶν προαιρεθὲν ἐπεχείρουν' non te intellexisse vix  
 credo; praesertim quum tu dicta mea ἐμοῦ συνοπτικώτερον excipere  
 80 solitus sis, ut ex iis quae dixi liquet. Quod si tibi ἀνίπτεσθαί μᾶλλον  
 ἢ φράζειν δοκῶ τὰ ἐπινοημένα, φέρε δὴ, ὅταν βουληθῇς, ἀμαθέστερον ἐρῶ  
 καὶ σαφέστερον· ἀλλ' οὐδέν, οἶμαι, δέομαι.

Quod περὶ τῶν εἰαγγελίων scribis, quasi scilicet verens ne operam  
 aut studium ea in re nauata imputaturus sim tibi, iam te libero illa  
 85 obligatione, si te auctoramenti pudet; non etiam legibus amicitiae  
 te soluo, quae per me licebit ipsa ut sit inter nos perpetua, atque  
 etiam per te, quoad tu ex tuo animo meum aestimabis, non ex aliorum  
 sententia, quantum argumentis coniicio et hominum relatione.

Age, aestima tecum ipse quam illud φιλικόν, immo quam ἐρασμο-

49. a Lond.: postea N<sup>s</sup>b.  
 Μέμνησο Lond.

b: ἐχειροδίκτους a.  
 δὴ scripsi sicut in v. 19: δὲ a.  
 βουληθῇς a: βουληθῇ N.

51. ita om. b.

68. ab: μέμνησε N LB:

69. πρᾶγμα add. b.

72.

76. ab: id nondum N.

81. F<sup>b</sup>:

82. F: σεφέστερον a.

51. iocorum] Cf. Ep. 906. 67 seq.

65. criminari] Ep. 1004. 76-7.

66. cicatricem] Cic. Agr. 3. 2. 4; cf.

Ep. 906. 206.

68. ἕνα] Wm. Petit; see Ep. 522. 17n.

τῶν Γουλιέλμων] Cf. Ep. 1003. 34n.

70. nominatum] in Ep. 778. 19-24.

71. ὠτακουστῆς] Cf. Epp. 522. 20 104,

568. 10.

77. iocatus sum] Ep. 915. 97.

illa verba] Ep. 915. 98, 9.

83. εἰαγγελίων] Cf. Ep. 1004. 83.

πρεπὲς καὶ δεξιὸν καὶ κομψόν, de mellitis epistolis Deloini et aliorum 90  
 nostratum, quod iniuriarum mecum agis quasi φιλοκόλακα te vocarim  
 vel esse significarim! quum tamen tu omnium maxime libertate  
 gaudeas amicorum. Ἐὼ νῦν ἐξετάζειν τοῦτο εἴτ' ἀληθές ἐστιν εἴτε μὴ,  
 τὸ μάλιστα σε χαίρειν καὶ ἡδεσθαι τῶν φίλων τοῖς ἐλευθεριαστικοῖς. Ἐπεὶ  
 πόθεν ἄλλοθεν προσεκρούσαμεν ἀλλήλοις ἀμῶς γέ πως οἱ μάλιστα πρότερον 95  
 φίλοι εἶναι δοκοῦντες, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ὧν ἐλευθεριάσας πον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐπι-  
 στολαῖς γέγραφα; Sed sit sane nunc verum et pro comperto habitum;  
 quid igitur? Existimastine me tam commodis meis inimicum atque  
 etiam tam male propitium numen habuisse scribendo, ὡς προσκρούειν  
 τοῖς προστυχούσιν ἐμπλήκτως τε καὶ προπετῶς, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν λοιδο- 100  
 ρούμενον φέρεσθαί με τῶν φίλων ἐμῶν τὸν κορυφαῖον, ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν ἐκείνης  
 ὀρμῆς εἰς σε ἀπειδομένης; Τί οὖν; Οὕτως ἔφθην ἀκρατῆς εἶναι τῶν κα-  
 θαπτικῶν γελοίων καὶ σκωπτικῶν ὥστε καὶ ἀνδρα μοι πάντων προσφιλέστατα  
 διακείμενον τὸν Δηλοῖνόν, προσέτι δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἀξιώσεως ὄντα οὐ τῆς τυχούσης,  
 ἐφυβρίζων κόλακα ἀπεκάλουν; οὐ γάρ σε δήπου φιλοκόλακα ἀποκαλεῖν ἡδύ- 105  
 νάμην, μὴ οὐχὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτον ἀποκαλῶν κόλακα, ὃ ῥᾶστα σὺ προφέρων ἐμοὶ  
 ὅτι ἂν σοι παραστή. Ὅπηνίκα τοίνυν τοιάδε πάμπολλα ἔτυχες συνειλοχῶς  
 διεξοδικῶτα ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι τῶν ἐμῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ἐξέσται σοὶ ἐμοῦ  
 γε ἔνεκα καὶ ταῦτα δὴ συνείρειν ῥητορικῶς ἐν τῇ τῶν φίλων σοῦ συνόδῳ,  
 ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν αἰτιωμένων δεινῶς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐμάς. Εἴτ' ἦν ἄξι' ἀκοῦσαι 110  
 τῶν εἰρημένων αὐτοῖς δόξω, ἐχόμενον δήπου ἔσται τῆς ὑπὸ σου τεθείσης  
 ἀμνηστίας ἀντεξετασμών τινα γενέσθαι ὧν τυγχάνω ἀντιπεπονθῶς ὑπὸ σου·  
 τοῦτον δὲ γεγενημένου, ἦν ἰσοστάσιοι εὐρεθῶσιν καὶ πάριστοι αἱ ἀμοιβαί, ἐπὶ  
 ἴσῃ δὲ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ ἡμᾶς διαλύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἀντεγκεκλημένων. Sic fiet potis-  
 simum vt facta pro infectis habeantur, nec tu in posterum huiusce- 115  
 modi causificari oratorie possis, "Πολλὰ σπουδῇ ἐὼ λέγειν, ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ  
 καὶ τοῦτο ὃ γράφεις": cum ne id ipsum quidem τοῦτο ante quiescere  
 siueris quam τοιοῦτο feceris vt atrocis contumeliae instar esse videatur.  
 Itane vero, bone vir, id est orator, donare mihi te dices quod consertis  
 manibus retines et mordicus? et cum ius omne tuum cum ramentis 120  
 tuleris, aequum et benignum litigatorem te praedicabis.

Iam vero quod περὶ τῆς συνοχῆς τῆς ὁμονοίας ἡμῶν scribis οὐ δεῖν  
 συγκολλήσοντος, quocunque id pertineat, existimes velim nemini  
 vnquam homini me verbum ea de re fecisse, nisi hactenus, vt dictarim  
 atque omni corporis animique habitu prae me tulerim, non ita mentes 125  
 nostras huiusmodi velitationibus verborum esse commotas aut  
 emotas, vt luxari propterea confirmatae amicitiae compages ac dimo-  
 ueri possent: sed tamen hanc simultatis imaginem ita ad verum esse  
 effictam vt amicorum studiis et hominum errore pro vera simultate  
 tandem exciperetur. In quo nihil ipse magnopere prouidendum 130

94. a<sup>1</sup>H: ἐλευθεριαστικοῖς a<sup>2</sup>. 96. a<sup>1</sup>H: ἐλευτεριάσας a<sup>2</sup>. ποῦ F: τοῦ ab. 99.  
 F: προσκρούειν a. 100. a<sup>1</sup>H: προστυχούσιν a<sup>2</sup>. 101. με add. b. 106. ὃ  
 add. a<sup>2</sup>. F: ῥᾶστα a. 107. LB: παραστή a. 111. H: τεθείσης a. 112.  
 H: ἀμνηστίας a. 114. HN<sup>3</sup>: ἴση aN<sup>2</sup>. H: ὁμοία a. 124. dictitarim b.

90. Deloini] See Ep. 1004. 107; and  
 cf. Ep. 915. 121.

91. φιλοκόλακα] Cf. Ep. 1004. 108.

94. ἐλευθεριαστικοῖς] Cf. Ep. 1004. 109.

102. ὀρμῆς] Cf. Ep. 1011. 86.

104. Δηλοῖνόν] In Ep. 1004. 107 Eras-

mus makes the first syllable short, and  
 the accent different; but in Ep. 1066.  
 28 he follows Budaëus.

108. Ἰλιάδι] Ep. 1004.

116. Πολλὰ] Ep. 1004. 107.

123. συγκολλήσοντος] See Ep. 1004. 9.

mihi ante existimaui quam tibi cordi esse magis genus illud ludicri certaminis sensi atque perspexi, quod praepilatis iaculis certiusque innocuis editur. Non quod tibi metueres aut mihi, aut tibi a me metuendum esset aut mihi a te, sed quod spectatores delectandos  
 135 magis duceres quam expectatione suspendendos tristioris exitus: cuius consilii rationem facile mihi probasti, posteaquam attentius rem animaduertere coepi.

Denique nullam inter nos animorum alienationem, et διάστασιν intercessisse puto, οἷαν δὴ καὶ διαλλαγῆς δεῖσθαι, οὐχ ὅπως διαλλακτοῦ.  
 140 Ἀμέλει τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ εἴ τι ποτὲ κατὰ σου εἴρηκα ἢ γέγραφα κακούργως γε καὶ δυσνοϊκῶς, quo commodis tuis officerem aut gloriam istam tuam παμμεγέθη imminuerem, ἐκείνο δὴ ἐπιτηδεύων τοῖς ἐσχηματισμένοις λόγοις, ὡς ἐκ μετεώρου τῆσδε τῆς δόξης ἐκπέσεις, Deus me pari mactet infortunio. Datum est aliquid stomacho, et humanitus nonnihil admissum est,  
 145 et incommode fortasse atque imprudenter de amicitia consultum, dum iugulum existimationis mutuo petentium speciem praebebamus; vt assolet interdum in simulacris pugnae, dum concertationis impetus extra praescripta ludicri et praeter legitimas vices ac constitutas effertur. Id enim ipsi in septis accidere decursionum militarium  
 150 videmus aliquando, et veniam tamen mereri, cum blanda satisfactio deprecatur errorem. Neque id inexpressibile est quod extemporale fuit, nec vnquam vnum diem haesit animo. Ne tum quidem ita valuisse stomachationem aut contentiunculam vllam affirmarim vt euaserit in odium. Id quod vt de me affirmo, sic de te haud dubie conicio.  
 155 Quid si mihi ne poenitenda quidem videntur quae scripsimus? Quantum est enim ad confirmationem amicitiae, ab acriore nos contentione citra noxam discessisse ita vt vterque alterius animum periclitatus, perspectum se habere pertentatumque confidat et laetetur.

Quod aulicum me factum cauillaris, et literarum vicem doles, quasi  
 160 eam causam receptam deseruerim aut prodiderim, ob idque magno patrocinio literae bonae destitutae sint, materiam mihi tecum iocandi praebebit. Graece tamen scribam, vt liberius et simplicius acroama praebeam expeditionis aulicae quae mihi hoc anno obtigit, haud scio quam propitia prouidentia.

165 Vale ex eodem Marliano, Septimodecimo Calend. Octobris.

En tibi alteram exhomologesim optima fide factam. Post aliquot dies quam literas tuas accepi, meas ad Hermanum tuum misi Graece scriptas; sed urbem iam exierat ob pestem. Ita ex vrbe relatae sunt; et has illis subdidi animi causa. Mirum est enim quantum delector  
 170 ad te scribens. Vtrasque tamen eidem homini non committam, vt mihi in binarum vicem cedant. Vale rursus.

139. H: διαλλαγῇ a. H: διαλλακτῇ a. 142. H: ἐσχηματισμένοις ab.  
 146. mutuo add. b. 166. ab: exomologesim Lond. 167. aN<sup>3</sup>b: Hermanum N<sup>1</sup> Lond. 170. Vtraque b.

159. aulicum] Ep. 1004. 127-8.  
 163. expeditionis] Cf. Ep. 1004. 126n.  
 162. scribam] Budaeus found himself too busy to carry this promise out; see Epp. 1066. 61-2, 1073. 66-9.  
 167. ad Hermanum] This statement is repeated in a letter to Vives, 2 Jan.

1520 (BE.<sup>4</sup> 51), without the qualifications that follow here; and it is made to appear that H. Phrysius actually carried Ep. 1011. But the omission cannot invalidate the definite statements here added, and must be due to forgetfulness.

## 1016. TO STEPHEN PONCHER.

Becichemi Praelectio, tit. v<sup>o</sup> (a).

Louvain.

F. p. 504: HN: Lond. xiii. 6: LB. 460.

2 October 1519.

[First printed in *Marini Becichemi Scodrensis in C. Plinium Praelectio*, Paris, P. Vidoue, 23 July 1519 (a), edited by Nic. Beraldus. Though later by some months than the colophon of the book, it contained so excellent a commendation, that Beraldus no doubt took the opportunity offered by a blank verso to the title-page, to include it in copies not yet distributed. In printing it in F, Erasmus made some notable changes. His month-date is perhaps the more correct, from its agreement with that of Ep. 1017, which is evidently contemporary with this letter. The year-date is confirmed by the mention of the reconciliation with the theologians of Louvain (cf. Epp. 1027-30, 1033).]

ERASMVS ROTTERODAMVS REVERENDIS. PATRI D. STEPHANO

PONCHERIO, ARCHIEPISCOPO SENONENSI, S. D.

REVERENDISIME pater, cum nihil esset quod magnopere R.P.T. scire vellem, tamen huius humanissimi Commendatoris praeter spem oblata commoditas effecit vt vel salutatrice epistola declararem animum tui memorem; cui non ignoro quot modis debeam. Nos hoc coelo tam incommodo vix tuemur valetudinem huius corpusculi. Et 5 tamen praeter temporis incommoditatem tantis tempestatibus pulsati sumus, quas nobis excitarunt hostes bonarum literarum, vt ego nihil vnquam in vita nec legerim nec audierim nec expertus sim molestius: tanta fuit omnium in vnum Erasmum conspiratio. Nullis non 10 machinis adorti sunt, immo totum orbem, quantum in ipsis fuit, in me concitarunt. Malum primum a paucis ortum paulatim ita serpsit vt omneis fere denique corripuerit: ego sola recti conscientia fretus libraui memet in tantis sycophantiarum insultibus, quod parum esse Christianum ducerem conuicia conuiciis retaliare. Tandem resipue- 15 runt et vltro mecum inire concordiam, nescio quandiu duraturam; 15 certe per me non violabitur semel sarta pax.

Doleo Fabro negocium esse cum Episcopo Roffensi, viro pio cum primis et erudito, sed eo ingenio vt non facile desinat, vbi semel incaluit in certamine. Vtinam in prioribus libris magis temperasset a diceris! adiecit alteros, hoc est idem argumentum denuo retexit, 20 quos nondum legi. Quis genius malus turbat studiorum tranquillitatem huiusmodi contentionibus? Quanto praestabat concordibus animis in Musarum campis ludere! Iam vnus atque alteris literis

TIT. R. P. F: om. H. D. om. F. D. add. F. 1. Reuerendissime pater add. F (Reuerende H). magnopere, quod F. R.P.T. a: te H. 8. nec legerim add. F. audiuerim H. molestius a: simile F, post vnquam. 12. fere add. F. 19. Vtinam . . . 21. legi F: , pio praesertim. Sed a.

2. Commendatoris] I cannot identify this person, with whose name Erasmus was doubtless unfamiliar (cf. Epp. 917, 1183). Ep. 1017 shows that he was going on from France to Italy. The title is found in the Military Orders of Spain and Germany, for numerous high officials.

5. coelo] For other complaints of the weather cf. Epp. 1025. 17, 1038. 1-2.

14. resipuerunt] Cf. Ep. 993. 55n.

15. concordiam] As to the details of this there is no evidence except what

is supplied by Erasmus. De Jongh is very likely right (but cf. Ep. 1162. 109n) in inferring (pp. 211-2, 44\* fin.) from the statements in Epp. 1217. 120-1, 1225. 137 that the formal accord was not made till the meeting of the Faculty in the Collège du Faucon on Friday, 7 Oct. 1519; but it had been arranged beforehand, 13 Sept. (Ep. 1022. 24). On p. 212 of de Jongh it is important to correct the date of Ep. 1033 to 19 Oct. 19. incaluit] Cf. Ep. 1030. 7-8. libris] Cf. Ep. 1030. 2n, 3n.

Beraldus mihi minatur epistolam a R.D.T.: ea certe mihi gratissima  
 25 futura est, quocunque fuerit argumento. Quaecumque tellus habebit  
 Erasmum, habebit clientulum tibi addictissimum: id ipsa re declarabo,  
 si continget vel annum adhuc superesse. Scodrensis Adnotationes in  
 primum Historiae Mundi librum, Beraldi auspiciis in Gallia nuper  
 impressas, percurri verius quam legi. Mihi certe nihil non placet quid-  
 30 quid ad tanti authoris vel emendationem vel explicationem vsquam  
 gentium excuditur. Atque vtinam in ea re a tam multis elaboretur  
 vt aliquando nobis integer Plinius ipse renascatur! Bene vale.

Impudens sim si tibi commendem Commendatorem et Commen-  
 datori velim esse commendator: cuius opera spero me tibi fore com-  
 35 mendatorem, cui cupio esse quam commendatissimus.

Louanii: Postridie Calen. Octobr. An. M.D.XIX.

Copum medicum opto bene valere.

#### 1017. TO DOMENICO GRIMANI.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 505.

HN: Lond. xiii. 7: LB. 462.

Louvain.

2 October 1519.

ERASMVS ROT. CARD. GRYMANNO S. D.

REVERENDISSIME D., iam anni sunt aliquot quod Paraphrasim  
 epistolae ad Romanos tui nominis auspicio in publicum emisim,  
 idque meo iudicio satis feliciter, toties interim excusa est typographo-  
 rum formulis. Auebam seire num meum officium animo tuo gratum  
 5 fuisset. Nec enim aliam mercedem ambiebam. Literae quas aiebat  
 Andreas Ammonius abs te scriptas, interciderunt: quare te rogo ne  
 graueris alteris literis testari num eo officio tuo iudicio satis fecerim.

Iam crebris literis me interpellat reuerendissimus Archiepiscopus  
 Cantuariensis vt vertam commentarios Origenis in Psalmos. Horum  
 10 exemplar si tua habet bibliotheca, non ausim rogare vt huc mittas:  
 tantum oro vt patiari describi meo sumptu. Non committam vt in  
 eo opere frauderis portione tibi debitae laudis. Dedi negotium hoc  
 domino Commendatori, viro primariis virtutibus cumulo et ob has

1016. 24. a R.D.T. a (R.T.D. F): abs te H. 25. habebit a H: habet F.  
 27. Scodrensis . . . 32. renascatur om. F. 36. Postridie F: pridie a. Octobr  
 F: Nouē. a. 37. a N: Coppum F. medicum add. H. 1017. 1. Reue-  
 rendissime F: Reuerende H. 8. reuerendissimus F: Guilhelmus H.

24. Beraldus] Cf. Ep. 994. 11-13.

37. Copum] See Ep. 124. 16n.

1017. 1. Paraphrasim] See Ep. 710.

5. Literae] It seems that this must refer to a letter about the *Novum Instrumentum* in answer to Ep. 334, not to a letter about the Paraphrase (Ep. 710); for when that was printed, Ammonius was dead. A possible interpretation, suggested by the similarity of phrase in Ep. 835. 10 to ll. 4, 7 here, is that the Paraphrase was sent to Grimani in ms., as soon as it was composed, c. June 1517, in time for Ammonius to have been concerned in the acknowledgment; but in Ep. 835. 13n I have

given reasons for thinking otherwise.

9. Cantuariensis] There is no trace of this request in Erasmus' correspondence with Warham. He did not comply with it, perhaps from lack of mss.; but cf. Ep. 1140. 1n.

Just at this time Bruno Amorbach was preparing for a Basle edition of Origen, and collecting notes of Greek and Latin mss. Cf. a letter of Hedio about the project, from Basle, 21 Nov. 1519 (Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 102): he adds, 'Erasmus, vt est omnipotentis ingenii, posset non modo interpretem agere verum et paraphrasten, si modo vellet; atque vtinam volet olim!'



suo Principi longe gratissimo. Bene valeat T.R.D. : cui quam commendatissimus esse cupio.

15

Louanii. Postridie Calend. Octobr. An. M.D.XIX.

## 1018. TO FLORENCE OF EGMONT.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 498.

Louvain.

HN : Lond. xii. 30 : LB. 461.

2 October 1519.

[The reference to Ferdinand (l. 16) implies that the question of his education was still recent ; so that the date given in the text may be accepted.]

Florence of Egmont was a patron with whom Erasmus had had relations during his early residence at Louvain (cf. Ep. 178. 44n). His only son, Maximilian of Egmont († 23-4 Dec. 1548), had been a student at Louvain since 1516 ; for in a preface, dated 20 April (1519), to the first edition of Adr. Barland's *De Hollandiae principibus*, Antwerp, J. Thibault, July 1519, he and his kinsmen, George and Philip of Egmont, to whom the dedication is jointly made, are said to have been attending Barland's lectures for nearly three years. The question of providing a new teacher for him seems now to have arisen ; Arnold (l. 10) being probably a tutor who lived with the boy but took no part in his studies. As in an earlier case (Ep. 737), Erasmus declined the post for himself, but suggested a friend as a substitute ; cf. also Ep. 1208. In 1521 the boy was still at Louvain, and learning Homer by heart for 'repetition' (Ep. 1192. 81-2).

Maximilian became as mighty a warrior as his father, whom he succeeded in the lordship of Ysselstein, sw. of Utrecht, and the county of Buren in sw. Gueldres, and, like whom, he was in 1540 Stadhouder of Friesland. In Oct. 1540 he was created a Knight of the Golden Fleece by Charles' nomination (de Reiffenberg, p. 394). His most famous exploit was his march from the Netherlands through Protestant Germany to relieve Charles at Ingolstadt in 1546. The story of his ceremonious death is told in BN. vi. 488-90. His only daughter became the first wife of William the Silent. See P. Kannengiesser, *Karl v und Maximilian Egmont, Graf von Buren*, 1895.]

ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVS CLARISS. PRINCIPI ISELSTEYNO

FLORENTIO S. D.

CLARISSIME princeps, munus quod tua benignitas nobis donauit, non vno nomine mihi fuit gratissimum ; vel quod a tali profectum heroe vel quod vltro delatum, nec promerito nec expectanti. Admonui filium tuae celsitudinis, rarae cuiusdam indolis puerum, vt mihi in referenda gratia sit auxilio. Sic enim videbor retulisse, si effecero vt ille in 5 bonis literis expectationi tuae respondeat. Recepit facturum, ac mihi sane in hac aetatula iam nunc emicans eruditionis specimen maximam spem praebet talem euasurum Maximilianum, vt non solum suo generi verum etiam ipsis literis bonis sit olim ornamento futurus. Arnoldus vt est pueri amantissimus, ita eum non minus diligenter 10 quam blande curat.

Est hic Conradus Goclenius, iuuenis vtriusque literaturae peritissimus, stilo cum primis felici, siue prosam orationem tractet siue metri legibus astrictam, philosophicae rei non vulgariter doctus, moribus incorruptis spectataeque integritatis. Quid multis? dignus vel ipso 15 Ferdinando discipulo. Id tibi meo polliceor periculo, quod si vide-

1017. 14. T.R.D. F: amplitudo tua H. 1018. TIT. CLARISS. . . . FLORENTIO F: FLORENTIO AB ISELSTEYN H (H Lond. : FLORENTINO N<sup>3</sup>). 12. H: Goclenius F.

1018. 12. Goclenius] See Ep. 1209.

16. Ferdinando] Cf. Ep. 917 introd.

bitur hic filii familiae adiungendus, agam cum illo, et agam non minore fide quam si filii mei negocium ageretur: sin minus, seito Erasmum toto pectore tuum esse. Bene vale.  
 20 Louanii post. Cal. Octobr. Anno M.D.XIX.

## 1019. TO MARTIN LYPSIUS.

Brussels MS. 4850-7, f. 149.

(Louvain.)

(October 1519 ?)

[For the ms. see Ep. 296 introd. Lypsius' argument is: 'Leus vacillans mittere velit Annotationes necne, aliquando missurum pollicebatur, subitoque mutatus non missurum se scribebat, id adferens excusationis quod co-Angli sui hoc dissuaderent. Tandem ob Nouum Testamentum donatum in quo locos plurimos correxerat, seiscitatum occultandumne esset ob sui securitatem, certum reddit (Erasmus) F(ratrem) M(artinum).' In this last sentence I have written *seiscitatum* for *sciscitatus* of the ms.; taking the sense to be that, in pursuance of the intrigue to obtain a sight of Lee's notes (cf. Ep. 998. 17n), Lypsius had lent Lee his own copy of the second edition of Erasmus' New Testament (cf. Ep. 955), and subsequently, in fear lest Lee should notice the numerous corrections made in that edition and use them for further attacks on Erasmus, had enquired whether he should endeavour to conceal the fact of the corrections; and that Erasmus assured him it would not matter.

No precise date is possible; but as by 16 Oct. Erasmus was aware of the advice of Lee's English friends (Epp. 1026. 11-16, 1029. 10-15), this letter, which deals with Lee's announcement on the subject, may be placed conjecturally earlier in the month. For the course of Erasmus' controversy with Lee see pp. 108-11.]

S.P. Crede mihi, Leus te ridet, et hoc nomine sibi videtur vafer et catus. Nec hoc agit vt premat suas Annotationes, vnde sperat immortalitatem, sed vt instructiores aedat. De libro misso, ex me nihil erit periculi; nec video tibi periculum, etiamsi resciscat. Imo  
 5 si sciat omnia, mihi nihil sit ex Leo periculi: quanquam cum leone rem habere malim quam cum tali vulpe. Bene vale.

## 1020. FROM BONIFACE AMERBACH.

Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 186.

Basle.

7 October 1519.

[An autograph; one of Boniface Amerbach's rough-drafts, in the collection of them at Basle, MSS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 54 and 73. The letters belong mostly to the years 1519-36, and number about 550: including more than ninety to Zasius, about sixty each to Alciati and Erasmus, and others to well-known humanists, Beatus Rhenanus, Hutten, Glareanus, Dorp, Sadolet, Botzheim, besides his brother Basil and some intimate friends. Seventy-five of them are printed by Th. Burckhardt-Biedermann in *Am. E.*, some nearly complete, others in brief extract; and there is a short description of the collection in the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, xii (1914), pp. 78-80.

The letter actually sent to Erasmus perhaps contained as a postscript (of which there is no trace in this rough-draft) a proposal that Jerome Froben (Ep. 903. 2n) should be put to study law under Zasius at Freiburg, as Boniface had done. See a note from Zasius to Boniface (Z.E. p. 483): 'Quod nuper ad magnum Erasmum scripsisti in calce literarum super Frobenio, legere male oculatus non potui. Itaque siquid officii dicto adolescenti per me praestari poterit, declarato, et paratum ad tua eiusque commoda inuenies'. If this conjecture is correct, it seems likely that Jerome carried this letter, together with BRE. 132.

The date of this letter is confirmed by Boniface's projected journey (l. 54n.)]

1018. 20. post. F: postr. N.

1018. 17. agam] Ep. 1192. 81-2 shows that Erasmus fulfilled this promise.

VIDEOR mihi meo iure facturus, vnicum seculi decus Erasme, si post tantam atque adeo inuisam bonis *δυσωπίαν*, litteris nostris, immo ineptiis, te compellauero, et hiis sane parcissimis. Non enim pluribus debeo, vel omnium bonorum studiorum causa, que iam pr<sup>(op)</sup>emodum cadentia tu tuis humeris ceu Hercules quispiam et fuleis et 5 sustines, adeo quidem vt prope de postliminio asserueris. Quo nomine vel populari actione conueniendus forem, qui hec *τοῖς βαρταρισμοῖς* interturbarem, cum semel omnium salutis, omnium commodo, omnium emolumento prospiciatur. Quid quod tu non nisi castis et puris reuerenter adeundus es? quottusquisque enim est vel doctissi- 10 morum qui te litteris compellare audeat! Nimirum a cunctis tanti estimaris quanti veram virtutem estimari et par est et decet: nec profecto abs re, cum is sit tue maiestatis candor, ea eruditionis amplitudo, id eloquentie fulmen, vt facile vnus omnium quotquot aetas nostra fert, luminibus, vt iuris verbo vtat, obstruxisse videare. 15 Verum quod ego, etsi vnus e pluribus, hoc splendore non deterreor, facit summe tue eruditioni par copulata humanitas, qua immerentem etiam ita complexus es vt dubio procul omnium sim futurus ingrattissimus ni apud te vel ineptiis testatum relinquam.

Vide, magne heros, quid me ad scribendum seu verius nugandum 20 impellat, nempe mei purgandi ratio, si quid sinistrae suspitionis de me longum silentium iniecisset: dein singularis tua humanitas, cui quicquid temerita(ti)s mihi adscriptum fu(er)it, acceptum referam. Certe temeritatis notari malo quam ingratitude. Quemadmodum enim iniuria apud iureconsultos primoribus illata seuerius punitur, ita nullo 25 supplicio satis animaduerti posse crediderim in ingratos, presertim qui ingrati sunt aduersus maiores gentium; quorum in albo te primum statuo. Ne igitur hac expendar nota, mee in te cum obseruantie tum gratitudinis hunc gustum, hanc primam saluam habe. Me magno illi Erasmo *ζαθέω καὶ ἰσοθέω*, quem omnes vno ore 30 pronunciant *Ἀνθρωπον φύσεως ἄξιον ἀθανάτου*,—me, inquam, illi omnibus numeris adscriptum esse, me huic animam debere, me huic corpus, nihil hoc apud me sanctius, nil religiosius, nil quod magis suspiriam, deuotius colam, venerer et obseruem quam hunc vnicum: cuius summam eruditionem, summam humanitatem, denique omnia supra 35 etatem nostram summa, vbi vbi sum, quoquo proficiscar, predicare non cesso; etsi ineptus tuarum laudum prece, cum non nisi a rei litterarie Augustalibus debeas exscribi, ceu Alexander ab Apelle quopiam vel Pyrgotele. Si qui sunt tuarum rerum studiosi, dispeream si non omnes pieta(ti)s genuine red(d)itione vincam. Sed quod mea modi- 40

2. *δυσωπίαν* MS.30. *ζαθέω καὶ ἰσοθέω* MS.

4. propemodum] Though *premodum* is not uncommon with Boniface, e. g. 'praemodum doleo' in C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 30, 43, it can hardly be intended here. More probably the form is due to hasty writing; cf. ll. 23, 40, 55.

31. *Ἀνθρωπον*] Anth. Pal. 7. 327. 4. Boniface had no doubt just acquired the *Florilegium diuersorum Epigrammatum* (Anth. Plan.), printed by the Juntas, Florence, 1519. On 13 July 1520

he writes to Basil, asking to have an 'Orarium Graecum vna cum Epigrammatis Graecis et interpretatione' sent after him to Avignon (Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 47). The quotations here and in ll. 66, 7 are on ff. 218 v<sup>o</sup>, 200 v<sup>o</sup>. of the Junta edition.

40. redditione] Cf. Ecclus. 1. 29. The last five words of this sentence are almost undecipherable, so that the reading is doubtful. The sense may

citas in te laudando non assequitur, id amor aduersum te meus supplet et adauget.

Sed de hiis quidem partius. Si enim omnia ad viuum resecanda sint, non vnus diei spatio sed quietissimo otio opus fuerit. Hec igitur ceu rudimenta mei in te amoris posita sint, quibus excusatam volo taciturnitatem meam; quam si in posterum seruare perrexero, vt certe debeo, quoniam longe me maior, nihilosecius tamen tibi ὥς ἐκ τρέποδος indubitatum erit meam aduersum te obseruantiam puri puti amoris perpetuum fore plenissimam. Tu modo, vt semel me in tuam fidem recepisti, ita retineas velim, et tuo fauore, quod semper fecisti, me aeternum prosequi non cessa; cui me in totum do consecroque.

Si de rebus nostris certior fieri cupis, pestis mitius hucusque nos acceperat, sed in diem seuius incrudescit. Ego in breui Auenionam profici<sup>(ci)</sup>scar, illic Andream Alciatum Mediolanensem auditurus, hominem in legali prudentia tantum quantum non memini alium. Ex lucubrationibus recens Mediolani editis hominem estimes licet. Videbis summe iurium cognitioni vtramque linguam nimium quam feliciter adiectam. Hunc et Zasium nostrum duo iuris presidia dixerim, cum non solum in textuum emendatione, quamquam id etiam, sed et in ipsa harena, in ipsis adytis versentur.

Disputationi theologiae apud Lipsenses suprema manus imposita

44. spatiū MS.

58. cognitionem MS.

be gathered from a similar passage in a letter of Boniface to Bruno (? 26 Aug.) 1518: 'Ne dubitet (Erasmus), si qui sunt qui ex animo ei bene volunt, me ex illis pro modicitate mea esse vel antesignanum' (Basle MS. G. II. 13. 108; printed by Stintzing, *Zasius*, p. 367).

53. pestis] For Erasmus' interest in this cf. a letter of Boniface to Zasius (c. July 1519): Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 416: 'Scribit Erasmus noster Rot., mathemat<sup>(ic)</sup>is quibusdam id tradentibus, hanc (sc. pestem) in quadriennium duraturam et sua tyrannide totum orbem concussuram'. See also Ep. 1001. 66-7.

54. Auenionam] Bruno Amorbach, travelling to Marseilles, had found Alciati lecturing on law at Avignon; and this news had fired Boniface to go and hear him. His plan, formed c. June 1519, was to spend one year at Avignon and then two at universities in Italy. After delay because of the plague in France, he decided to start on 1 Oct.; but, lingering on, was overtaken by Bruno's sudden death, 21 Oct. 1519, and put off his journey till the spring (Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 350, 306, 420 v<sup>o</sup>, 394, 405; cf. Ep. 1084. 41).

Starting c. 1 May 1520 he arrived on the 11th; cf. ZE. p. 498. On 24 April

1521 he was at Lyons on his way home; his departure from Avignon being due to the plague (Ep. 1201. 4) and to Alciati's consequent return to Italy (Basle MSS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 411, 156, 145, 131, G. II. 13. 112: in which two MSS. about thirty of his letters and rough-drafts of this period are preserved).

57. lucubrationibus] *Paradoxa*, &c., Milan, A. Minutianus, 1518.

62. Disputationi] The report of the disputations at Leipzig between Eck, Carlstadt and Luther, 27 June-15 July 1519. Of this only two contemporary editions are known, both *s.l. et a.* The first, which has a long title enumerating all three debates, *Disputatio excellentium D. doctorum . . .*, Knaake conjectured (*Luthers Werke*, Weimar. ii. pp. 252, 3) to have been printed at Erfurt c. Dec. 1519 under the supervision of John Lang (Ep. 872, cf. LE.<sup>2</sup> 255, n. 7). For two issues of it see A. v. Dommer, *Lutherdrucke auf der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek*, 1888, nos. 79, 80. The other, with a shorter heading, *Disputatio inter egregios et praeclaros viros ac doctores, Ioannem Eccium et Martinum Lutherum in praesentia notariorum habita*, was brought to light by O. Seitz, *Der authentische Text der Leipziger Disputation*, 1903, pp. 3-5, who

est. Pronunciabunt de hac Parrhisienses. \*Ω Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς λεπτότητος τῶν φρενῶν. Eckius sibi similis est, vt vbiq̃ue cupit videri inuictus, magnos somniat triumphos. Si perget suo more agere, 65

μείζονα τούτῳ  
εὔξασθαι ταύτης οὐ δύναμαι μανίην.

Prouocauit apologia Philip. Melanchtona, sed cornutam, vt opinor, bestiam.

Verum quid ego ad te haec, qui, ne interturbetur, λακωνίζειν volui? 70 Bene vale, orbis litterati lumen, Erasme ter maxime.

Basilee Raurac. Non. octobr. An. M.D.XIX.

<sup>950</sup>1021<sub>1039</sub> FROM JOHN SLECHTA.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 547.

Kosteletz.

HN: Lond. xiv. 20: LB. 463.

10 October 1519.

[For Erasmus' relations with Slechta and the Bohemians at this time see my *Age of Erasmus*, 1914, pp. 281-98; and cf. Epp. 1117 introd., 1154, 1183. For other views of them see Ep. 1260. After Slechta's death his son was sent, apparently by guardians, to Wittenberg in July 1523 to complete his education (ME. 247). Melanchthon was in correspondence with him in Oct. 1524 (ME. 295).

Portions of this letter and its answer are printed in *S. Clementis Epistolae duae ad Corinthios*, ed. P. Colomesius, London, 1687, pp. 288-95.]

IOANNES SLECHTA KOSTELECIUS ERASMO

ROTTERDAMO S. P. D.

REDDITAE sunt mihi literae tuae tertio Idus Septembris preter omnem spem. Nam cum anno superiori literas meas per famulum bibliopolae Lypsenensis, qui Pragae libros impressos venundando agit, ad te dederam, pollicitus est mihi bona fide literas ipsas ad te vsque per certum tabellarium, vbiunque locorum esses, missurum, et 5 responsum allaturum. Quas cum sibi accepta ab eo fide tradidissem, et per hunc totum annum responsum abs te diu expectatum nullum accepissem, pro persuaso habui literas illas neutiquam ad te peruenisse, sed vel deperditas vel ad aliquem in via detentas vel ab aliquo interceptas esse. Tanto igitur nunc mihi gratiores et iucundiores fuerunt, 10 quanto minus speratae venerunt, et quidem a tali amico qualem ego nimirum inter charos et raros charissimum habeo. Gratulor autem

1021. 3. Lypsenenses Lond.: Lipsiensis LB.

dates it Leipzig, c. 1520: Proctor (10953) assigns it to Augsburg. But Boniface's statements in Am. E. 1, 3 Oct. 1519, 'Acta disputationis Lipsicae excluduntur Lipsiae', and here, if correct, point to an earlier publication.

66. μείζονα] Cf. Anth. Pal. 11. 127. 3, 4; and see l. 31n.

68. apologia] Melanchthon's letter to Oecolampadius 'de Lipsica disputatione' (ME. 43: 21 July 1519, Wittenberg) must have reached Leipzig

quickly, for on 25 July Eck replied with his *Excusatio* (Ep. 910. 2n). Both were printed, doubtless at once, in undated issues at Wittenberg and Leipzig (Proctor, ii. 11849, 11308-10, 11478). For other utterances of Boniface on the matter see Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 157, 187. His admiration for Luther appears in Am. E. 1, 3 Oct. 1519: 'Duo vere theologie Camilli, Erasmus et Lutherius, bonos viros laboribus Herculeis demereri non cessant'.

imprimis prosperae et integrae valetudini tuae, cupioque vt aemuli tui de mortis tuae commentitio genere diu sic verum loquantur, 15 quemadmodum superiori et praesenti anno hic et apud vos fecerunt; vtque aetatem annosi Nestoris viuendo non solum adaeques verum etiam superes.

Quod te autem quidam ecclesiasticorum et potissimum ex monachis implacabili odio prosequuntur et canino morsu nonnunquam clam 20 impetunt, istud apud me mirum non est, cum virtus vicio et bonum malo semper contrarium sit. Boni bonos, scelerati sceleratos amare, et simile simili amicum esse solet; morum namque similitudo, vt nosti, beneuolentiam gignit, dissimilitudo vero odium. Si non aliquando vitam illorum hypocrisi ceu pallio tectam, vt aliquis Apelles, ad amussim 25 depinxisses, et Antisylenos Gnatonesque probatissimis argumentis demonstrasses, si traditiones diuinas posthabere, et inuentis humanis literaeque interfectrici, et non spiritui, adhaerere non probauisses, amicus et frater charissimus esses. Nam cum veritas male consciis auditu admodum molesta et amara est, nec aliud quam, vt comicus 30 poeta inquit, odium parit, inde hae inimicitiae et simultates ceu e quibusdam scatebris liuentis animi erumpunt. Sed praestat talium fucam et inefficacem amicitiam longe abicere et contemnere quam ei veritate remota turpiter blandiri: certum est enim quod nullius vita sine aliqua reprehensione cucurrit. Innocuum tamen et absque 35 aculeo stilum tuum esse quis ignorat? cum vitia sola notas, carpis et damnas, personis vbique parcis. Quis tibi igitur pro iis iuste succensere poterit, nisi ille qui sibi male conscius de se ista intelligere velit? Et hac causa maiore laude dignus es, quo animi sanctimoniam et vitae synceritatem cum doctrina et sapientia coniunxisti; luce sua 40 aliis lucem afferens, legendoque, scribendo, declarando et instituendo fructus hactenus omnibus producus.

Sed nolo de his plura scribere, ne videar eximias virtutes et doctrinam tuam vitamque innocuam oratione mea sterili et ieiuna velle comprehendere et clariora reddere, cum hoc aliud nihil esset 45 quam soli lumen et mari aquas addere. Testamentum Nouum, quod multorum autorum praeclaris sententiis egregie ac vtilissime locupletasti, allatum mihi est cum nonnullis aliis opusculis tuis pridie Idus Maii. Omnes enim libros tuos, quoscunque scripsisti et Basileae Ioanni Frobenio, viro docto et in arte calcographica Daedaleo ingenio 50 praedito, imprimendos dedisti, habeo, mirificeque lectione eorum delector: quibus etiam magna ex parte bibliothecam meam non solum auctam sed et ornatam reddidi.

Pragae quamuis te nihil negotii habere cognoscam, libenter te tamen cum multis aliis qui videndi tui magno desiderio tenebantur, 55 et ipse vidissem conuenissemque. Sed cum id nunc partim occupationes tuae plurimae, partim vero studiorum perpetui et indefessi labores non patiantur, oportebit vt id in tempus aliud magis oppor-

24. ceu H: seu F. 30. ceu H: seu F. 35. notes, carpas et damnes H.  
36. parcas H. 50. habeo H: omnes habeo F.

15. praesenti anno hic] For a report of Erasmus' death current in Central Europe in April 1519 cf. Ep. 1008 introd.

27. interfectrici] Cf. 2 Cor. 3. 6.  
30. poeta] Ter. Andr. 68; cf. Cic. Amic. 24. 89.  
34. Innocuum] Cf. Ep. 1007. 81n.

tunum et idoneum seponamus, vbi te, cum hic fieri non potuit, alio loco et tempore, concedente Domino, conueniamus. Quod autem patria nostra in alias pergentibus regiones certo comitatu et conducturibus securitatis gratia indiget, mirari id, amice charissime, desines, si ab omni parte arduis et in altum surgentibus montibus vallatam, densissimisque syluis ac proceris arboribus late circumseptam cognoscas, quales in sylua Ercinia saepe multas videre potuisti: in qua frequentissimi grassatores delitescunt et aditus viarum 65 obsidentes saepe multa damna viatoribus minus cautis, maxime vero mercatoribus inferunt, nonnullos vero non solum rebus sed et vita spoliunt. Et quamuis fere singulis mensibus ex vicinis vrbi- 60 bus et oppidis infinitos id genus latrones capiant, et vario suppliciorum et mortis genere disperdant, nunquam tamen tam perniciosum et noxium 70 seminarium et extirpari et radicitus euelli potest: sed cum hi damnantur et delentur, protinus alii succedunt; haud secus quam fiebat circa hydram illam Herculeam, cui adempta capita renascebantur.

Scribis mihi postremo non sine certa admiratione, quod attinet ad dissidium illud fidei et religionis, quod a satis longinquo tempore 75 in patria nostra subortum durat; quodque in tanto tempore nullus inueniatur neque ex ecclesiasticis neque ex secularibus principibus qui illud ad certam aliquam concordiam perduceret; causamque huius non aliam quam pecuniae studium arbitraris. Quali ego opinioni tuae absque vlla controuersia subscribo. Quotus enim nunc quis- 80 que inuenitur, siue summum Pontificem, siue cardinales et episcopos, siue alias ecclesiasticas personas, siue ipsos monachos spectes, qui non potius ambitioni et lucris pecuniariis quam saluti animarum proximorum consulant. Si Saluatoris nostri vitam et doctrinam, qua ipsos cohortatur et admonet vt bona ista temporaria, caduca, fragilia 85 et nusquam consistentia contemnerent, religionemque, pietatem, charitatem, misericordiam et reliquas virtutes amplecterentur, audire et illi obtemperare vellent, certus sum quod nulla esset tam remota et seposita gens vel regio, nulla tam grauis et laboriosa via, vt non eam pro salute proximorum laeto et alacri animo susciperent: sicut facere 90 solebat Paulus et caeteri Apostoli, quorum se isti vicarios et successores falso tamen et inani titulo gloriantur.

Forsan autem ab re non erit si tibi et hoc obiter ostendero, cum sit inter nostros tale in fide et religione dissidium, vt cognoscas quot et quam variae sint diuisiones et causae ipsius. Nam ne Iudaeos et 95 Epicureos, qui animarum immortalitatem negant, similiter et quosdam Nicolaitas commemorem—ex iis enim omnibus non pauci apud nos inueniuntur—, totus populus regni huius et Marchionatus Moraviae in tris sectas diuisus est. Prima est eorum qui Romanum Pontificem in omnibus sequuntur et observant, verumque vicarium Christi 100

71. et ante extirpari add. N.  
H: temperaria F.

74. quod N: quid F. ad add. N. 85.

95. diuisiones] For the numerous religious sects in Bohemia during xv-xvi<sup>th</sup>, and the varying names applied to them see the article on the Bohemian Brethren in Herzog iii. 445-67. The religious troubles of the time

receive frequent mention in F. Palacky's *Geschichte von Böhmen* (1867), bks. xii, xiii.

Iudaeos] Cf. Ep. 1006. 142n.

97. Nicolaitas] The name is derived from Rev. 2. 6, 15.

recognoscunt, quemadmodum faciunt Germani et caeterae nationes, eidem ceu pastori caulae Dominicae adhaerentes. Et ex iis est maior pars procerum, magnatum et nobilium. Sunt et nonnullae ciuitates regiae cum monasteriis, olim opulentibus, nunc magna ex parte  
105 dirutis et despoliatis, variorum ordinum.

Alia secta est illorum qui Eucharistiam sub vtraque specie populo dispensant. Cui ex proceribus pauci, ex nobilitate autem plurimi, ciuitates vero regiae prope triginta adhaerent. Hi sacramenta Ecclesiastica omnia tenent, similiter cerimonias ac ritus Ecclesiae, non  
110 aliter quam ipsi Romani; in solo autem vsu communionis differunt, et quod in sacrificiis sacerdotes illorum Epistolam et Euangelium lingua domestica canunt. Et huic vtrique consuetudini pertinacissime adhaerent, asserentes se vtrunque literis Concilii Basiliensis (quas vocant pactionis) confirmatum et approbatum habere.

115 Ad quod cum aliquando decem Magistros theologos studii Pragensis iussu Imperatoris Sigismundi, tunc Regis Bohemiae, misissent, et pro articulo illo de communione sub vtraque specie cum theologis Concilii conflictati essent, ostendissentque communionem talem a Christo esse institutam et a Paulo Apostolo Corinthiis traditam, ab omnibus  
120 deinde priscis doctoribus tam Graecis quam Latinis ad annos circiter mille et ducentos inuiolabiliter obseruatam—quibus Concilium singulis diligenter perspectis et rite examinatis, concessit eis praedictum vsum et consuetudinem communionis ante memoratae; his tamen conditionibus, vt sacerdotes illorum praesentes et futuri Eucharistiam  
125 populo communi ad hoc disposito sub vna vel sub vtraque specie, prout quisque ex fide cuperet, exhiberent, hac prius protestatione vtrisque facta, 'Vos qui sub vna specie communicaturi estis, non minus vos accipere credatis quam sub vtraque specie'; et qui sub vtraque specie communicaturi essent, non magis eos accipere quam  
130 eos qui sub vna specie—in reliquis autem omnibus rebus Ecclesiae Romanae et cerimonias legitimas obseruare et sequi polliciti sunt. Similiter Pontificem Romanum cum successoribus suis pro veris vicariis Christi haberent et recognoscerent, et dictis eorum absque omni repugnatione obtemperarent, cum successoribus suis omnibus.  
135 Quae se omnia et singula facturos et opere completuros bona fide promiserunt; qua ab ipsis accepta comprobauerunt eis communionem ante memoratam literis Concilii, quas pactionis vocant.

Sed erant haec et ab Eugenio summo Pontifice, qui tunc Romanae

104. opulentis *H.* 115. studii *F*: scholae *H.* 131. et om. *N.* 138. et om. *N.*

102. caulae] Cf. Aug. c. *Pelag.* 1. 1. 2.

106. Alia secta] The Utraquists. They sent envoys to the Council of Basle in 1432-3 (ll. 115 seq.), and in Nov. 1433 a settlement was made, known as 'the Compacts' (ll. 113-14, 137), by which they were allowed to continue, with some modification, the practice of their own ceremonials. See Creighton, vol. ii, bk. 3, ch. 5.

115. studii] The change in *H* was perhaps made to avoid a word that was now becoming old-fashioned. It seems that as yet there was no word definitely

accepted for university. In Ep. 1033. 116, Erasmus uses *uniuersitas*, perhaps following Luther (cf. explan. n.), but modifies it in *F*; ibid. 255, he uses *academia*. Cf. Epp. 447. 97, 166, 1002. 9n.

116. Sigismundi] 1368-1437; King of Hungary 1387, King of the Romans 1410, King of Bohemia 1419.

136. comprobauerunt] sc. theologi Concilii (l. 117).

138. Eugenio] Pope 1431-47. For his quarrel with the Council and consequent refusal to ratify the Compacts see Creighton, bk. 3, ch. 6.



praesidebat Ecclesiae, literis (quas vocant exequutoriales) confirman-  
da et ratificanda; qui huic Concilio imprimis auctoritatem dederat. 140  
Postea vero intellectis certis decretis in eodem Concilio contra se et  
futuros Pontifices conclusis et determinatis, aboleuit et abrogauit omnia  
in eodem Concilio conclusa et determinata: qua causa neque haec quae  
Bohemis in eodem Concilio concessa et approbata fuerunt, literis suis  
approbare voluit, ne videretur iam dictis decretis Concilii auctoritatem 145  
dare. Qua causa neque hoc ab aliis Pontificibus Romanis hactenus  
obtinere potuerunt: qui cognita in hac parte tam obstinata et immo-  
bili Pontificum mente, qui ea quae Christus instituit et Ecclesia prisca  
tenuit Conciliumque approbavit, confirmare noluerunt, nec eis etiam  
obedire nec pro veris Christi vicariis et successoribus Petri habere 150  
voluerunt.

Et vbi compromiserant maiores illorum, quod sacerdotes factionis  
ipsorum communicaturi populum sub vna vel sub vtraque specie  
alloquuturi erant populum his verbis quae ante praefati sumus, iam  
illa omnia ceu falsa abiecerunt, neque aliter vllum ex communi populo 155  
quam sub vtraque specie communicare volunt; reprehendentes in hoc  
vehementer maiores suos qui ad illud Concilium missi fuerant, quod  
tam stulti et temerarii fuissent vt tam falsis et iniquis conditionibus  
a Concilio oblatis assentire voluerint, cum apud doctores veteres Grae-  
cos et Latinos apertissime inueniatur aliam gratiam dari accipienti- 160  
bus corpus Christi, et aliam sumentibus sanguinem ipsius. Et cum  
ibi donentur differentes gratiae, quomodo haec vera esse possunt, vt  
percipientes sacramentum illud sub vna specie non minus gratiarum  
accipiant quam qui sub vtraque, neque qui sub vtraque sumunt, non  
plus sumant quam qui sub vna? Haec subdentes, si ista quae 165  
commemorata sunt neque ipsi tractatores antiqui sacrarum literarum  
docuissent, tamen non erat altera pars sacramenti salutaris populo  
communi supra institutum Christi vilo modo subtrahenda, cum hoc  
aliud nihil sit quam merum sacrilegium: neque plus sapere debue-  
runt supra illam priscam et sanctam Ecclesiam, quae hoc ad annos 170  
prope mille et ducentos inuiolabiliter seruauit. Et vbi nostri certas  
causas et pericula quaedam adducunt, propter quae altera pars sacra-  
menti communi populo adempta est, dicunt inde illud inconueniens  
sequuturum, vt isti sapientiores ipso Christo esse velint, qui nesciuit  
et ignorauit pericula quaedam futura circa illam partem sacramenti 175  
emersura, quae isti inuenerunt et cognouerunt, et istud est supra  
Christum scire et intelligere. Haec et alia longe plura in tractatibus  
eorum contra communionem sub vna specie conscripta inueniuntur;  
quae commemorare sicut longum, ita et tediosum esset. Quis igitur  
tantae dissensionis idoneus apud nos arbiter inuenietur? 180

Tertia secta est eorum quos vocant Pyghardos. Hi denomina-

181. Pyghardos] According to J. Du-  
bravius, *Hist. Boiémica*, bks. 14 and 26,  
ed. Basle, 1575, pp. 126, 250, this name  
was first applied to a sect which ap-  
peared in Bohemia in xii<sup>o</sup>. It is em-  
ployed here, according to the usage of  
the time, for the Bohemian Brethren  
(l. 95n); who were the spiritual  
successors of the Taborites and the

ancestors of the present Moravian  
church. They were at this time under  
the leadership of their bishop, Lucas  
of Prague († 11 Dec. 1528).

Slechta endorses a current deriva-  
tion of their name from a leader who  
came from Picardy; but the oppro-  
brious sense usually attached to the  
word probably indicates that it is

tionem a quodam transfuga eiusdem gentis acceperunt; qui huc  
 veniens ante annos nonaginta septem, eo tempore quo Ioannes Zyzka,  
 homo sacrilegus et sceleratus, bellum hic ecclesiasticis et omni clero  
 185 indixerat et bona eorum diripienda inuaserat, ei adiunctus infecit  
 imprimis ipsum ducem scelerum pestiferis doctrinis, et postea  
 totum exercitum eius, quem ex latronibus, homicidis, proscriptis et  
 reliqua fece perditorum coegerat. Qualis seges durauit ad vsque  
 tempora Regis Vladislai, qui annis istis proximis vitam cum morte  
 190 commutauit, maximaque incrementa sub ipso accepit: nam cum  
 gubernacula regni Hungariae suscepisset, plusque ibi quam in  
 Bohemia morae traxisset, parum curabat quid hic ageretur, dum  
 modo pace omnes subditi sui fruerentur.

Hi de summo Pontifice, cardinalibus, episcopis et caeteris personis  
 195 ecclesiasticis non aliud sentiunt quam de manifestis Antichristis,  
 Pontificem ipsum nunc bestiam nunc meretricem illam Apocalypticam  
 appellant; et cum omnia contra doctrinam et traditionem Christi  
 faciant, quomodo possunt esse alicuius autoritatis et virtutis in ope-  
 randis sacris? sed quaecunque ab officio eorum prodeunt, neque esse  
 200 sacra neque sacramenta neque benedictiones, sed meras execrationes,  
 abominationes et maledicta. Episcopos et sacerdotes ipsi sibi eligunt  
 laicos rudes et literarum expertes, vxores et liberos habentes, fratres  
 se et sorores inuicem vocant et salutant. Autoritatem tantum  
 Veteris et Noui Instrumenti ex Scripturis recipiunt. Doctores omnes  
 205 veteres et neotericos et libros eorum contemnunt, nec doctrinae eorum  
 quicquam tribuunt. Sacerdotes eorum, cum officia missarum cele-  
 brant, absque vllis id vestibis sacerdotalibus faciunt; nec vllis circa  
 haec preculis vel orationibus vtuntur preter solam Dominicam ora-  
 tionem, qua panem fermentatum consecrant.

210 De sacramentis Ecclesiae vel parum vel prope nihil credunt et  
 sentiunt. Qui ad haeresim eorum accedunt, coguntur singuli rebap-  
 tizari in aqua simplici. Nec salem nec aquam benedicunt, nec de oleo  
 consecrato quicquam tenent. In sacramento Eucharistiae nihil esse  
 diuinitatis credunt, sed solum panem et vinum consecratum, signis  
 215 quibusdam occultis mortem Christi repraesentantem affirmantes; et  
 propterea in idololatriam cadere omnes quotquot coram illo genua  
 flectunt et incuruant, vel illud adorant: cum in alium finem a Christo  
 sacramentum illud institutum non sit, nisi ad memoriam passionis  
 ipsius recolendam, et non vt hinc et inde circumferatur, aut eleuatum  
 220 a sacerdote videndum ostendatur; quoniam Christus ipse qui adoran-  
 dus et cultu patriae honorandus est, sedet ad dexteram Dei patris,  
 sicut in symbolo fidei Christiana confitetur Ecclesia. Suffragia sancto-  
 rum et orationes pro mortuis rem vanam et ridiculam arbitrantur;  
 similiter confessionem auricularem et poenitentiam pro peccatis a  
 225 sacerdotibus iniunctam. Vigilias et ieiunia fucum et tectorium esse  
 hypocritarum, festa diuae Virginis Mariae, Apostolorum et reliquorum

183. Zyzka *N.*  
 hic *F.*

185. ei *N.*: cui *F.*

201. abominationes *H.*

219. hinc *N.*:

connected with the Beghards (Ep.  
 843. 620n).

183. Zyzka] (= 'the one eyed') of  
 Trocnov; a Bohemian noble, who was

leader of the Taborites from 1420 until  
 his death, 11 Oct. 1424.

189. Vladislai] † 13 March 1516 (see  
 Ep. 950. 5n); King of Hungary, 1490.

diuorum, inuenta esse ociosorum affirmant: dies tamen Dominicos, et festum Natalis Dominici, Paschae et Pentecostes celebrant.

Multa essent alia illorum portentorum perniosa dogmata commemoranda, si non rationem meliorum et grauiorum studiorum tuo-<sup>230</sup> rum haberem. Si tamen superiores duae factiones ad concordiam reducerentur, posset et ista nepharia secta (quamuis iam sit plurimum aucta, maxime vero propter vitam sacerdotum nimium dissolutam) opitulante Rege exterminari vel in meliorem fidei et religionis formam reduci.<sup>235</sup>

Sed de his iam diu superque satis. Rogo velis aequiori animo ferre hanc meam tam immoderatam loquacitatem, qua erga te non alia causa vsus sum, nisi vt factionum nostrarum multiplicium veram et certam rationem acciperes. Literae istae citone te contingent prorsus nescio, cum Mysnae tela Apollinea passim volitare dicantur. Quae<sup>240</sup> forte Iodocus noster, rector Achademiae Erfordiensis, euitare volens, ad quaedam sese loca remotiora receperit: nam et literae tuae quas ei ad me mittendas tradideras, ad quatuor menses apud eum retentae fuerunt, non tamen alia causa quam quod fidelem tabellarium qui huc transiret non habuit. Cupio te, amice charissime, diu et optime valere<sup>245</sup> meque, vt coepisti, diligere, et cum tibi opportunum erit, nonnihil rescribere; quod et ego me facturum recipio. Etiam vale.

Ex Arce nostra Kostelecensi x. Octob. Anno Dominicae incarnationis. M.D.XIX.

#### 1022. TO ORTUIN GRATIUS.

Vienna MS. Pal. 9737 c.

(Louvain.)

Horawitz i. i.

15 (October) 1519.

[The manuscript is an original, in the Imperial Library at Vienna, autograph throughout: unfortunately it has suffered very much along its lefthand margin. A satisfactory month-date is given by the single letter of it which survives; and from the correspondence of this period many of the gaps may be filled. For the circumstances of this letter see p. 42.]

S. Iam pridem) in animo mihi fuit admonere te vt ab amarulen)tis contentionibus verteres ingenium ad ea que institu)isti studia. Nam stilus tuus ostendit e)sse sat bonae spei, si malis tantum m)oderato iudicio duci quam seruire rixis, m)ihi crede, nec litteris nec Christiano homi)ne dignis. Alia via, plus ve-reor ne res in dissidium traba)tur. Contentionum nunc satis, vnde mihi nec metitur) nec seritur. Vbi interim

5

1021. 232. sit om. H. 236. his F: hiis N. 238. multiplicum H.  
240. Misnae N. 246. tibi om. H. 1022. 2. amarulentis] Cf. Ep. 1007. 86,  
93: vt ab istis cont. Horawitz. 7. Christiano homine] Cf. Ep. 1006. 58.  
8. dissidium] Cf. Epp. 1007. 102, 1041. 44. 9. nec metitur] Cf. Ep. 1057. 14.

240. tela Apollinea] Cf. Hom. Il. 1. 42 seq. Lotter's Meissen Breviary, 14 Feb. 1520 (Proctor 11984), is described as printed there 'tempore pestilitatis

in aula episcopali'.

241. Iodocus] Jonas: see Ep. 876 and cf. Ep. 963. 11. For his enthusiasm for Erasmus at this time see JE. 27-8, 30-3.

10 vitae et studiorum dulcedo? dum mortales mutuis in)ter)ripos vulneribus conficiuntur. Quod istis pugnis temet admisceris parum sapient)is est, quod negotium ad te non pertinet. Scripsi his de rebus prolixam epistolam  
 15 M.) N. Iacobo Hoechstrato, nec dubito quin eodem ani)mo suscepit quo ego scripsi. Scripsi enim) am(ici)ssimo.

Ex(o)rtae sunt et hic linguae virulentae), que concordiam huius Academiae lace)rant. Et res itidem erat in rabiem exitu-  
 20 ra,) ni magistri nostri ceterique huius Academiae pro)ce(res) rem animaduertissent. Itaque ventum es)t in colloquium, et facile discussa discordia pax sa)rtata est, nunquam vti spero distrahenda. Quod ili)co fac(tum) est Id. Septembr. proximis, id Chri-  
 25 sto) l(on)ge gratius. Velim igitur et isthic et vbique) fi(ne)m imponi contentiunculis istiusmodi superio)rum omnium amnestia.

Hec raptim scripsi in)citante nuncio. Alias pluribus tecum agam et liben)tius, praesertim si sensero te consilia  
 30 nostra, que te) litterisque digna sunt, applicuisse. Vale et Hoechs)tratum meo nomine salutato. Louanii) I(d. Oct.) An. M.D. 19.

Erasm(us) Roter(o)d.

Honorabili viro M. Ortuino Gratio, vt fratri charissimo.

#### 1023. TO WILLIAM BUDAEUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 508.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xiii. 16: LB. 464.

15 October 1519.

[The year-date added in H is correct, because of Colet's death, 16 Sept. 1519.]

ERASMVS BVDAEO SVO S. D.

LONGOLIVS, homo impense doctus mihique multis nominibus iucundus, pro literis ad me tuis expostulationem attulit, quod duabus tuis epistolis proximis nihil adhuc responderim. Ex quo conicio postremas meas literas tibi non esse redditas, aut tum certe redditas  
 5 non fuisse. Literas ad Viuetem hodie ab illo accepi, sed nondum

1022. 10. vitae et] Cf. Epp. 1033, 1060. 28-9. 11. mortales mutuis] Cf. Ep. 1006. 17, 346-7. 18. virulentae] Cf. Epp. 1042. 3, 13, 1062. 125. 26. superiorum] Cf. Epp. 1024. 4, 1042. 2, 1217. 121.

14. epistolam] Ep. 1006.

17. Exortae sunt] Cf. Ep. 993. 44-8.

22. pax] Cf. Ep. 1016. 15n.

1023. 1. Longolius] See Ep. 914 introd.; and, for his departure from Paris, Ep. 1011. 4n. He had now spent a long two days (Epp. 1026. 4-5, 1029. 25-6) with Erasmus.

2. expostulationem] M. Delaruelle (*Musée belge*, ix. 1905, p. 338, n. 4) under-

stands by this a letter, now lost, which crossed Ep. 1004. The words may be interpreted more simply, of a verbal message: such as Budaeus might well have been content with, when his two last letters (Epp. 987, 992) were still unanswered.

4. postremas] Ep. 1004.

5. ad Viuetem] BE.<sup>4</sup> 43, dated 19 Aug. 1519.

legi: nec enim licuit per Longolium. Ioannes Coletus, vir optimus mihiq; certissimus amicus, Londini periit hydrope. Tu cura, mi Budae, vt quam rectissime valeas nosque, vt soles, ames.

Louanii. Idus Octobr. Anno M.D.XIX.

1024. To NICHOLAS BERALDUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 509.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xiii. 17: LB. 465.

15 October 1519.

[Contemporary with Ep. 1023.]

ERASMVS NICOLAO BERALDO S. D.

LONGOLIVS ex Anglia reuersus tuas mihi reddidit literas. De crabronibus nihil est quod metuas. Epistola illa tua felicissime cessit; Dorpius blandissime respondit. Theologi vltro mecum egerunt de pace, et sarta est hac lege vt sit omnium superiorum amnestia. Dorpius etiam edita oratione testatus est se mutasse sententiam. Proinde de huius constantia plane confido. Cum caeteris sic conuenit vt tamen obseruem quid agant. Dabo operam ne mihi rupti foederis crimen possit impingi, sed excubabo ne interoscitans opprimar. Scripsi ad te nuper per Augustinum medicum Phrysium, per quem misi et Dorpii orationem. Saluta Ru-<sup>10</sup> zaeum, Deloinum et Ruellium. Bene vale, doctissime Beralde.

Louanii. Idus Octobr. Anno M.D.XIX.

1025. To RICHARD PACE.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 506.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xiii. 11: LB. 468.

16 October 1519.

[The year-date of this group of letters for England, Epp. 1025-32, is conclusively confirmed by the reference, in all except the last two, to the death of Colet, 16 Sept. 1519.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS RICARDO PACAEIO, DECANO APVD

D. PAVLVM LONDINI, S. D.

VIDEOR mihi dimidiatus viuere Coletus mortuo; quem virum Britannia, quem amicum ego perdi! Tibi gratulor qui in eius fortunam successeris. Aueo scire si quid allatum de libris tuis

1023. 9. Octobris H. Anno M.D.XIX. add. H. 1024. 10. FN<sup>3</sup>: Phrysicum  
H Lond.: Frisicum LB. 12. Octobris H. Anno M.D.XIX. add. H.

1024. 1. literas] Not extant.

2. Epistola] Cf. Ep. 994. 13n.

3. Theologi] See Ep. 1016. 15n.

5. oratione] See Epp. 438, 1044. 16n. The warmth of his feeling towards Erasmus at this time is still further shown by Ep. 1044: cf. Epp. 1029. 16-17, 1165. 41-3.

8. excubabo] Cf. Ep. 1029. 19n.

9. Augustinum] Agge; see Epp.

291. 3n, 511.

11. Ruellium] See Ep. 346. 11n.

1025. 3. successeris] The appointment of Pace must have been very quickly made, if the news of it had reached Erasmus at the same time as that of the death of Colet. For similar rapidity in filling up a benefice see Ep. 623 introd.

libris] For Erasmus' interest in

noui. Reuerendissimum Campegiū vidi Brugis; nam me miro studio accersuerat. Nihil vnquam vidi humanius aut syncerius. Rex minabatur responsurum, et item R. Eboracen(sis), neque quicquam adhuc audio. Facito me certiore si quid est quod mea referat scire.

Commigrat in aulam vestram suauiissimae indolis iuuenis Antonius a Grimberga, D. de Bergis filius, nec illiteratus, et ex animo literarum ac literatorum amans. Non cupio vt ames adolescentem, tantum nosse velis rogo: cognitum amabis velis nolis, ea est morum et ingenii probitas. Pater, vt scis, apud nos valet suo merito plurimum. E re mea fuerit si is intelligat mihi istic cum filio suo amicos esse com-  
15 munes, et tales amicos quorum conuictu talis euadat iuuenis qualem impensissime cupit senex cordatissimus atque optimus.

Nos hactenus vix tutati sumus valetudinem, coelo tam incommodo. Hybernīs his mensibus reliquas Paraphrases absoluemus adiutore Christo. Literas tuas iam pridem misere expecto. Bene vale.  
20 Louanii. Postridie Idus Octobr. Anno. M.D.XIX.

## 1026. TO THOMAS LUPSET.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 507.

HN: Lond. xiii. 12: LB. 467.

Louvain.

16 October 1519.

ERASMVS LVPSETO SVO S. D.

TRIGINTA iam annis nullius mors mihi fuit acerbior quam Coleti. Percupio hominis memoriam posteritati consecrare. Sed hoc negociū tu pro tua in illum pietate capesses, vt me instruas, praesertim si

1025. 4. Reuerendissimum F: Cardinalem H. 6. R. F: Cardi. H: Card. N. LB: Eboracen. F: Eboracensem Lond. 10. D. de Bergis F: principis Bergani H. 20. Octobris H. 1026. TIT. ROT. THOMAE ante LVPSETO add. H.

the return of Pace's books from Italy see Epp. 30. 16n, 706. 32n, 732. 24, 887. 3-5.

1025. 4. Campegiū] I have failed to determine precisely the day on which he entertained Erasmus at Bruges (cf. Epp. 1029. 26-8, 1031. 2-3, 1062. 186). Early in July he was expecting to return soon to Italy (Ep. 995. 73-4). On 15 Aug. he took leave of the King at Greenwich, and on 17 Aug. left London (Brown ii. 1279). By 22 Aug. he was at Dover (Brewer iii. 433, 4), having perhaps stayed with Fisher at Rochester on the way (cf. Ep. 1030. 3n). On 24 Aug. he reached Calais, whence he set out on 26 Aug. for Brussels, no doubt through Bruges c. 28 Aug. Then turning back to France, he visited the Court at Blois, 18 or 19-23 Sept., and was at Lyons 1-3 Oct. From c. 22 Oct. to 14 Nov. he was resting at Bologna; and he entered Rome c. 27 Nov. See Brewer iii. 439, 452, 454, 461, 533 (cf. C. Sigonius, *Vita L. Campegi*, Bologna,

1581, p. 46); and Brown ii. 1297. For Erasmus' visit to Bruges see Epp. 1010, 1012, 1013. 23n; and, for Pace's share in promoting the meeting, Ep. 996. 18-25. 6. responsurum] Erasmus was awaiting replies to Epp. 964, 967.

9. Antonius] See Ep. 760 introd., 1106. 1n.

16. senex] Cf. Ep. 1031. 22. John of Bergen (Ep. 737), being older than his brother Antony (Ep. 143), must have been about 65 at this time. For other estimates of age cf. Epp. 1067, introd.; 1103. 24n, 1166. 23n, and 1, p. 12. 4-5.

17. coelo] Cf. Ep. 1016. 5n.

18. Paraphrases] For the series of Erasmus' Paraphrases on the Epistles see Epp. 710, 916, 956, 1043, 1062, 1112, 1171, 1179, 1181.

1026. 2. memoriam] This project was fulfilled by Ep. 1211; cf. Ep. 1229. In Epp. 1027. 8-9, 1030. 46-8 also Erasmus announces his intention.

qua sunt quae putes mihi non esse cognita. Longolio pene totum triduum dedi: placuit omnibus modis, hoc vno dempto, quod ni-  
mum Gallus est, cum sit nostras. Commigrat isthuc clarissimus  
adolescens Antonius a Grimberga, filius cordatissimi herois D. de  
Bergis, rara indole ac probitate, literarum ex animo studiosus, cui nec  
inuisus est Erasmus. Valent hic tui Hermannus Phrysus ac  
Nesenus cum Carino caeterisque.

Vesculus nunquam magis fuit in negotio quam nunc; sed omnia  
fucate. Mi Lupsete, si vis me tibi immortaliter devincere beneficio, cura  
quavis ratione ut liber ille ad me perveniat. Exemplar est isthic  
apud tres aut quatuor, amici agunt ut prematur; et interim hoc me  
laedunt, quod hic quotidie reddit instructiores suas sycophantias.  
Nihil enim minus sperandum est quam ut ille perpetuo premat.  
Hoc officii si mihi praestiteris, reposece vicissim quicquid voles, nihil  
negabitur. Magnopere gratum feceris si frequenter ad nos scripseris.  
Bene vale. Louanii. Postridie Idus Octobr. Anno M.D.XIX.

## 1027. To WILLIAM DANCATER.

Epistolae ad diversos p. 507.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xiii. 13: LB. 470.

16 October 1519.

[To 'Master Dancaster' Colet in his will, 22 Aug. 1519, left £6. 13s. 4d. 'to supporte hym in hys vertue' (S. Knight, *Life of Colet*, p. 465); cf. Ep. 278. 8-11. Hence J. H. Lupton, *Life of John Colet*, 1909, p. 234 n, conjectures that he may have been 'a scholar of Colet's now studying for ordination'. On 23 Aug. 1521 Erasmus sent greetings to him through Lupset. He appears to have sided with the King over the Divorce: and in reward received the living of Ampthill in Bedfordshire, 8 Aug. 1528, being then M.A. (Brewer iv. 323a, 4687. 8). The present rector of Ampthill, the Rev. W. D. May, kindly informs me that a new rector, Richard Byrdsall, was appointed on 20 Feb. 1538, the living being void by death (Brewer iv. 6248. 20), presumably Dancaster's.]

ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVVS INTEGERRIMO D. GVILHELMO

DANCASTRO S. D.

O NOS miseros, qui talem praeceptorem, talem patronum, talem  
amiserimus amicum!

Ploratur lachrymis amissa pecunia veris;

hanc ego iacturam omni lachrymarum genere deplorandam censeo.  
Sed quid conferunt singultus, quid eiulatus? ille reuocari non potest,  
nos illum breui sequemur. Interim Colet gratulandum, qui iam  
securus suo fruitur Christo, quem semper habebat in ore, semper in

1026. 7. D. de F: a H.

19. Octobris H.

1026. 4. Longolio] Cf. Ep. 1023. 1n.  
6. Gallus] For the question of  
Longolius' nationality see Ep. 914  
introd.

9. Phrysus] See Ep. 903. 12n.

10. Carino] See Epp. 920, 1034.

11. Vesculus] The accompanying  
letters show clearly that Lee is in-  
tended. For a similar description of

him see Ep. 906. 448.

14. tres aut quatuor] Lee had sent  
ms. copies of his book to More, Latimer,  
Fisher (Ep. 1061. 61-2), and per-  
haps to Tunstall (Ep. 1029. 29; but cf.  
Ep. 1061. 136-7). See also Ep. 1053. 344.

1027. 3. Ploratur] Juv. 13. 134.

5. reuocari] Cf. Ep. 1028. 15.

7. Christo] Cf. Ep. 1211. 325, 329.

pectore. Mandabo literis vitam hominis, si tu tuique similes quaedam me docueritis, mihi fortassis incognita: quod vt facias etiam atque etiam rogo. D. Gerardum oeconomum meis verbis salutato diligenter; erga quem adhuc ingratus esse cogor, sic obruor vndique.

Cum theologis ictum foedus, ipsi vltro flagitarunt, postea quam nihil ab illis non tentatum est in meam perniciem, et vident conatus parum succedere. Si Christus pro nobis, quis contra nos? Bene vale, mi charissime Guilhelme, meque Christo Opt. Max. tuis precibus commendato. Louanii. Postridie Idus Octobr. Anno m.d.xix.

## 1028. TO WILLIAM BLOUNT, LORD MOUNTJOY.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 507.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xiii. 14: LB. 469.

16 October 1519.

ERASMVVS ROT. CLARISS. BARONI GVILHELMO  
MONTIOIO S. D.

EXIMIE Mecoenas, vix mihi tempero quin inuideam aulae vestrae tot eruditae differtae, cum nostra praeter Midas nihil habeat, etiam si res ipsa cogit nostros satrapas literarum habere rationem. Clariss. D. Berganus, ex multis cognita synceritate vestrae aulae ac Regis Reginaeque dotibus, non alio maluit emandare filium suum Antonium dominum Grimbergae, iuuenem indole felicissima ac moribus plane suo genere dignis: cum primis autem literarum ex animo studiosum et, quod tecum habet commune, fauentem Erasmo. Hunc quid ego tibi commendem? cum et illum norim iis rebus praeditum quas tu non potes non amare. Ducit secum praeceptorem suum Adrianum Barlandum, virum haud vulgariter eruditum.

Quod non respondes meis literis, nihil aliud in causa suspicor quam solitam tuam hac in re pigritiam. Mors Coleti tam acerba mihi fuit vt nullius his annis viginti fuerit acerbior. Sed quis vsus querelarum aut fletus? ille ad nos redibit nunquam, nos illum sequemur.

Cum theologis sarta pax, quam illi vltro expetierunt: quam sic admisi vt nec meo vitio sum violaturus nec illis tamen vnquam fisurus. Nunquam audita fuit eiusmodi conspiratio ex vnus hominis bili nata: cuius etiam opera sarta est, cum videret et se imparem esse tragoediae, et me recti conscientia fretum non cedere, imo tandem etiam dentes aliquot nudare, saeuitum si porro perrexissent.

1027. 10. D. om. H. oeconomum add. H. 17. Octobris H. 1028. III.  
CLARISS. BARONI om. H. 2. fere ante nihil add. H. 3. D. F: princeps H.  
19. esse om. N.

1027. 10. Gerardum] 'Maister William Garrard' was Colet's steward, and one of the executors to his will. See also Ep. 1229.

13. foedus] See Ep. 1016. 15n.

1028. 1. aulae] Cf. Ep. 999. 221n.

2. nostra] Cf. Ep. 1004. 145n. This condemnation is somewhat softened in H.

4. Reginaeque] For Erasmus' acquaintance with and admiration for

her see Epp. 296. 117, 855. 30-2, 948. 221-9, 964. 96, 968. 12, 976. 38-9.

11. Barlandum] Cf. Epp. 760. 14n, 1106. 15n.

12. literis] Probably Ep. 965; cf. Epp. 1025. 6n, 1031. 1-4.

15. redibit nunquam] This recalls, though not verbally, 2 Sam. 12. 23; cf. Ep. 1027. 5-6.

18. vnus hominis] Cf. Epp. 1029. 3n, 1125. 17n.



Nos sat prospera valetudine sumus, nisi quod aetas semper aliquid decerpit huius corpusculi neruis; sed non recusarim immori literis Christi gloriam illustrantibus. Si tu solitum in nos animum non mutasti, fac tuis literis aliquoties Erasmum appelles, tuum vbi vbi terrarum futurus est. Bene vale.

Louanii postridie Id. Octobr. Anno M.D.XIX.

## 1029. TO CUTHBERT TUNSTALL.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 512.  
HN: Lond. xiii. 24: LB. 471.

Louvain.  
16 October 1519.

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS CVTBERTO TONSTALLO S. D.

Cvm catalalis ictum foedus, ipsis id diu flagitantibus: nunquam neque lecta neque audita fuit eiusmodi conspiratio. Solus, vt ferunt, Noxus ille fuit, qui et olim instigauit Dorpium et hanc totam tragoediam excitauit: id iam pridem suspicione collectum iam plane comperi. Idem sarcinae pacis fuit autor, vbi sensit et me minari ni desinerent, et alios ad bellum accinctos, et suam valetudinem ob tumultum periclitari, et in suum caput recidere quod in meum moliebatur. Scio tibi non placere meas Apologias; sed tempori fuit seruendum, imo laudares meam lenitatem, si negotii nosces atrocitatem. Neque me clam est vobis autoribus fieri vt Leus premat suum librum: nec aliud tamen interim mihi praestatis nisi vt ille opus edat

1028. 26. futurus *om. Lond.* 27. Anno *om. H.* 1029. 4. iam ante pridem *om. H.* 9. nosces *H:* nosces *F.*

1029. 1. catalalis] The Louvain theologians; cf. Ep. 1016. 15n. For the word cf. Rom. 1. 30, where Erasmus translates 'oblocutores' in 1516, 'obtrectatores' in 1519.

3. Noxus] The identification with Atensis (cf. Ep. 337. 373n) was contemporary: cf. Sbrulius' poem against the Louvain theologians (Ep. 1159. 6n),

'Noxa quid angelicum proscindere quaeris Erasmus?'

A noxa tutus semper Erasmus erit', with a printed note in the margin 'M. N. Bruardus Atensis'. For Erasmus' relations with Atensis cf. Epp. 670, 993. 49n, 1053. 296n, 1123. 17n, and especially the *Spongia* (LB. x. 1649 A-C = HE. 333, §§ 167-8): 'Atensis vir erat nec inhumanus nec iniquus bonis literis, sed ingenio iritabili. Itaque per quosdam monachos ac theologos protrusus est vt ageret odiosam fabulam. Et qui huc adegerunt hominem, eadem opera adegerunt in mortem; erat enim imbecilli valetudine et irae impatiens, iniuriae insolens. Ac post huius mortem maxime coepit ea tragoedia incrudescere, vt intelligas illum multa moderatum. Porro quod

de eo scripsi, illum ab omnibus esse laudatissimum nec vnquam tamen satis laudatum, hoc etiam ipsi theologi Louanienses cum risu legerunt; laudabatur enim quotidie solennibus encomiis in schola, tanquam Vicecancellarius eius Academiae. Mihi certe quod ad ipsius naturam attinebat, non erat iniquus, qui solus omnium autor fuit pacis cum theologis sarcinae. Doctrina iudicioque longo interuallo superabat omnes: mihi moriturus etiam denunciabat pacem et amicitiam, quod ad ipsum attineret'—an amplification of the similar passage in 1, p. 22. 30-6.

8. non placere] Cf. Ep. 663. 43 seq. Apologias] See Epp. 597. 32n, 670 introd., 934. 3n.

9. meam lenitatem] Cf. Epp. 906. 463, 931. 19, 952. 24, 1042. 20, 1139. 43; and the *Epistola de magistris nostris Louaniensibus*, Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> p. 388. 11, 12. So also Listrius to B. Rhenanus in EAE. App. f. b<sup>6</sup>, (c. April 1520): 'Erasmus, cui saepe nocuit sua lenitas': where Ev. p. 145, reprinted in BRE. 193, has wrongly *leuitas*. Cf. the similar deprecation in Ep. 1053. 476 and 1, p. 34. 33. For the quality cf. Epp. 843. 530-1, 906. 342-3, 946. 9, 947. 31-2.

instructius, et me fortassis aut mortuo aut procul absente. Nihil enim minus sperandum est quam vt ille perpetuo premat quod quotidie retexit; imo nunquam magis fuit in hoc negotio quam nunc  
 15 est. Mihi tamen non est animus cum vestra pugnare sententia. Dorpius etiam libello edito testatus est animum mutasse sese, ac caeteris in rebus talem se praebet vt satis fidam. Cum caeteris initum foedus a me quidem non violabitur, et arma deposui: caeterum excubias non intermittam. Hac hyeme Paraphrases absol-  
 20 uam si Christus adfuerit. Coleti mortem inconsolabiliter deplorarem, nisi scirem nec illi nec mihi profuturas lachrymas.

Commigrat aulae vestrae Antonius a Grimberga, filius primarii viri D. de Bergis, iuuenis natus virtuti, literarum ac literatorum amantissimus, indole mansuetissima pudorisque plena: huic non  
 25 grauaberis declarare quantum faueas probitati. Longolius hic mihi totum biduum absumpsit. Cardinalem Campegius vidi Brugis; coenauit cum eo, mira hominis humanitas. Placere mores aperti minimeque fucati.

Si fieri possit, cuperem mihi fieri copiam eorum quae notauit Leus; 30 nam adornant rursus terciam aeditionem: ab ipso nihil potest extorqueri. De Roffensis animo nihil equidem addubito; sed tamen hoc sycophanta nihil nec dolosius nec improbius. Si quid me iubebis facere, promptissimum ad omnia reperies. Bene vale.

Louanii postridie Idus Octob. Anno M.D.XIX.

### 1030. TO JOHN FISHER.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 503.  
 HN: Lond. xiii. 4: LB. 474.

Louvain.  
 17 October 1519.

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS R. D. IO. EPISCOPO ROFFENSI S. D.

EXIMIE Praesul, perscripturus eram, vt tua iusserat reuerentia, quae adnotaram tribus libellis quibus Fabri refellis opinionem. Verum id serum arbitratus sum edito posteriori libro; quem sane

1029. 12. et F: ac H. 23. D. de F: principis a H. 25. faueas H: faueo F.

1029. 16. Dorpius] See Ep. 1024. 5n. 19. excubias] Cf. a letter of Hedio to Myconius from Basle, 10 Dec. 1519, 'Erasmus γρηγορε, vbi tempus erit, amicis omnibus signum daturus. Interim oportet non seuire stilo. Capi- to quaedam pepererat, sed monente Erasmo supprimit hactenus': quoted by Egli to illustrate Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 107, which is to the same effect.

30. adornant] sc. Frobenius et Amerbachii.

terciam aeditionem] of Erasmus' New Testament; cf. Epp. 1030. 22-3, 1174. 15n.

31. Roffensis] Cf. Epp. 908. 20-2, 936, 1030.

1030. 2. tribus libellis] *De vnica Magda-*

*lena libri tres*, Paris, J. Badius, 22 Feb. 1519; cf. Ep. 936. 7 seq.

3. posteriori libro] Probably Fisher's *Euersio munitionis quam Iodocus Clichtoueus erigere moliebatur aduersus vnicam Magdalenam*, Louvain, Th. Martens, s.a. and Sept. 1519. Fisher also produced (cf. Ep. 1016. 20) a *Confutatio secundae disceptationis per Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem habitae, in qua tribus foeminis partiri molitur quae totius Ecclesiae consuetudo vnicae tribuit Magdalenae*, Paris, J. Badius, 3 Sept. 1519; in the preface to which, addressed from Rochester, without date, to Campegius, then on the point of leaving England (cf. Ep. 1025. 4n) he speaks of 'quae iam tertio ad vnicam Magdalenae propugnationem admolitus

nondum legi, lecturus tamen propediem. Miseret me Fabri, viri nimirum optimi, qui Luteciae non mediocri grauatur inuidia, praesertim Praedicatorum, potissimum ob hoc quod dictus sit fauere Capnioni. Optarim vt tua reuerentia contenta sit hac victoria quam eruditorum suffragiis adeptus diceris. Opus emitur cupide. Quare posthac quicquid voles committere, lubens recipiet excudendum typographus: nam initio mire difficilem sese praebuit, adeo vt vix 10 hominem quiuerim percellere.

Cum theologis sarta concordia, ipsis vltro flagitantibus; quod vtinam illis prius venisset in mentem, et non laedere maluissent quam reconciliari! Nunc Dodonaei lebetes semel moti diu tinniunt, praesertim autem monachorum quorundam mira virulentia et ad 15 insaniam vsque impudens calumniandi libido. Iacobus Hochstratus agit Louanii, profugus Colonia ob pestem: vt alii suspicantur, extrusus a monachis inuidiam ab illo ortam depellentibus. Nihil adhuc molitur, quid in posterum factururus nescio.

De Leo pudet queri: precor vt Christus illi mentem inserat 20 digniorem et sacerdote et theologo. Nunquam magis fuit in negotio quam nunc est, nec interim quicquam ab illo potest exculpi. Frobenius minatur se rursus excusurum typis Nouum Testamentum; quare te obtestor, et per tuum sacrorum studiorum amorem et per tuam pietatem episcopo dignam et per nostram amicitiam et per si 25 quid omnino apud te valet Erasmus, vt si totius libri copiam facere non vis, quod tamen summopere volebam, saltem annotes ea quae iudicaris alicuius esse momenti: hinc, mihi crede, nulla nascetur tragoedia. Quod si tuae occupationes obstant quo minus hoc officium mihi queas praestare, saltem Moro detur haec prouincia, 30

6. praedicatorum F: Dominicanorum H.

sum'. Martens' volume therefore, at least in the undated issue, is probably earlier than Badius'; cf. also l. 10n.

7. contenta] For Fisher's character in this matter cf. Ep. 1016. 18-20.

victoria] The Faculty of Theology at Paris pronounced against Faber in Nov.-Dec. 1521, and his works on this question were subsequently placed upon the Index; see *Bibl. Belgica, J. Clithove*, pp. 129, 30.

10. typographus] From the descriptions of Erasmus' negotiations with him, Martens is probably intended here rather than Badius (cf. l. 3n); who had already printed for Fisher (l. 2n) and for other participants in the contest. Martens' reluctance was perhaps on the ground of doubtful orthodoxy: or from general dislike of controversy (cf. Ep. 1163. 10-11).

14. Dodonaei lebetes] Cf. *Adag.* 7, used of a man 'improbae atque importunae loquacitatis'. An explanation is given from Suidas: 'oraculum Iouis quod olim erat in Dodona, lebetibus aereis vndique cinctum fuisse, ita vt

inuicem sese contingerent. Itaque necessum erat fieri vt vno quopiam pulsato vicissim et omnes resonarent, sonitu per contactum ab aliis ad alios succedente. Durabatque in longum tempus tinnitus ille, videlicet in orbem redeunte sono'.

16. Hochstratus] One purpose of his visit was to lay before the Louvain theologians, and invite their condemnation of, a book of Luther's writings—apparently Froben's publication of Feb. 1519 (Ep. 904. 19n) and some others—, which had been condemned by the Faculty at Cologne on 30 Aug. He presented it on 12 Oct. and the Faculty pronounced against it on 7 Nov. 1519. See the two Condemnations, printed in Luther's *Werke*, Weimar, vi (1888), pp. 175-80; and the Acts of the Faculty (de Jongh, pp. 205, 43\*-4\*). For Luther's reply see Ep. 1113. 33n; and, for a consequence of Hochstrat's visit, Ep. 1033. 24n. By 28 April 1520 Erasmus had sent a copy of the Condemnations to Hutten (*LE.*<sup>2</sup> 300 = *HE.* 160).

18. inuidiam] Cf. Ep. 877. 16-31.

vel adiurato, si videtur. Illud certissimum est, Leum suas naenias non perpetuo pressurum. Hoc agit, vt opus aedat instructius, et tamen interim iactat passim se id dare amicorum voluntati meoque honori, quod premit. Quod si me vita functo librum euulgarit, 35 vtiusque deterior erit conditio. Nam neque me docebit aut corrigit, et longe odiosius illi respondebitur quam si ipse respondeam. Hac igitur in re, te quaeso, fac experiar animum illum in me tuum, quem semper prae te tulisti.

Haec scripsi moerens ob Coleti decessum, qui mihi tam acerbus est 40 vt his triginta annis nullius hominis mors me discruciarit grauius. Scio bene actum cum illo, qui exemptus ab hoc scelerato pariter atque erumoso seculo cominus fruitur suo Christo, quem viuus sic deamabat. At ego publico nomine non possum non deplorare tam rarum Christianae pietatis exemplar, tam singularem Christianae 45 doctrinae preconem; priuatim autem meo nomine tam constantem amicum tamque incomparabilem patronum. Quod vnum superest, hoc illi parentalium vice persoluam officii: si quid mea scripta valebunt, non sinam eius viri memoriam apud posteros intermori.

Dux Saxoniae Fridericus bis ad me scripsit, eidem meae respondens 50 epistolae: huius vnus praesidio substitit Lutherus. Id ait se causae dedisse verius quam personae. Addit non commissurum sese vt in sua ditione opprimatur innocentia eorum malicia qui sua quaerunt, non quae Iesu Christi. Ab omnibus delatum imperium ingenti animo recusauit, idque pridie quam Carolus eligeretur: cui nunquam 55 contigisset imperii titulus, nisi Fridericus deprecatus esset, clarior honore contempto quam fuisset adepto. Mox rogatus quem igitur censeret eligendum, negauit sibi quenquam alium videri tanti nominis oneri sustinendo parem quam Carolum. Ob hunc insignem animum a nostris oblata triginta floren. milia constantissime reiecit. 60 Cumque vrgeretur vt saltem decem milia pateretur dari famulis, 'Accipiant' inquit 'si velint; attamen nemo manebit postridie apud me qui vel aureum acceperit': ac postridie conscensu equis subduxit sese, ne pergerent esse molesti. Hoc mihi vt compertissimum retulit Episcopus Leodiensis, qui Comitibus Imperialibus interfuit.

65 Dux Vuirtenbergensis nuper profligatus bellum redintegrat, receptis aliquot oppidulis. Nos Carolum nostrum proximo vere reducem operimur ex Hispaniis. Bene vale, R. Praesul, et Erasmus hoc etiam magis amplectere, quod Coletus auulsus dimidiatum reliquit.

Louanii pridie lucae. Anno. M.D.XIX.

31. suas naenias add. H.  
dissime H.

63. Hoc H: Haec F.

67. R. F: reueren-

36. respondebitur] Cf. Ep. 998. 66n.  
47. si quid] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9. 446,  
Ov. *Tr.* 1. 6. 35.

49. his] Ep. 963, and the letter there mentioned in l. 1: both answering Ep. 939.

54. recusauit] Cf. Epp. 1001. 58, 1119. 6-11.

64. Leodiensis] See Epp. 738 introd., 1038.

65. Dux Vuirtenbergensis] After his expulsion from Tübingen (cf. Ep. 986.

11) Duke Ulrich had sought external aid against the Swabian League. On 12 Aug. he again invaded Würtemberg, and captured Stuttgart 15 Aug. Tübingen and other towns he failed to take; and after decisive defeat at Untertürkheim 14 Oct., he once more fled from his capital 15 Oct. See H. Ulmann, *Fünf Jahre württembergischer Geschichte unter Herzog Ulrich*, 1867, pp. 178-81, 196-9.

66. reducem] For Charles' return see Ep. 1079. 9n; and cf. Ep. 1004. 145n.

## 1031. TO THOMAS WOLSEY.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 508.  
HN: Lond. xiii. 15: LB. 472.

Louvain.  
17 October 1519.

R. D. CARD. EBORACENSI ERASMVVS S. D.

QVOD proximas literas meas R. T. D. non solum boni consuluit  
verum etiam alacri laetaque fronte perlegit (nam id mihi Brugis  
narravit reuerendissimus D. Cardinalis Campegius), gratiam habeo  
maximam: quod nondum respondit, negotiorum vndis imputo.  
Mihi tamen maximi muneris instar fuerint celsitudinis tuae literae, 5  
si promerear. Vt autem rursus interpellarem R. T. D., in causa  
fuit hic Antonius Grimbergius, clarissimi cordatissimique Principis  
Bergani filius, qui in regiam Britannicam commigrat, videlicet hoc  
agente patre vt dignus euadat suo genere. Est autem adolescens  
ingenui pudoris plenus, nec illiteratus, et literarum ac literatorum 10  
amantissimus: in summa, ea indole vt summam de se spem prae-  
beat, si naturae felici par accesserit institutio. Hunc pater ob hoc  
etiam tenerius deamat, quod omnium liberorum minimus veluti  
posteritatis sacra sit ancora. Scit vir prudentissimus quantopere  
referat inter quos aetas ea versetur, sic in biuio virtutum ac vitio- 15  
rum consistens, vt leui momento huc aut illuc impelli possit.

Persuasum habet non aliam esse incorruptiorem, quae  
praeter Regem huius aetatis facile integerrimum ac Reginam omnis  
probitatis exemplar, tot habeat viros doctrina praecellentes, morum  
innocentia commendatos, grauitate venerandos, prudentia consilioque 20  
suspiciendos. Nec ignorat quibus illecebris aulae nostrae ad perni-  
ciem lubricae aetatis sint instructae. Proinde cordatissimus senex  
istam aulam ceu scholam vnicam delegit, quae iuuenem non literas  
solum verum etiam mores bono principe dignos doceat. Neque  
enim dubium est quin iuuenis hic magnis rebus natus, ad longe 25  
maiora sit euehendus si vixerit. Nihil addubito quin ille sit vobis  
summorum principum literis diligenter commendatus, vt plane  
superuacaneum sit meam accedere commendationem. Tamen quando  
id verecunde significauit verius quam petiit, visum est celsitudini  
tuae paucis illius imaginem adumbrare. Quanquam eum nemo 30  
commendauerit efficacius quam ipsius mores et ingenium cum primis  
amabile, iis qui probitatem diligunt cum eruditione coniunctam,  
quorum T. R. D. citra controuersiam antistes est ac princeps: quam  
precor vt propicius Deus rebus humanis quam diutissime seruet  
incolumem. Louanii pridie Lucae. Anno M.D.XIX. 35

TT. R. D. F: THOMAE H. 1. R. T. D. F: tua sublimitas H. 3. reueren-  
dissimus D. om. H. 6. R. T. D. F: eam H, ante rursus. 30. eum H:  
enim F. 33. T. R. D. F: tu H. est F: es H. quam F: quem H.

1. literas] Ep. 967; cf. Epp. 1025. 6n, 1028. 12.  
22. senex] Cf. Ep. 1025. 16n.

## 1032. TO HENRY GUILDFORD.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 506.  
HN: Lond. xiii. 10: LB. 475.

Louvain.  
18 October 1519.

ERASMVS CLARISS. HEINRICO GVILFORDO, REI EQVESTRIS  
REGIO PRAEFECTO.

VIDES, ornatissime Guilforde, virtute nihil amabilius, quae sic  
omnium animos ad se pellicit vt nulla incantatio possit efficacius:  
siquidem fragrantia honestissimae famae, quae nusquam non di-  
uulgat aulam Britannicam, praeter Regem omnibus absoluti prin-  
cipis dotibus egregie cumulatum et huic simillimam Reginam, tot  
insuper integris, eruditis, grauius cordatisque viris abundare, D.  
Bergensem, virum in primis prudentem, hoc est a tergo pariter  
atque a fronte oculatum, excitauit vt Antonium natu minimum ex  
liberis, quem natura videtur genuisse virtuti, non alteri scholae  
tradendum iudicaret; vnde rediret non solum incorruptus ab his  
vitiis quibus fere sunt obnoxiae magnatum aulae, verum etiam hiis  
virtutibus instructus quae tam claris stemmatis tantisque nego-  
ciorum molibus, ad quas haud dubie vocabitur, dignae sint. Nihil  
agam si tibi iuuenem commendem. Ea est indoles, ea morum sua-  
uitas, is pudor ac probitas, vt optimum quenque protinus in sui  
amorem rapturus sit.

Atque hic quoque sentio mihi Rhamnusiam infensam. Ante com-  
plures annos et Regis benignitas et R. Cardinalis Eboracensis  
humanitas me ad aulae consortium non semel inuitauit, eodem  
prouocauit Guilhelmi Monteionii fidele semper et amicum consilium.  
Sed mihi laeua mens erat, surdo canebatur fabula. Sciebam haud  
vllam vsquam aulam ista esse incorruptiorem; at quis diuinare  
poterat principis domum tale Musarum domicilium futurum? Nunc  
id consilium sequar oportet quod dant aetas ac valetudo. Vobis  
interim gratulabor istam felicitatem, quando meam infelicitatem  
deplorare nihil attulerit fructus. Bene vale, vir ornatissime.

Louanii. Natali S. Lucae. Anno. M.D.XIX.

## 1033. TO ALBERT OF BRANDENBURG.

Epistola ad Card. Moguntinum, f<sup>o</sup>. A<sup>2</sup>.  
F. p. 473: HN: Lond. xii. 10: LB. 477.

Louvain.  
19 October 1519.

[Some facts about the printing of this letter are given by Erasmus in Epp.  
1153. 162-7, 1167. 111-18, 1217. 20-5 written in 1520-1 and published in F. But the  
fullest narrative is found in the *Spongia*, composed and printed in 1523: 'Ante  
annos aliquot scripseram epistolam ad Card. Moguntinum contra clamores  
theologorum Louaniensium in Lutherum. Eam misi tunica obuolutam cum  
inscriptione ad quendam, qui nulli notior est quam Hutteno, mandans illi vt, si  
videretur, redderet, sin minus, vel flammis vel vndis aboleret: existimabam

TIT. HEINRICO H. F Lond.: GVILEFORDO N. I. ornatissime F LB: doctis-  
sime Lond. 6. D. F: principem H. II. hiis F: iis Lond. 18. R.  
om. H. 20. H: Monteionii F: Montioii Lond.

13. Nihil agam] Cf. Ep. 1031. 26-8. and cf. Ep. 966.

19. inuitauit] See Ep. 964 introd.; 21. laeua mens] Cf. Ep. 1004. 146n.

enim illum, qui viueret in familia Card. et illi, vt tum putabam, esset a consiliis, melius nosse sensum Principis. Quid factum est? Aedita est epistola vulgataque typis, nec reddita illi ad quem erat scripta. Ex hac re quum et Cardinali grauis inuidia conflaretur apud Romanenses et mihi apud nostros—iam enim triumphum adornabant, gloriantes me teneri medium—Moguntinus commotus exigit epistolam ad se scriptam, quae iam totos tres menses per omnium manus volitabat. Tandem acriter flagitanti reddita est ea quam miseram, semilacera ac typographorum atramento contaminata. Ea res, vt debuit, aegre habuit Principem, mihique indignabatur, suspicans id mea culpa factum. Nihil hic affingo. Ipse Cardinalis post suis literis mecum expostulauit hac de re. Quas tragoedias excitasset Huttenus si quid eius generis commissem in ipsum! Primum prodita est fides in mandatis amici. Nocuit causae vulgata epistola, quae secreto lecta prodesse poterat; et amicum et patronum benemeritum grauauit inuidia. Postremo mihi Principem tantum ex amico reddidit inimicum (LB. x. 1664c-2; HE. 333, §§ 325-8). Subsequently, in revising Ep. 1152 for republication in H, c. 1529, Erasmus inserted a brief statement to the same effect. It is an example of his powers of self-deception (cf. Epp. 936. 16-8, 950. 12n) that in I, p. 28. 26-8, written in 1524, he considers, or affects to consider, that Hutten alone would be able to detect who was alluded to in the passage from the *Spongia* quoted above: cf. HE. 364. 40, 1 = LE.<sup>2</sup> 792. 61, 2.

The earliest issues of this letter are numerous, and all unauthorized. From the nature of the case such publications appear without adequate indications of time and place, and without the printer's name, so that it is difficult to determine their origin and sequence. From such examples as I have been able to examine, the following order suggests itself:

1. *D. Erasmi Roterodami presbyteri theologi ad R. Cardinalem Moguntinum epistola, in qua de Luthero quid ipse sentiat declarat* (a<sup>1</sup>).

Colophon: Impressum Coloniae (by Nic. Caesar). Bodl. TL. 86. 23, with a contemporary ms. inscription: 'detur hon(ora)bili domino Ioanni Brunineck, vice(praeposito) tem(p)li Sa. Ca(therin)e virginis, Osnaburgis. Ex Colonia, &c.'

2. *D. Erasmi Roterodami presbyteri theologi ad R. Cardinalem Moguntinum epistola, in qua de Luthero quid ipse sentiat declarat. In qua obiter hoc Lutherianum explanatur, peccata mortalia nisi manifesta non esse confitenda* (a<sup>2</sup>).

Colophon: Impressum Coloniae secunda impressione, castigatione prima. Bodl. TL. 11. 153. On tit. v<sup>o</sup>. a preface to the reader describes the letter as 'omnimodo candidam, hoc est Latinam puram atque simplicem, sine fuco orationis, sine vlla deprauata animi passione, ob idque verius et rectius de Luthero et Lutherianae causae initiis sentientem'.

3. *Desyderii Erasmi ad reuerendissimum Moguntinensium praesulem atque illustrissimum principem epistola, nonnihil D. Martini Lutheri negotium attingens* (B<sup>1</sup>). (Wittenberg, M. Lotther.) Proctor 11894.

4. *Desiderii Erasmi ad reuerendissimum Moguntinen. praesulem atque illustrissimum principem epistola, nonnihil D. Martini Lutheri negotium attingens* (γ<sup>1</sup>). (Nuremberg), F. P(ey). Bodl. Antiq. e. G. 8.

With this may be enumerated an edition, s. l. et a., (? Hagenau, T. Anshelm), of which there is a copy in the University Library at Cambridge (Td. 51. 109<sup>1</sup>). It follows the text of γ<sup>1</sup> very closely, reproducing not only the same words, often exactly line by line, and the abbreviations almost invariably, but also many unusual spellings (e. g. 195 *misterium*, 200 *nae*, 201 *praesserint*, 259 *cicius*), and even in many cases the contractions. And though it avoids some of the variants, mostly lapses, of γ<sup>1</sup>, and has some new blunders of its own, the connexion between them is conclusively established by the occurrence in both of some misprints which are not found in any other text that I have seen; 25 *serta*, 94 *oporteri*, 204 *scelerationes*, 205 *ausam*, 222 *istas*, 266 *aeeternum*. Which was derived from the other I cannot determine.

5. The same title, M.D.XX. (γ<sup>2</sup>). (Augsburg, S. Grimm and M. Wirsung.) Proctor 10920; Bodl. TL. 9. 102 and 89. 10.

6. The same title, f<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>2</sup> in Luther's *Lucubrationes*, Basle, A. Petri, July 1520 (γ<sup>3</sup>). A preface by Petri to the reader states that he had seen the letter 'typis excusam, Germanice quoque versam'.

7. *D. Erasmi Roterodami epistola ad Reuerendiss. Archiepiscopum ac Cardinalem Moguntinum, qua commonefacit illius celsitudinem de causa Doctoris Martini Lutheri. Selestadii in officina Schureriana. Sumptu Nicolai Cuferii, bibliopolae Selestadiensis. Anno M.D.XX. (δ).* Bodl. TL. 9. 103. On the verso of the last leaf in some copies—in others the last page is blank—is a letter from Wimpfeling to

the Bishop of Basle (cf. Ep. 598 introd.), 1 Sept. 1520, wishing that all the bishops and nobles of Germany would unite to secure from the Pope favourable treatment for Luther. This edition was very likely produced from a copy, ms. or printed, left behind at Schlettstadt by Egranus (Ep. 872. 12n) in the summer of 1520, at Beatus' request (BRE. 176).

$\alpha^1$  and  $\alpha^2$  (designated together as  $\alpha$ ) are clearly connected. In a large number of readings they agree together against all the other sources, and differences between them are few. The contents of the pages exactly correspond, though the arrangement of the lines is not identical; a condition which is frequently found when a book is reprinted after a short interval of time, e.g. with  $N^1$ ,  $N^2$ ,  $N^3$ . Some of the obvious misprints of  $\alpha^1$  are corrected in  $\alpha^2$ ; and are not shown in the critical notes here. But  $\alpha^2$  has a few errors of its own, which have crept into the text through aberration, in spite of the 'castigation' announced in the colophon. This pair agree, too, in printing Ep. 980 after this letter: according to the text of the *Farrago* (E), and therefore not before Nov. 1519 (Ep. 1040 introd.). A possible indication of date may be found in another point. The colophon in both cases follows on to Ep. 980 at once, in the same line; and in  $\alpha^2$  the year-date of Ep. 980 has been altered from M.D.XIX to M.D.XX. This suggests that the printers of  $\alpha^2$ —seemingly different from those of  $\alpha^1$ , as the type is not the same—took the date as applying to the book, not the letter. They probably knew when  $\alpha^1$  appeared; and, making this misconception, thought it suitable in reissuing the pamphlet to change the date into accord with the actual year of reissue. Thus  $\alpha^1$  and  $\alpha^2$  may be dated conjecturally in the end of 1519 and the beginning of 1520.

In Jan. 1520 a copy of the letter, apparently in ms., reached Wittenberg (LE.<sup>2</sup> 264), and Luther expected that it would soon be printed. But, as in April Melancthon sent to John Hees, canon of Breslau (cf. Ep. 1113 introd.) a ms. copy of it, corrected by himself (ME. 69), we may perhaps infer that he had not yet seen it in print. Hutten, in passing through Bamberg about the end of April, showed the letter, perhaps in  $\alpha^1$  or  $\alpha^2$ , to Crotus Rubianus, who, being greatly pleased with it, at once prepared to send a copy to Luther (HE. 160 = LE.<sup>2</sup> 300. 228-31). In view of the priority of these indications in time, the Wittenberg issue ( $\beta^1$ ) may have precedence of the others here. In June 1520 Pirckheimer from Nuremberg sent 'Epistolam Erasmi emendatam' to Bernard Adelmann, who at once had it printed at Augsburg (Heumann, p. 199). These two editions—if the former was printed, not ms. (l. 45 shows a connexion between  $\gamma^1$  and  $\alpha^2$ , the 'emended'  $\alpha^1$ )—may quite well be  $\gamma^1$  and  $\gamma^2$ , which agree closely together. They agree also with  $\gamma^2$ , and, according to the date, either of them might have been the original used by Petri, for in his book the letter is on the first sheet, which was probably one of the last set up. To  $\delta$  a date can be assigned with very little doubt from Wimpfeling's letter. Except for a few insignificant variations it follows  $\gamma$ , and may therefore be presumed to have been printed from one of those originals. BER<sup>1</sup> mentions editions at Louvain and Erfurt, which I have not seen; the latter no doubt owed its origin to one of Erasmus' admirers there. In the Gotha MS. Chart. B. 20, ff. 19-24 there is a contemporary copy ( $\beta^2$ ) which shows a great deal of degeneration, but on the whole has distinctive connexion with  $\beta^1$ . The contents of the ms. suggest that it was written by or for someone who had an interest in Breslau, perhaps John Hess, in which case the connexion with  $\beta^1$  would be explained.

This is perhaps the letter sent by Zwingli to Oswald Myconius from Zurich, 6 July 1520, 'Erasmi epistolam preciosissimam ab exemplari descriptam, quod ipsum improbe descriptum erat' (Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 146); though for another possible identification of that see Ep. 1120. 12n. As late as 3 Aug. 1520 Conrad Grebel saw this letter in ms. at Zurich (VE. 207). Of the German version mentioned by Petri, numerous contemporary editions are known.

If Hutten was responsible for any of the texts enumerated above, it must have been for  $\alpha^1$ ; but I cannot find there, nor anywhere else, the one specific change—the addition of 'noster' after Luther's name—which Erasmus in Epp. 1153. 165, 1217. 25, alleges, on hearsay, that Hutten made in this letter before printing it.

The existence of so many unauthorized issues impelled Erasmus to print the letter himself. It was a composition of some note. He realized no doubt (cf. Ep. 1041) the importance of making clear his attitude towards Reuchlin and Luther, whose names, for different reasons, had now become a cause of anxiety to the orthodox; and so, while continuing the moderate support already manifested in Epp. 939, 967 (cf. also Ep. 1153. 110-16), he was careful to assert his



detachment from them (ll. 34-42, 192-211). But this purpose was only secondary. His main concern was to continue in a new quarter (cf. Epp. 1007, 1060, 1062) his protest against the attitude towards learning adopted by the regular orders. The Archbishop (Ep. 661 introd.) was credited with wide sympathies, and his friendliness towards Erasmus gave good hopes of securing his support against a campaign of detraction which was likely to have serious results. Apart from a single name (l. 80) there was nothing in the letter that Erasmus need wish to conceal, except perhaps the allusions (ll. 130, 223) to the traffic in indulgences, from which the Archbishop was already deriving large profits; and, but for being too late, it would probably have been included, like Ep. 967, in E. It was, in fact, one of the first selected for the new portion of F—only Epp. 299 and 645 precede it—and there is very little change in the text; less than might have been expected under the circumstances. The agreement of F with  $\beta$  in many readings, as against  $\gamma\delta$ , may be remarked; but though it seems probable that all the unauthorized editions are prior in time to F, it is hardly likely that the Basle editors would have used any one of them to print from.

The text of the Cologne editions is on the whole the best, especially as containing what seems a more accurate month-date; but, as Erasmus indicates, it is not uniformly satisfactory. I have adopted it as the basis, but have discarded some of its readings. In the sigla  $\alpha$ - $\delta$  precede F. The year-date is amply confirmed by the contents. Egli notes several passages in the *Epistola de magistris nostris Louaniensibus* (Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> pp. 385-8), which evidently imitate this letter.]

REVERENDIS. IN CHRISTO PATRI D. ALBERTO, CARDINALI ARCHIEPI-  
SCOPO, MARCHIONI ETC., ERASMV ROTERODAMVS THEOL. SALVTEM.

SALVTEM plurimam, reuerendissime Praesul et idem illustrissime Princeps. Redditum est mihi celsitudinis tuae munus, materia iuxta atque opere visendum et insigne, dignum quidem quod a tali Principe mitteretur; sed haud scio an dignus Erasmus ad quem mitteretur, quem magis conuenit vitreis aut Samiis quam auro celatis poculis 5 bibere. Quod si calix vitreus missus fuisset, tamen mihi inter ea quae maxime sunt in delitiis reponeretur; vel ob id ipsum quod ab heroe longo optimo profectus fuisset. Commendauit autem mihi non mediocriter munus per se gratissimum Huttenus noster, qui docuit appellari poculum amoris ceu Gratiis sacrum, ob id, opinor, 10 quod cum velut osculo sibi committuntur, e duobus fiat vnum; addit eam inesse vim, vt qui ex hoc biberint, tenacissima quadam benevolentia conglutinentur. Huius rei periculum facere volens, reuerendissimo D.D. Gulielmo Cardinali de Croy, cum hisce diebus inuiseret bibliothecam meam, e tuo poculo praebibi, et ille mihi 15 vicissim. Iuuenis est longe felicissimus, et cuius indoles non videatur indigna tanta felicitate.

Sed doleo serius fuisse redditum. Nuper enim theologi Louanienses mecum redierunt in gratiam, hac lege vt illi compescerent obtretrices linguas quas excitassent, ego pergerem cohibere cala- 20

TIT.  $\alpha$ : om.  $\beta$ : REVERENDISSIMO SACROSANCTAE RHOMANAE ECCLESIAE TT. S. CHRYSOGONI CARDINALI MOGVNTINENSI AC MAGDEBVRGENSI ARCHIEPISCOPO, PRINCIPI ELECTORI, PRIMATI ETC., ADMINISTRATORI HALBERSTATENSI, MARCHIONI BRANDENBURGENSI, ERASMV ROTERODAMVS  $\delta$ : REVE. ARCHIEPISCOPO ET PRINCIPI MOGONTINO CARD. ERASMV ROTEROD. S. D. F (REVE. F: ALBERTO H. S. D. om. H). 1. Salutem plurimam add.  $\beta\delta$ : S.  $\gamma^2$ . reuerendissime  $\alpha$ : suspiciende H. 3. quidem  $\alpha\gamma$ : dignum  $\beta^2$ . 10.  $\alpha\gamma^2$ : appellare  $\gamma^1$ . 12. hoc  $\beta$ : his  $\alpha$ . 14. reuerendissimo D.D. om. H.  $\alpha$ : Guilhelmo  $\beta^2\delta$ : Guilhelmo  $\gamma^2$ . de Croy  $\gamma^3$ : de Croy  $\alpha$ : de Croio  $\beta\delta$ : Croio H. 18.  $\alpha\gamma^2$ : Louanienses  $\gamma^1$ . 19.  $\beta$ : redierant  $\alpha$ . 20. cohibere  $\beta$ : prohibere  $\alpha$ .

2. munus] Cf. Ep. 986. 34-9.

14. de Croy] See Ep. 647 introd.

18. theologi] Cf. Ep. 1016. 15n.

20. cohibere] Cf. Ep. 993. 52n.

mos meorum, quantum esset in me. In eo conuiuio—nam hic nihil  
sacrum absque computatione—produxissem tuum poculum, si mihi  
fuisset. Ex quo si bibissent singuli, fortasse felicioribus auspiciis  
coisset nostra concordia. Nunc ex epistola nescio qua parum bene  
25 intellecta et peius interpretata male sarta gratia sic dissiliit vt post  
breuem tranquillitatem saeuior etiam tempestas coorta videretur. Nec  
dubito quin haec omnia gerantur artificio Sathanae, cui nihil inuisius  
est Christianorum inter ipsos concordia: eoque modis omnibus  
conatur et vitae et studiorum tranquillitatem aliquo pacto turbare,  
30 idque facit pietatis praetextu, quo magis etiam noceat.

Qua de re, si R. D. T. per negotiorum vndas vacaret, sunt quae  
mea refert illam scire; ac fortassis ipsius quoque, certe bonarum  
literarum interest, quibus aequum est optimos quosque aduersus pes-  
simos fauere. Primum illud praefandum est, mihi neque cum Reuch-  
35 lini negotio neque cum Lutheri causa quicquam vnquam fuisse. Cabala  
et Talmud, quicquid hoc est, meo animo nunquam arrisit. Confl-  
ictationes illae virulentae inter Reuchlinum et hos qui Iacobo Hoch-  
strato fauebant, mihi maiorem in modum displicuerunt. Lutherus  
mihi tam ignotus est quam qui ignotissimus; cuius libros nondum  
40 vacauit legere, nisi quod carptim degustauim quaedam. Si bene  
scripsit, nihil mihi debetur laudis; sin secus, nihil est quod mihi  
imputetur. Illud video, vt quisque vir est optimus, ita illius scriptis  
minime offendi: non quod probent omnia, opinor, sed quod hoc  
animo illum legant quo nos legimus Cyprianum ac Hieronymum,  
45 imo etiam Petrum Lombardum, nimirum ad multa conuiuentes.

Libros Lutheri editos dolebam; et cum cepissent primum ostendi  
libelli nescio qui, pro viribus obstabam ne ederentur, praecipue ob  
hoc, quod vererem ne quid tumultus ex his oriretur. Scripserat ad  
me Lutherus epistolam bene Christianam, mea quidem sententia, et  
50 respondi, obiter admonens hominem ne quid seditiose, ne quid  
in Romanum Pontificem, ne quid arrogantius aut iracundius scri-  
beret, sed doctrinam Euangelicam animo sincero cum omni man-  
suetudine praedicaret. Id feci ciuilitate, quo magis proficerem.  
Addidi hic esse qui illi fauerent, quo magis ad horum iudicium sese

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 22. computatione $\beta$ : potatione $\alpha$ .  | 23. felicioribus $\alpha F$ : melioribus $\gamma$ .                |
| 24. $\alpha\gamma^2$ : coisset $\gamma^2$ . nescio add. $\beta$ .                        | 25. sarta $\alpha\gamma^2$ : sarta $\gamma^1$ . $\alpha\gamma^2$ : |
| dissiluit $\gamma^2$ .   | 27. $\alpha\gamma^1$ : Sathanae $\beta\gamma^2$ .                  |
| add. H.  | 28. quam ante Christianorum  |
| 29. vitae $\beta$ : vitam $\alpha\gamma$ .   | 31. R. D. T. $\alpha$ : celsitudini tuae H.                        |
| quae mea $\alpha\gamma$ : quae meam $\beta^2$ .  | 32. $\beta$ : referat $\alpha$ . ac add. $\beta$ .                 |
| $\alpha\gamma F$ Corrig.: fouere $\beta F$ . $\alpha F$ : est praefandum $\gamma$ .      | 34. fauere   |
| commune $\gamma$ . $\beta$ : Cabula $\alpha$ .   | 35. fuisse $\alpha F$ : fuisse                                     |
| strato F.  | 36. $\alpha\gamma^1\delta$ : Talmud $\beta\gamma^2 F$ .            |
| 41. laudis $\beta F$ : om. $\alpha\gamma$ .  | 37. Hooch-   |
| conuiuentes $\alpha^1\beta\gamma^2$ : conuenientes $\alpha^2$ : cōuenientes $\gamma^1$ . | 45. $\beta$ : Lumbardum $\alpha$ .                                 |
| om. $\beta$ .  | 47. ob hoc   |
| 49. $\alpha\gamma^2$ : Luththerus $\gamma^1$ .   | 51. procacius ante in Romanum add. H.                              |

22. computatione] Cf. Epp. 447. 456, 643. 36n, 867. 112, 1170.

24. epistola] Ep. 1041. 44-5 shows that the reference is to Ep. 980, which was now in circulation (cf. Ep. 948 introd.) and evidently had just reached Louvain through the agency of Hochstrat (Ep. 1040. 2-4). See de Jongh, pp. 209, 10.

34. Reuchlini] Cf. Ep. 967. 69-71.

36. conflictationes] See Ep. 1006.

39. ignotus] Cf. Ep. 939. 66n.

40. carptim] Cf. Ep. 967. 79, 80.

47. obstabam] Cf. Epp. 904. 19n, 967. 92, 1143, 1167, 1195, 1217. Two of Luther's books were reprinted by Jerome Froben just at this time, during his father's absence at Frankfurt. See L.E.<sup>2</sup> 278. 14n, 285. 17-19.

49. epistolam] Ep. 933.

accommodaret. Haec quidam stultissimi sic interpretati sunt quasi 55  
Luthero fauerem: cum istorum nemo hominem adhuc monuerit,  
ipse solus admonui. Ego Lutheri nec accusator sum nec patronus  
nec reus. De spiritu hominis non ausim iudicare; est enim diffi-  
cillimum, praesertim in partem peiorem. Et tamen si illi fauerem  
vt viro bono, quod fatentur et hostes; si vt reo, quod iuratis etiam 60  
iudicibus permittunt leges; si vt oppresso, quod dictat humanitas  
—si vt oppresso ab his qui simulato praetextu deuotis animis ten-  
dunt aduersus bonas literas, quae tandem esset inuidia, modo ne  
causae me admiscerem? Postremo Christianum est, opinor, sic fauere  
Luthero vt, si innocens est, nolim eum improborum factionibus op- 65  
primi; sin errat, velim sanari, non perdi: hoc enim magis congruit  
cum exemplo Christi, qui iuxta Prophetiae testimonium linum fumi-  
gans non extinxit, neque baculum confractum comminuit.

Optarim pectus illud, quod videtur habere praeclaras quasdam  
scintillas Euangelicae doctrinae, non opprimi, sed correctum vocari 70  
ad praedicandam gloriam Christi. Nunc theologi quidam, quos ego  
noui, nec admonent nec docent Lutherum; tantum insanis clamoribus  
apud populum traducunt hominem, et virum saeuissimis et virulen-  
tissimis obrectationibus lacerant, nihil habentes in ore praeter haereses  
et haereticos. Negari non potest hic clamatum fuisse apud populum 75  
odiosissime, ab iis qui libros Lutheri nondum viderunt. Compertum  
est quosdam nominatim damnasse quae non intellexerant. Quorum  
illud est vnum; Lutherus scripserat nos non teneri ad confitendum  
peccata mortalia, nisi manifesta, sentiens manifesta quae nobis  
contentibus essent nota. Id quidam Carmelita theologus sic inter- 80

55. stultissime  $\beta$ . 56. nemo  $\alpha$ : nullus  $H$ . 57.  $\alpha\gamma^2$ : Lutheri  $\gamma^1$ .  
58. reus  $\alpha\gamma$ : iudex  $\beta F$ . 59. si  $\alpha\gamma$ : om.  $\beta^2$ . 60. etiam  $\alpha\delta$ : om.  $\gamma^1$ : &  $\gamma^3$ .  
62. si vt oppresso  $\alpha$ : om.  $\beta$ : et obruto  $H$ . simulato  $\beta$ : simulatae  $\alpha$ .  
deuotis animis  $\beta$ , cf. Epp. 1053. 520-1, 1097. 35, 1098. 15, 1128. 9, 1167. 26 et  
saepius: deuotionis  $\alpha$ . 64. me causae  $\beta$ . est  $\alpha\delta$ .  $F$ . 65. eum  $\alpha\delta$ .  $H$ .  
66. sin  $\beta F$ : si  $\alpha\gamma$ . 68. extinxit  $\alpha^1\beta$ : extinguit  $\alpha^2$ . 70. vocari  $\alpha\gamma$ .  
reuocari  $\beta F$ . 71. praedicandam gloriam  $\alpha$ : praedicationem gloriae  $\beta$ . 73.  
apud  $\alpha F$ : ad  $\gamma$ . virum saeuissimis et om.  $\beta$ . 74. lacerant  $\alpha F$ : latrant  $\gamma$ .  
hominem post lacerant  $\alpha\delta$ .  $\beta$ : om.  $\alpha\gamma$ . 75. et haereticos  $\alpha$ : et haereticus  
 $\beta$ : et haereticum  $\gamma$ : et haereticos et antichristos  $F$ : haereticos, heresiarchas,  
schismata et antichristos  $H$ . 76. iis  $\alpha$ : his  $\beta$ . viderant  $\beta$ . 79. mor-  
talia  $\alpha$ : capitalia  $H$ . 80. confitentibus  $\alpha\delta$ .  $F$ . Carmelita theologus om.  $F$ .

58. reus] 'answerable for'. The reading of most of the unauthorized editions can hardly be a corruption of the reading adopted in  $F$ , and is probably therefore correct. But cf. Epp. 1041. 34, 1167. 247.

62. praetextu] Cf. Epp. 694. 40-1, 701. 21.

64. fauere Luthero] The carefully measured support given here did not impress Luther, who wrote of this letter as 'egregia epistola Erasmi . . . de me multum solliciti . . . vbi me egregie tutatur, ita tamen vt nihil minus quam me tutari videatur; sicut solet pro dexteritate sua' (LE.<sup>2</sup> 264. 19-23: 26 Jan. 1520).

67. Prophetiae] Is. 42. 3; cf. Ep. 939. 113.

78. Lutherus scripserat] In the *Sermo de poenitentia*, Wittenberg, J. Grunenberg, 1518, f. A<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup> (Weimar ed. i. 322): 'Primum vt nullo modo praesumas confiteri peccata venialia, sed nec omnia mortalia, quia impossibile est vt omnia mortalia cognoscas.' I owe this reference to Prof. Preserved Smith. For Erasmus' treatment of this point in the *Colloq. Formulae*, March 1522, cf. Ep. 1301. 28-32.

80. Carmelita] Clearly Egmondanus (Ep. 878. 13n); cf. Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> p. 384. 28 seq. Ep. 1153. 41-3 shows that he took umbrage at this passage. Hence, no

pretans quasi manifesta essent quae palam essent admissa, vociferatus est miris modis in re non intellecta. Compertum est ab his damnata vt haeretica in libris Lutheri, quae in Bernhardi et Augustini libris vt orthodoxa, imo vt pia leguntur.

- 85 Admonui eos initio vt ab huiusmodi clamoribus temperarent, sed scriptis potius et disputationibus rem agerent. Primum non esse publice damnandum quod non esset lectum, imo, quod non expensum; non enim dicam non intellectum. Deinde theologis indecorum esse quicquam per tumultum agere, quorum iudicium oporteret  
90 esse grauissimum: postremo non facile debacchandum in eum cuius vita probaretur ab omnibus. Denique fortassis non esse tutum attingere talia apud promiscuam multitudinem, in qua sunt multi quibus valde displicet secretorum peccatorum confessio. Hi si audiant esse theologos qui negent oportere confiteri omnia crimina,  
95 facile arripiant vnde concipiant peruersam opinionem.

Cum hoc idem videretur cordatissimo cuique quod mihi videbatur, tamen ex hac amica admonitione conceperunt suspicionem libros Lutheri magna ex parte meos esse, et Louanii natos; cum in his nec apiculus vllus sit meus, aut me conscio aut volente editus. Et  
100 tamen hac falsissima suspitione freti, citra omnem expostulationem excitarunt hic multas tragoedias, quibus ego nihil adhuc in vita vidi furiosius. Ad haec, cum theologorum sit proprium docere, nunc video multos nihil aliud agere nisi vt cogant aut perdant et extinguant; cum Augustinus ne aduersus Donatistas quidem—non  
105 haeticos modo verum etiam saeuissimos latrones—probet eos qui cogant tantum, non etiam doceant. Homines, quos maxime decebat mansuetudo, nihil aliud sitire videntur quam humanum sanguinem, tantum in hoc inhiant vt capiatur, vt perdatur Lutherus. Atqui hoc est carnificem agere, non theologum. Si se magnos theologos  
110 volunt ostendere, conuertant Iudaeos, conuertant ad Christum a Christo alienos, emendent publicos Christianorum mores; quibus nihil est corruptius, ne apud Turcas quidem. Quo pacto aequum est vt rapiatur ad poenam, qui primum proposuit disputanda, de quibus in omnibus theologorum scholis semper est disputatum, atque  
115 etiam dubitatum? Cur affligi debet qui cupit doceri, qui submittit se iudicio Apostolicae Sedis, qui se committit iudicio vniuersita-

81. quae palam essent  $\alpha\gamma$ : *om.*  $\beta^2$ . 82. est *add.* *H.* 83. Bernardi  $\delta$ . et Augustini  $\alpha$ : Augustinique  $\beta$ . 84.  $\alpha\gamma$ : orthodoxo  $\beta^2$ . vt ante pia  $\alpha$  *F* *Corrig.*: et  $\beta$ . 86. et  $\alpha$ : ac  $\beta$ . esse... 89. oporteret  $\alpha^1\beta$  (oporteret  $\alpha^1 N^3$ : oportet  $\gamma^2 N^2$ ): *om.*  $\alpha^2$ , *per lapsum*. 93. Hi si  $\alpha^1\gamma^2 F$ : Hii si  $\gamma^1\delta$ : Nisi  $\alpha^2$ . 94. negent  $\alpha\delta$ : negant  $\beta F$ .  $\alpha\gamma^2$ : oporteri  $\gamma^1$ . 95. vnde  $\beta$ : vt  $\alpha$ . 96. videretur  $\alpha\gamma^1\delta$ : videtur  $\beta\gamma^3$ . 97. tamen  $\alpha\beta^2 F$ : tum  $\beta^1\gamma^1$ . 100. citra  $\alpha^1\beta$ : circa  $\alpha^2$ . omnem  $\alpha$ : vllam  $\beta$ . 101. ego nihil adhuc in vita  $\alpha$ : adhuc in vita nihil  $\beta$ . 103. aut perdant et  $\alpha$ : vt perdant, vt  $F$ . 104. ne  $\alpha F$ : nec  $\beta$ . 105. probet  $\alpha\delta$ : probat  $\gamma$ . 112.  $\alpha^1\beta$ : Turcas  $\alpha^2$ . 114. atque etiam dubitatum *om.*  $\beta$ . 115. se submittit  $\beta$ . 116. apostolicae  $\alpha$ : Romanae  $\beta$ . vniuersitatum  $\alpha$ : scholarum quas vniuersitates appellant  $F$ .

doubt, the excision in *F*: cf. Ep. 1196. 271n.

83. Bernhardi] Cf. Ep. 1142. 45n.

116. vniuersitatum] Luther had offered this submission, to the Pope and to the Universities of Basle, Frei-

burg, Louvain and Paris, in his interview with Caietano at Augsburg, 13 Oct. 1518: cf. *LE.*<sup>2</sup> 112. 252-62, 464-5. In Aurifaber's printed text (1556) of that letter, ll. 435, 464, the word *academia* is substituted: cf. Ep. 1021. 115n.

tum? Quod si se non credit manibus quorundam qui illum mallent extinctum quam probum, mirum videri non debet.

Spectandi in primis sunt huius mali fontes. Mundus oneratus est constitutionibus humanis. Oneratus est opinionibus et dogmatibus scholasticis. Oneratus est tyrannide fratrum mendicantium; qui cum sint satellites Sedis Romanae, tamen eo potentiae ac multitudinis euadunt ut ipsi Romano Pontifici atque ipsis adeo regibus sint formidabiles. His cum pro ipsis facit Pontifex, plusquam Deus est: in his quae faciunt aduersus illorum commodum, non plus valet quam somnium. Non damno omnes, sed plurimi sunt huius generis qui ob quaestum ac tyrannidem data opera illaqueant conscientias hominum. Ac perfricta fronte iam ceperant, omisso Christo. nihil praedicare nisi sua noua et subinde impudentiora dogmata. De indulgentiis sic loquebantur ut nec idiotae ferre possent. His et huiusmodi multis rebus paulatim euanescebat vigor Euangelicae doctrinae. Et futurum erat ut rebus in deterius semper prolagentibus, tandem prorsus extingueretur illa scintilla Christianae pietatis unde redaccendi poterat extincta charitas. Ad cerimonias plusquam Iudaicas summa religionis vergebat. Haec suspirant et deplorant boni viri. Haec ipsi etiam theologi non monachi, et monachi quidam, in priuatis colloquiis fatentur.

Haec, opinor, mouerunt animum Lutheri ut primum auderet se quorundam intolerabili impudentiae opponere. Quid enim aliud suspicer de eo qui nec honores ambit nec pecuniam cupit? De articulis quos obiciunt Luthero, in praesentia non disputo, tantum de modo et occasione disputo. Ausus est Lutherus de indulgentiis dubitare, sed de quibus alii prius nimis impudenter asseuerarant. Ausus est moderatius loqui de potestate Romani Pontificis, sed de qua isti nimis immoderate prius scripserant; quorum praecipui sunt tres Praedicatores, Aluarus, Syluester, et Cardinalis S. Sixti. Ausus est Thomae decreta contemnere, sed quae Praedicatores pene praeferebant Euangeliiis. Ausus est in materia Confessionis scrupulos aliquot discutere, sed in qua monachi sine fine illaqueant hominum conscientias. Ausus est ex parte negligere scholastica decreta, sed quibus ipsi nimium tribuunt, et in quibus ipsi nihilo minus inter se dissentiant; postremo quae subinde mutant, pro veteribus rescissis inducentes noua.

117.  $\alpha H$ : malent *F*. 118. quam  $\alpha F$ : virum  $\gamma$ . 119.  $\alpha^1 \beta$ : mali huius  $\alpha^2$ . 121. Oneratus est *om. F*. 125. illorum  $\alpha$ : eorum  $\beta$ . 128. Ac perfricta fronte  $\alpha F$ : *om. \gamma*. omisso Christo  $\alpha F$ : *om. \gamma*. 130.  $\alpha \gamma^2$ : loquebatur  $\gamma^1$ . 131. huiusmodi  $\alpha \gamma$ : eiusmodi  $\beta F$ . 132. semper in deterius  $\beta$ . 134.  $\alpha \gamma^2$ : reaccendi  $\gamma^1$ . 135. et  $\alpha$ : ac  $\beta$ . 138.  $\alpha \gamma^1$ : se auderet  $\beta^2$ . 143.  $\alpha \gamma^2$ : imprudenter  $\gamma^1$ .  $\alpha H$ : asseuerauerant  $\beta N$ . 144. moderatius  $\alpha$ , cf. Ep. 1113. 23: immoderatius *F* Corrig. 145. nimis  $\alpha \gamma$ : *om. \beta^2*. 146.  $\alpha^1 \beta \gamma^3 F$ : Syluester  $\alpha^2 \gamma^1$ . 147. praedicatores  $\alpha$ : dominicani *H*. 148. confessionis  $\alpha N^3$ : professionis  $N^2$ . 149. aliquot  $\alpha N^2$ : aliquos  $\beta N^3$ . 151. tribuant *N*. ipsi ante nihilo *add. N*. 152. quae  $\alpha^1 \beta (\bar{q})$ :  $\bar{q} \alpha^2$  (quam). pro *add. \beta*.  $\beta$ : rescissis  $\alpha$ .

130. idiotae] Cf. Ep. 1153. 171n.

135. Iudaicas] Cf. Ep. 296. 83.

144. moderatius] The reading of the unauthorized editions is corroborated by *F*.

146. Aluarus] Pelagius: see Ep. 575.

34n. But Erasmus is wrong in calling him a Dominican.

Syluester] See Ep. 872. 16n.

S. Sixti] Caietano: see Epp. 256. 45n, 891. 25n.

148. Confessionis] Cf. Ep. 967. 97n.

Discruciabat hoc pias mentes, cum audirent in scholis nullum fere  
 155 sermonem de doctrina Euangelica, sacros illos et ab Ecclesia iam  
 olim probatos autores haberi pro antiquatis: imo in sacris con-  
 cionibus minimum audiri de Christo, de potestate Pontificis, de  
 opinionibus recentium fere omnia; totam orationem iam palam  
 quaestum, adulationem, ambitionem et fucum pre se ferre. His  
 160 imputandum, opinor, etiam si qua intemperantius scripsit Lutherus.  
 Quisquis fauet Euangelicae doctrinae, is fauet Romano Pontifici,  
 qui huius primus est praeco, cum caeteri episcopi sint eiusdem  
 precones. Omnes episcopi Christi vices gerunt, sed inter hos  
 praecellit Romanus Pontifex. De eo sic sentiendum est, quod nulli  
 165 rei magis fauet quam gloriae Christi, cuius se ministrum esse  
 gloriatur. De hoc pessime merentur qui per adulationem illi tri-  
 buunt quod nec ipse agnoscit nec expedit gregi Christiano. Et  
 tamen nonnulli qui mouent has tragoedias, non faciunt studio  
 Pontificis, sed huius potestate ad suum quaestum suamque tyran-  
 170 nidem abutuntur. Habemus, vt arbitror, Pontificem pium. Sed in  
 tantis rerum fluctibus plurima sunt quae ille ignorat: quaedam  
 etiam si velit, non potest obtinere, sed, vt inquit Maro,

Fertur equis auriga, nec audit currus habenas.

Huius igitur pietatem adiuuat qui exhortatur ad ea quae maxime  
 175 Christo digna sunt. Obscurum non est esse qui illius sanctitatem  
 incitent aduersus Lutherum, imo aduersus omnes qui audent ad-  
 uersus illorum dogmata mutire. Sed maximis principibus magis  
 spectandum quid velit perpetua voluntas Pontificis quam obsequium  
 improbitate extortum.

180 Iam quales sint autores huius tumultus possem verissime de-  
 monstrare, nisi metuerem ne, dum veridicus esse pergo, videar  
 maledicus. Multos noui familiariter, multi quales sint editis libris  
 ipsi declararunt, nec in vilo speculo magis relucet imago mentis ac  
 vitae. Atque vtinam isti qui sumunt sibi censoriam virgulam, qua  
 185 quos velint eiiciant de senatu Christianorum, penitus imbibissent  
 doctrinam et affectum Christi! Ea non contingit nisi animis ab  
 omni cupiditatum huius mundi sorde defecatis. An isti tales sint,  
 is mox experietur qui cum illis agat de re quae ad quaestum aut  
 gloriam aut vindictam eorum pertineat. Vtinam possim insinuare  
 190 animo celsitudinis tuae quae super his rebus et perspecta habeo et  
 comperta! nam me decet meminisse modestiae Christianae.

Haec eo liberius dico quod modis omnibus sum a Reuchlini  
 Lutherique causa alienissimus. Nec enim ipse velim eiusmodi  
 scribere, nec eam doctrinam mihi arrego vt ab aliis scripta velim

154. fere nullum  $\beta$ . 155. et om.  $\beta$ . 156. concionibus  $\alpha\gamma$ : conditionibus  
 $\beta^2$ . 159. adulationem *add.*  $F$ . et  $\alpha$ : ac  $\beta$ . 160. qua  $\beta$ : quae  $\alpha$ .  
 162. sint  $\alpha\gamma^2$ : sunt  $\gamma^1$ . 163.  $\alpha\gamma$ : vicem  $\beta F$ . 164. praecellit  $\beta$ : excel-  
 lit  $\alpha$ . 165. faueat  $\beta$ . esse om.  $\beta$ . 167. nec ipse  $\alpha\delta$ : ne ipse  $\gamma$ :  
 ne ipse quidem  $\beta F$ . 168. nonnulli *add.*  $F$ . 175. sanctitatem illius  $\beta$ .  
 177. illorum  $\alpha$ : ipsorum  $F$ . 180. sint  $\alpha\delta$ : sunt  $\beta F$ . 183. ipsi *add.*  $H$ .  
 ac  $\alpha$ : et  $\beta$ . 184.  $\alpha^2$ : censoria  $\alpha^1$ . 187. omni  $\beta$ : omnium  $\alpha$ . 188. is  
 scripsi: id  $\alpha$ . 189. pertinet  $\beta$ .  $\beta\delta$ : possem  $\alpha\gamma^2$ . 192. sum  $\beta$ : sim  $\alpha$ .  
 193.  $\alpha\gamma^2$ : Lutherii  $\gamma^1\delta$ .

173. Maro] G. I. 514.

183. imago mentis] Cf. Ep. 1101. 7n.

tueri: sed mihi non tempero. quin illud mysterium aperiam, istos 195  
longe alio tendere quam ore prae se ferant. Iampridem male habet  
eos efflorescere bonas literas, efflorescere linguas, reuiuiscere veteres  
autores, quos antehac exedebant tineae puluere opertos, mundum  
ad fontes ipsos reuocari. Timent suis lacunis, nolunt videri quic-  
quam nescire, metuunt ne quid maiestati ipsorum decedat. Hoc 200  
hulcus cum diu presserint, nuper tamen erupit, dolore vincente  
dissimulationem. Antequam exirent libri Lutheri, iam magnis  
studiis hoc agebant, maxime Praedicatores et Carmelitae; quorum  
vtinam plurimi non essent sceleratiores quam indocti! Vbi libri  
Lutheri prodissent, velut ansam nacti ceperunt linguarum, bonarum 205  
literarum, Capnionis ac Lutheri, imo et meam causam eodem fasce  
complecti, non solum male offerentes verum etiam male diuidentes.  
Primum enim quid rei bonis studiis cum fidei negotio? deinde quid  
mihi cum causa Capnionis et Lutheri? Sed haec arte commiscue-  
runt, vt comuni inuidia degrauarent omnes bonarum literarum 210  
cultores.

Porro rem non syncero animo geri vel ex hoc licet conicere:  
cum ipsi fateantur nullum esse neque veterum neque recentium  
scriptorum, in quo non reperiantur errores, etiam haereticum facturi  
si quis defendat pertinaciter, cur ceteris omissis in vnum tantum 215  
aut alterum inquirunt tam odiose? Non inficiantur in multis  
errasse Aluarum, in multis Cardinalem sancti Sixti, in multis  
Syluestrum Prieratem. De his nulla mentio, quia Praedicatores  
sunt. In vnum Capnionem clamatur, quia linguas callet: in  
Lutherum, quem isti putant nostris literis praeditum, cum eas 220  
tenuiter attigerit. Multa scripsit Lutherus imprudenter magis  
quam impie; quorum hoc istos habet pessime, quod Thomae non  
multum tribuit, quod minuit quaestum veniarum, quod ordinibus  
mendicantium parum tribuit, quod scholasticis dogmatis non tan-  
tundem defert quantum Euangeliiis, quod negligit humanas dispu- 225  
tationum argutias. Hae nimirum sunt haereses intolerabiles. Sed  
his dissimulatis praetexunt inuidiosa apud Pontificem, homines  
tantum ad nocendum et concordem et callidi.

Olim etiam reuerenter audiebatur haereticus, et absoluebatur si  
satisfaciebat: sin conuictus perstitisset, quod extrema poena erat, 230  
non admittebatur ad catholicam et ecclesiasticam communionem.  
Nunc alia res est haereseos crimen, et tamen ob quamlibet leuem

195. quin aδ: quum γ. 196. ore αγ: om. βδ. prae αγ²: om. γ¹.  
habet aβ²: habe β¹. 197. eos αγ: istos β F. linguas α H: bonas linguas  
β¹ γ: bonas liguas β². 198. αγ²δ: opertas γ¹³. 200. maiestati ipsorum  
α: eorum maiestati β: ipsorum maiestati H. 201. erupit α¹β: eripuit α².  
β: vincenti α. 202. magnis β F Corrig.: magis α: magni F. 203. prae-  
dicatores α: Dominicani H. 205. prodissent F. 207. offerentes α F:  
inferentes β γ²: inferentes γ¹. 208. bonis β F: om. αγ. 209. et α: ac β.  
210. αγ²: commune γ¹. 214. scriptorum α: autorum β. 215. perti-  
naciter defendat β. 218. predicatorum α: Dominicani H. 219. quia αγ²:  
quid γ¹. αγ: liguas β². 222. istes αγ²: istas γ¹. 224. dogmatibus β.  
229. et om. β. 230. quod γ¹: om. αγ².

199. lacunis] Cf. Ep. 1002. 15n.

207. offerentes] Neither reading is  
easy: some antithesis to *diuidentes*

seems to be required, perhaps *conferen-*  
*tes*.

222. Thomae] Cf. Ep. 1126. 262n.

causam, hoc statim habent in ore, 'Haeresis est, haeresis est'.  
 Olim haereticus habebatur qui dissentiebat ab Euangelis, ab arti-  
 235 culis fidei, aut iis que cum his parem obtinerent auctoritatem.  
 Nunc si quis vsquam dissentiat a Thoma, vocatur haereticus; imo  
 si quis a commenticia ratione, quam heri sophista quispiam in scholis  
 commentus est. Quicquid non placet, quicquid non intelligunt,  
 haeresis est. Graece scire haeresis est. Expolite loqui haeresis est.  
 240 Quicquid ipsi non faciunt, haeresis est. Fateor graue crimen esse  
 vitatae fidei, sed non oportet quiduis trahere in quaestionem fidei.  
 Et qui tractant fidei negotium, debent ab omni specie ambitionis,  
 quaestus aut odii vindictaeque procul abesse.

At quid isti prae se ferant, quo tendant, quis est qui non videat?  
 245 quorum cupiditati si semel licentiae frena laxentur, passim incipient  
 saeuire in optimi cuiusque caput: postremo minitabuntur ipsis  
 episcopis atque ipsi etiam Romano Pontifici. Quod non recusabo  
 quo minus falsum videatur, nisi iam a quibusdam fieri videmus.  
 Quid ausit ordo Praedicatorum, vt ne quid aliud adferam, Hierony-  
 250 mus Sauaronella et Bernense facinus admonere nos debet. Non  
 renouo ordinis infamiam, sed admoneo quid sit cauendum, si illis  
 successerit quicquid temere tentarint.

Quicquid adhuc diximus, extra causam Lutheri est. De modo  
 tantum ac periculo disputamus. Causam Capnionis Romanus Pon-  
 255 tificex ad se recepit. Lutheri negotium delegatum est Academiis.

233.  $\alpha\gamma^3$ : statim hoc  $\beta\delta$ . , haeresis est *om.*  $\beta$ . 235. iis  $\alpha$ : his  $\beta$ . 236.  
 vsquam  $\alpha$  *FLB*: vnquam  $\beta$  *Lond.* 240. Quicquid . . . est *add.*  $\beta$  *F*: *om.*  $\alpha\gamma$ .  
 esse  $\alpha$ : est  $\beta$ . 241. vitatae  $\alpha\gamma^2$ : vicium  $\gamma^1$ . 243. vindictaeque  $\alpha\gamma$ : vinctaeque  
 $\beta^2$ . 244. quo tendant *om.*  $\beta$ . 248.  $\alpha\gamma$ : videamus  $\beta$  *F*. 249. praedica-  
 torum  $\alpha^2$ : paedicatorum  $\alpha^1$ , *per lapsum, sine dubio, typographi*: Dominicanorum *H*.  
 $\alpha^1\beta$ : Heronymus  $\alpha^2$ . 250. Sauaronella  $\alpha$ : Sauanorola  $\beta$ : Sauonarola *H*.  
 $\alpha^1\beta$ : Bertienne  $\alpha^2$ . 253. Quicquid  $\alpha\gamma^3$ : Quid  $\gamma^2$ .

250. Sauaronella] The recurrence of this and a similar form in Epp. 1173, 130, 1196. 237 probably implies that Erasmus was using it at this time. Except for the assimilation of F to  $\beta$  here, the accepted form does not appear in any of the three cases till H or N. Savonarola of Ferrara (21 Sept. 1452—23 May 1498) was Prior of St. Mark's at Florence. For the part that his fellow-Dominicans took in his overthrow and martyrdom see Creighton, iii, pp. 226 seq. But Erasmus, like Reuchlin (RE. 253), regards the matter from the Papal point of view, as a case of signal disobedience meeting with the punishment it deserved. At a later date the Reformers claimed Savonarola as their own. Luther edited some of his works, Wittenberg, J. Grunenberg, s.a. (c. 1523), describing them as 'Meditationes sanctas huius sancti viri' (Weimar ed. xii, 1891, pp. 243-8); see also Geiger, *Reuchlin*, pp. 150, 1. If this spirit was already manifesting itself, it doubtless supplied Erasmus with an additional

incentive to orthodoxy in the matter.

Bernense facinus] In 1507-9 the Dominicans of Berne, in order to defeat the Franciscans in a theological dispute, made a series of bogus apparitions to a certain John Jetzer, and in the end tried to poison their credulous dupe. After reference to the Pope four Dominicans, including the Prior, were burnt at Berne, 31 May 1509, for this crime. Böcking cites four printed editions of a contemporary narrative, three in Latin and one in German, and gives some extracts. Nic. Basell, in continuing Naclerus' Chronicle (Ep. 397), dismisses the subject briefly, on the ground that so much had already been written about it. K. R. Hagenbach, *Hist. of the Reformation*, tr. E. Moore, 1878, i. 258-62, refers to the full record, probably of an eye-witness, given in Valerius Anshelm's *Berner Chronik*, published by the Berne Hist. Verein, iii (1888). 48-166.

254. Capnionis] Cf. Ep. 622. 32n.

255. Academiis] Cf. l. 116n and Ep. 1030. 16n.



Quicquid hi pronuntiabunt, citra meum periculum fuerit. Ego semper caui ne quid scriberem obscoeni, ne quid seditiose, ne quid alienum a doctrina Christi. Nec vnquam sciens ero vel magister erroris vel author tumultus; omnia passurus citius quam seditionem excitaturus. Haec tamen certis de caussis volebam esse nota R.D.T.: 260 non vt illi consulam aut praeceam, sed vt, si conentur aduersarii bonarum literarum abuti praetextu dignitatis tuae, certius possit hisce de rebus quod optimum sit statuere: quae, mea sententia, quo magis abstinebit ab hac caussa, hoc rectius consulet suae tranquillitati. Methodum celsitudini tuae dicatam recognoui et auctario non 265 mediocri locupletavi. R. D. T. incolumem ac florentem ineternum seruet Christus Optimus Maximus.

Louanii decimoquarto Calendas Nouembris. Anno M.D.XIX.

Erasmus Roterodamus E.R.T.D. addictiss.

#### 1034. TO LOUIS CARINUS.

Dunn MS.

(Louvain ?)

(October 1519 ?)

[An autograph donatory inscription in a volume of Pliny's *Epistolae*, Venice, Aldus, Nov. 1508, at one time belonging to the late Mr. George Dunn, of Woolley Hall, near Maidenhead, who kindly allowed me to print it. Being in the form of a letter, and similar in character to Ep. 405, it may suitably be included here. It may be placed at any period of Erasmus' acquaintance with Carinus, while the latter was still a student; that is from the time when he was at school at Basle under Glareanus (Ep. 920 introd.) to his residence at Louvain as a pupil of Nesen (cf. Ep. 1026. 10). It is noticeable that the Pliny was printed whilst Erasmus was at Venice, and may therefore have been presented to him there.

Above the inscription Erasmus has written:

'Maro (G. 2. 272).

Adeo in teneris consuescere multum est.

Παροιμία (cf. *Adag.* 2402).

'Ἐργα νέων βουλαὶ δὲ μέσων εὐχαὶ δὲ γερόντων'.

From the testimony of Melanchthon this Greek proverb seems to have been a favourite with Erasmus: see CR. x. 304 and K. Hartfelder, *Melanchthoniana Paedagogica*, 1892, p. 176.]

#### ERASMV'S LVDOVICO CARINO.

PERGE qua instituisti, mi Ludouice, ea vitae praesidia tibi comparare quae ne tum quidem deserunt possessorem cum ipsa deserit vita. Istam aetatem optimis rebus dicato, memor et tenacissime haerere quod rudibus annis imbiberis, et nullam aetatem aequae docilem esse. Bene vale. 5

256. hi α<sup>γ</sup>² F: hii β²δ. 257. sediciosi β¹γ: desitiosi β². 258. ero α: fui post tumultus β. 260. R. D. T. α: celsitudini tuae H. 265. auctario β: authario α¹: authorio α². 266. R. D. T. . . . 268. Nouembris αγ (R. D. T. α: Te H. decimoquarto om. β. Nouemb. β¹: Nouembribus H): om. β². Anno add. H. M.D.XIX. add. F. 269. Erasmus . . . addictiss. β (E. R. T. D. β¹γ: E. R. D. β²): om. α H.

265. Methodum] The *Ratio Verae Theologiae*, which was enlarged for Froben's edition of Feb. 1520; see Ep. 745 introd., and cf. BRE. 147, 153.

1035<sup>1036</sup> FROM MARTIN LYPHIUS.

Rotterdam MS., Erasmus III. 102, p. 79.

&lt;Louvain.&gt;

Horawitz v. 36.

&lt;October ? 1519.&gt;

[The opening words suggest that these letters were exchanged not long after Nesen's arrival at Louvain in July 1519 (Ep. 994. 9n). The person and the business alluded to can only be conjectured: possibly Dorp and the letter from the theological society in Paris (cf. Epp. 994, 1002, 1024), or one of the University officials and the trouble about Nesen's lectures (Ep. 1046 introd.). In the former case the date would be about the end of July, in the latter perhaps October.]

MARTINVS LYPH. BRVX. DES. ERAS. S. D. P.

<M>ox vbi ad nos venit Nesenus, sermo de N. haberi coepit; multaque auditu molesta mihi narravit. Vellem nos coram loqui posse. Literis agerem, sed opus est vt te quoque audiam, quo videlicet pacto tecum egerit quidue responderis. Oro certiores nos  
5 reddas an nunc post meridiem ad nostras edes venire vacabit. A meridie circa secundam horam tempus erit mihi oportunum: quod tamen anticipare vel protelare pro tuo arbitratu poteris. Recte valeto.

1035<sup>1036</sup> 1036. TO MARTIN LYPHIUS.

Rotterdam MS., Erasmus III. 102, p. 79.

&lt;Louvain.&gt;

Horawitz v. 37.

&lt;October ? 1519.&gt;

DES. ERAS. MARTINO SVO S. D.

<O>ro te, mi Martine, ne quid seras dissidii inter Nesenum et N. Sine eos vtcunque amicos esse, neue te rebus huiusmodi admisceas. Veniam ad te si nihil aliud inciderit. Caeterum, si quid sit arcani quod ad me pertinet, ne committas cuiquam, sed scribas  
5 per hunc. Bene vale et nos ama.

## 1037. FROM EDWARD LEE.

Annotationes Leei, Paris <1520>, f<sup>o</sup>. a v<sup>o</sup> (a).

&lt;Louvain.&gt;

Annotationes Leei, Basle, 1520, p. 3 (B).

&lt;October ? 1519.&gt;

[The preface to Lee's *Annotationes in Annotationes Noui Testamenti Desiderii Erasmi*, Paris, (Conr. Resch), s. a. (a). Prefixed to the book is a letter of Lee to the students of Louvain, 29 Dec. <1519>, which forms the first item on the title-page, *Apologia Edouardi Leei contra quorundam calumnias*; and at the end of all comes Lee's letter to Erasmus (Ep. 1061) of 1 Feb. 1520. The letter to Louvain is on four sheets signed AA-DD. The *Annotationes* begin on sheet a, and the letter to Erasmus follows, beginning on f<sup>o</sup>. K<sup>4</sup>. This arrangement shows that the *Annotationes*, which are the substantive part of the volume, with this preface on the verso of the title, were printed first, ending on K<sup>3</sup>, with K<sup>4</sup> perhaps blank; that then the letter to Louvain was added on new signatures; and that finally Ep. 1061, or at least the later part of it, was appended. The printing was executed by Gilles Gourmont (cf. Ep. 1074. 87) for Conrad Resch of Basle (cf. Epp. 1061. 505n, 1083. 1-3), the connexion with Basle being shown by an ornamental border on the title-page to the *Annotationes* (f<sup>o</sup>. a) bearing the

1035. 4. tecum egerit] Perhaps cf. Ep. 1024. 3.

initials of Vrs Graf and the Basler Stab, also the date 1519. The book perhaps appeared c. 15 Feb. 1520; for by 17 Feb. Erasmus had heard at Louvain that it was out (Ep. 1066. 88-90), though on 21 Feb. he had not yet seen it (Ep. 1068. 14-17). By 27 Feb. More had seen copies at Greenwich (Eev. pp. 81, 2; Jortin ii. 659, 60). But these were perhaps sent in advance, for the book seems not to have reached Basle till c. 14 March (Epp. 1083. 1, 1084. 66-7; cf. Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 124, BRE. 159 and Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 298, 397); and it was at Cologne about the same time (Ep. 1078).

By the appearance of this volume Erasmus' long embroilment with Lee was brought to a head. The controversy fills an inordinate space in his correspondence, and no doubt occupied his thoughts also at this period to a very large extent. The case has been sufficiently stated by the two combatants from their different points of view: by Lee in his letter to the Louvain students and in Ep. 1061; by Erasmus in Epp. 1053, 1074, and more fully in three apologies or replies, the first of which, *Apologia nihil habens neque nasi neque dentis neque stomachi neque unguis, qua respondet duabus iniectiuis Eduardi Lei*, Antwerp, M. Hillen, (c. March) 1520, is not reprinted in his works (cf. 1, p. 22. 18-21), but may be found in Jortin ii. 496-528.

The points of the dispute need not be examined here in detail, but the chronology of the various incidents may be given briefly. When Erasmus first met Lee (Ep. 765 introd.) on coming to settle at Louvain in July 1517 (cf. Ep. 1074 and Lee's *Annot. f. AA<sup>2</sup>*), he was already aware that the young Englishman had attacked him (Ep. 1074. 17-23; cf. Ep. 973. 7). During the following autumn and winter Lee made some criticisms on the *Novum Instrumentum*, and spoke of producing some notes. These Erasmus asked to see, but for some reason only a few actually reached him at first (cf. Ep. 750 introd.). Then, just before he went to Basle in May 1518, a larger collection was forthcoming (cf. Ep. 886. 58-78), which he answered in detail (Ep. 843). On his return to Louvain in the autumn there was talk of more, and these he tried to secure, first by a personal interview (Ep. 1581: later than 22 Oct., cf. Ep. 886. 73), and then even by under-hand methods (cf. Ep. 998. 17n), but without success. After some weeks of wrangling, recourse was suggested to the judgement of friends. Lee's notes were sent first, without Erasmus having been allowed to see them, to the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Jo. Briardus Atensis (cf. Epp. 998, 1061. 666-7, 794, 1074; and Lee's *Annot. f. BB r<sup>o</sup> and v<sup>o</sup>*), who, however, after keeping them for a month or two (cf. Ep. 1061. 780; *Apol. qua respondet, f. G<sup>2</sup>*, Jortin ii. 526), declined to act—to the great relief of Erasmus, who had not much confidence in his impartiality (*Apol. qua respondet f. B*, Jortin ii. 500; cf. Epp. 1029. 3n, 1053. 296n). A sentence from a letter of Erasmus to Lee at this period, preserved in the latter's *Annot. f. BB<sup>2</sup>*, 'Quod agere destinaueramus, alias agetur per oecum', is expressive of his satisfaction. Lee states (*ibid.*) that this was about the period when Erasmus was sending off to Basle the final 'copy' for the second edition of the New Testament (cf. *Apol. qua respondet, f. B<sup>2</sup>*, Jortin ii. 500), therefore about the end of 1518 (cf. Ep. 864 introd.).

By this time Erasmus was seriously annoyed with his critic (cf. Epp. 906. 448-66, 912). The ostensible question debated between them subsequently was about the production of Lee's notes, Erasmus averring that Lee had withheld them in spite of his repeated requests (cf. Eev. pp. 86, 7), Lee stating that Erasmus and his friends had received with such contumely those that were shown to them that he was justified in withdrawing from the field. But this issue is too paltry to account for the extreme acerbity shown on both sides. A more plausible explanation may be conjectured in a mutual antipathy between the young aspirant for honour in the world of theology and the mature and successful scholar, high on a pinnacle of fame, almost dictator to the admiring circle round him. More, writing to Lee in May 1519, describes him as 'olim non admodum aequum in Erasmum' (EAE. f. D<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>; Eev. p. 67; Jortin ii. 653), words which suggest that in entering the lists Lee may have been led by a desire to lower his antagonist's pride (cf. Ep. 1074. 18). Such personal feeling, doubtless easily recognizable, might well have rendered criticisms, which were otherwise inoffensive, extremely unwelcome to the older scholar, and have moved him to conduct the controversy without moderation, which in such cases he always found difficult. Quite likely, too, there was ground for the suggestion (cf. Epp. 973. 7-10, 993. 28-33, 998. 42-7) that Lee was encouraged by some of the orthodox theologians at Louvain, which Erasmus repeated freely

(Epp. 1074. 80-82, 1097. 6, 1098. 18: cf. BRE. 170) even after his reconciliation with them in Oct. 1519 (cf. Ep. 1016. 15n); having come to suspect (Ep. 1097. 26-7) that there was a wide difference between Lee's original ms. notes and the book actually published. Indeed, in 1525 he confidently declared (Ep. 1581) that very little of this was Lee's own handiwork.

Lee next proposed, in March 1519 (Ep. 1061. 692-4), that Fisher should be asked to judge between them, and for this purpose he sent his book to England. So he wrote to More on 10 April (EAE. f<sup>o</sup>. B<sup>4</sup>; EEV. p. 56; Jortin ii. 646); but immediately afterwards appeared Erasmus' 'Apology against Latomus', dated from Louvain, 28 March 1519, and printed by Thibault at Antwerp, s. a., with a passage in which Lee, with good reason, considered himself lampooned (cf. Ep. 1061. 211n). On 20 April he wrote again to More stating that he was compelled by Erasmus' violence to print his book and appeal to the public verdict. Erasmus' friends in England did their utmost to constrain their countryman to silence. In March Fisher (cf. Ep. 936. 90), More on 1 May (Ep. 1061. 603n), Colet (cf. *Apol. qua respondet*, f<sup>o</sup>. G<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, Jortin ii. 525), and Pace (Ep. 1074), probably about the same time, all wrote to protest against his conduct, no doubt in response to appeals from Erasmus (cf. EEV. p. 80). Before these letters arrived (Lee's *Annot.* f<sup>o</sup>. cc r<sup>o</sup>. and v<sup>o</sup>.) Lee attempted to carry out his intention of publishing. Betaking himself to Antwerp in April or May, he tried first Thibault (?) and then Hillen, but neither would undertake the book. This failure he ascribed without hesitation to Erasmus' intervention, a suspicion which may have had no ground but this, that they were in Antwerp together, and indeed travelled back to Louvain on the same day, perhaps 6 June 1519 (Ep. 1061. 593n).

The letters from England mentioned above, which reached Lee about this time, mitigated his vexation; possibly, too, his patron Foxe may have responded to Erasmus' urgent entreaty (Ep. 973), and so in July (Ep. 1061. 690-6) he was inclined to say he would not publish (cf. EEV. p. 80). He communicated this resolve to Pace at Antwerp (cf. Ep. 1001. 53n), and even entered into a definite agreement on the subject (Ep. 1074. 71-3; cf. Epp. 1090, 1097). But on returning to Louvain from Antwerp at the end of July 1519 he was irritated by finding the *Dialogus Trilinguism* (Ep. 1061. 505n) in circulation; and a further attack was made upon him by public placards (Ep. 1061. 505n). His good resolution quickly disappeared, and he proceeded to Antwerp again in October or November (Ep. 1061. 608n) to find a printer, this preface being perhaps already written. A second negotiation with Hillen was unsuccessful, again, as he alleges, by the action of Erasmus: though it may be noticed that in October Erasmus was still eager to obtain a sight of Lee's notes, whether in print or otherwise (Epp. 1019, 1026, 1029, 1030). Later on, the appearance of Ep. 998 in the *Farrago* (cf. Ep. 1061. 2; and Ep. 1040 introd.) incensed Lee still more, and in turning over that volume he may have lighted upon other unwelcome references to himself (cf. Ep. 1061. 586n). So towards the end of 1519 he sent his book to Paris, where it was published (c. 15 Feb. 1520)—243 notes on the first edition of Erasmus' New Testament and twenty-five on the second. Within three days of seeing it Erasmus replied in detail to Lee's letter to Louvain and Ep. 1061, with his *Apologia qua respondet*, written before the end of February (Ep. 1072. 4-5) and printed, no doubt, in March 1520 (cf. Epp. 1077, 1086); and then with two *Responsiones* he combated Lee's *Annotationes* in April and May (cf. Ep. 1092), all three volumes being published by Hillen, though Martens would gladly have had them (Ep. 1077).

The quarrel cost Erasmus forty (Ep. 1098. 27-8) or fifty days (1, p. 22. 21, 2; cf. Epp. 1117. 27, 1134. 25-6, 1139. 41), but suddenly came to an end. Early in May 1520 he was still apprehensive of a further attack, and wrote to even more powerful patrons to avert it (Epp. 1097-9). But before the end of the month Froben produced at Basle, upon Erasmus' instigation (cf. BRE. 166), a volume (B) which was a visible sign of peace concluded between the two combatants. All the bitterest parts of the controversy had been omitted—Lee's letter to Louvain and Ep. 1061, and Erasmus' rejoinder, the *Apologia qua respondet* (cf. 1, p. 22. 18-21). There remained the merely critical portions, Lee's *Annotationes* with this preface (Ep. 1037), and Erasmus' two *Responsiones* with a preface (Ep. 1100) written ostensibly in a better state of feeling. It seems probable, however, that Erasmus only consented to this new edition in deference to suggestions from his English friends (cf. Epp. 1090, 1097); for the series of letters

cited in Ep. 1118. 6n, some of which were written when the book must have been in the press, shows that Erasmus was still feeling sore. Of the preparation of *Eev.*, published in Aug. 1520, Erasmus was perhaps not cognizant: see Ep. 1083 introd. The combatants met at Calais in July 1520, with a show of amity (Ep. 1132. 18n). But after that Lee disappears for a time from Erasmus' correspondence, until in 1525 the attacks made on the critical scholar by established orthodoxy encouraged Lee, who was now in contact with Spanish theologians, to renew the conflict. For Erasmus' opinion of Lee by that time, cf. Ep. 1581. A very full account of the whole controversy is given by A. Bludau, *Die beiden ersten Erasmus-Ausgaben des Neuen Testaments*, 1902, pp. 86-125.

For the defence of Erasmus by his friends see Epp. 998. 66n, 1083 introd.; and for original copies of Lee's book and Erasmus' *Apologia qua respondet* see Ep. 1095 introd.

A precise date is not possible for this preface. It may have been composed as early as April 1519, when Lee made his first endeavours to have the book printed at Antwerp, but it may equally well be assigned to the later date, when the book actually appeared.]

EDOVARDVS LEEVS DESIDERIO ERASMO SALVTEM.

EN nunc demum habes, Desideri Erasme, nostrarum Annotationum librum, quem tantopere efflagitasti; opus, spero, cum primis tibi gratum et iucundum, si non quod nostrum sit, tamen quod tuo nomine nuncupatum et te annum iam totum hortante emissum: vel forte eo potius nomine quod inde orbi nostra prodetur ignorantia, quam tu nullis non modis studes propagari, vt omnes cognoscant me talem esse qualem tu pingis. Mihi vero quicquid euenerit, nec male nec infeliciter cadet. Nulla est sortis iactura quam non expecto. Vale.

1038. TO ERARD DE LA MARCK.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 498.

<Louvain.>

HN: Lond. xii. 29: LB. 372.

<October fin. 1519.>

[From the description of the cup sent by the Archbishop of Mainz this letter clearly is contemporary with Ep. 1033; from the mention of the attitude of the leading Councillors it must be of the same period as Ep. 1040.

The events alluded to here and in Ep. 1040 may therefore be explained as follows: that the Bishop of Liège, on his way to Brussels, had recently passed through Louvain (shortly before 17 Oct.: cf. Ep. 1030. 63-4), and that Erasmus had visited him there, but had omitted to go again and take leave before the Bishop's departure; that subsequently Erasmus heard from a friend among the theologians at Louvain, perhaps Dorp, of the reports spread about him at Brussels by Hochstrat, and accordingly judged it expedient to pay a visit to Court (Epp. 1040. 1, 1041. 25) to dispel unfavourable impressions. It may be conjectured that at the same time he went on to Antwerp, and appeared there in time to upset Hillen's second agreement with Lee (Ep. 1061. 608n), which was made in October or November. The expedition must be placed either before or after 1 Nov. (Ep. 1039), and this letter evidently precedes it, Epp. 1040-1 follow it. As Epp. 1040-1 can hardly be dated before the second half of the month, it seems better to place Erasmus' visit to Brussels and Antwerp in November rather than in October.

It may well have been on the occasion of Erard de la Marck's presence in Louvain in October that the theologians sent three Masters to inquire whether it were true that he was favourably inclined towards Luther, as stated by

4. nomini β.

4. annum iam totum] In the *Apol. qua respondet* f. G<sup>3</sup>, Jortin ii. 526, Erasmus bases an argument upon this: 'In

praefatione scribit <Leus> toto anno librum a me flagitatum, quem toties inculcat apud me fuisse.'

Erasmus in Ep. 980. 36-7, which had just reached their ears (Ep. 1033. 24n). The Bishop declared on the word of a priest, 'Lutheri librum sibi non visum neque lectum, tantum aberat vt rei periculosae et ignotae faueret'. See J. Latomus' preface, 31 Dec. 1520, to his *Articulorum Lutheri damnatorum Ratio*, Antwerp, M. Hillen, 8 May 1521 (f<sup>o</sup>. A of his *Opera*, Louvain, 1550), and de Jongh pp. 212-13, 70\*.

The tone of easy assurance in this letter seems to imply that Erasmus had made his peace with Erard at his own interview in Louvain; indeed, the form of the Bishop's reply to the theologians has such a resemblance to Erasmus' utterances about Luther in Epp. 939, 961, 967, 993, 1033 that the words might almost have been put into his mouth.

It was perhaps at the same interview that Erard showed to Erasmus a letter he had received from Aleander at Rome, bringing Ep. 980 to his notice and making reflections upon Erasmus: see Epp. 1482, 1496.]

ERASMVS ROTEROD. REVERENDO D. D. ERARDO, PRAESVLI  
AC PRINCIPI LEODIENSI, S. D.

IAM plus triduum isthuc iturientem me iugis quaedam ac scelera-  
tissima nebula domi alligat. Pensare volebam quod hinc nobis  
insalutata discesserat tua celsitudo. Medicus tuus in causa fuit, qui  
confirmarat te totum illum diem nobiscum futurum. Insignis ille  
5 heros Albertus, Cardinalis Mogontinensis, cuius diuinas dotes tu  
nuper cominus es admiratus, mihi poculum dono misit, cum amplum  
et graue, tum opere spectandum. Addit se id dare mihi ipsum  
fugienti, maiorem experturo benignitatem si mei fecero copiam.  
Dignum nimirum munus quod a tali Principe mitteretur; sed Erasmus  
10 dignior qui Samiis bibat. Quin et nomen indidit. Ait vocari  
'poculum amoris', opinor quod e duobus paribus velut osculo  
commissis fiat vnum, quoties libet: ex quo qui biberint, protinus  
benevolentia mutua conglutinari. Si vera sunt haec, vtinam theologi  
Louanienses ex eo poculo mecum potassent ante annos duos!  
15 Horum opera compertum habeo, D. N. et N. Principum Bergens.  
et Comitum Hoechstrentensis animos nonnihil a nobis alienatos. Hos,

TIT. REVERENDO D. D. om. H. 15. Bergen. H.

2. nebula] Cf. Ep. 1016. 5n.

3. Medicus] Perhaps the 'magnus Adamus', who was Erard's physician in 1515 (Al. E. ii. 10, 11, 17, 32) and accompanied him on his travels. Or he is possibly to be identified with Adam, son of J. Bogardus (Ep. 932. 54n), who was M.D. at Louvain 25 May 1512, became a Franciscan 23 Nov. 1525 on his wife's death, and died 23 March 1550. See Val. Andreas, pp. 230-1.

6. cominus] At Frankfurt; cf. Ep. 1001. 47n.

poculum] Cf. Ep. 986. 34-9.

15. Bergens.] One of these was no doubt John of Bergen (Epp. 737, 952. 62; cf. Epp. 1025 &c., 1040), the other perhaps the Abbot of St. Bertin's (Ep. 143), of whose good opinion Erasmus shows himself careful in Ep. 739. John's nephew, Maximilian (Ep. 953.

23n), can hardly be intended, for he seems to have been still in Switzerland.

16. Hoechstrentensis] Antony de Laing (c. 1480—2 April 1540) had been chamberlain to the Archduke Philip, whom he accompanied to Spain 1501-3, writing a narrative of the journey, which is printed by Gachard, i. 121-340. Margaret, as Regent, retained his services, and he became chamberlain to Charles. In 1516 he was elected a Knight of the Golden Fleece (de Reiffenberg, p. 308), and in June 1518 the barony of Hoogstraeten, n. of Turnhout, which he had received with his wife, Isabella of Culembourg, was raised by Charles to a county. In Feb. 1522 he succeeded Henry of Nassau (Ep. 829. 12n) as Governor of Holland and Zeeland. By this time he had become Margaret's trusted adviser and

si inciderit oportunitas, admonebis vt pro sua prudentia magis credant reconciliatis quam iratis. Vt in me coorirentur, falsissimae suspiciones illis fuerunt in consilio, et hoc totum vnus iracundiae datum est. Vt autem vltro prouocarent ad amicitiam, in causa fuit 20 res attentius perpensa. Illud tumultus fuit, hoc iudicii. Quod si hoc non impetras, saltem ne pronuncient aduersum me ni parte vtraque audita. Si rem omnem pernossent, melius etiam sentirent de Erasmo quam antehac senserint. Bene vale.

[Anno M. D. XVIII.]

25

1021 1039. TO JOHN SLECHTA.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 551.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xiv. 21: LB. 478.

1 November 1519.

[This letter is important, as indicating in detail Erasmus' views of moderate reform in the Church; just at the time when it was becoming plain that Luther's call for reform could not be stifled. Erasmus made no secret of what he had written, but published it in his next volume of *Epistolae* (F). Some years later it was translated into German and printed, Nuremberg, S. Tunckel, 1531; the title showing that it was regarded as exhibiting 'die eynigen waren Mittel. . . durch welche gegenwertige Zweyung in vnserm heyligen Glauben möchten fruchtbarlich hingelegt werden'. Of this a contemporary ms. exists in the Town Archives at Strasburg (Epist. eccl. saec. xvi, ii. 206); with annotations by Bucer and a later addition, perhaps by the original hand, in which the letter is described as 'durch Johann Froben von Andernach ausz dem Latein getreulich verteutschet'.

As a result of the present correspondence with Slechta, a powerful noble, Artlebus of Boskowitz, was moved to communicate with Erasmus in 1520 and further invite his sympathy for the movement of progress with which Bohemia had been so long associated: see Epp. 1154, 1183. For a visit paid by representatives of the Brethren to Erasmus at Antwerp, also in 1520, see pp. 291-2.

To the theme of ecclesiastical unity Erasmus returned in 1533, with his *Liber de sarcienda Ecclesiae concordia*.]

ERASMVS ROT. IOANNI SLECHTAE BOHEMO S.

Ad prolixam epistolam tuam, optime Slechta, paucis in hoc tantum respondebo, vt intelligas eam mihi et redditam fuisse et perlectam; nec enim aliud in praesentia sinunt occupationes meae. Ad obtrectatorum voces, quando beneficiis etiam efferantur, iam pridem ob-  
surdui. Antehac existimabam me rerum humanarum mediocrem 5  
tenere peritiam, qui diuersis regionibus cum variis hominum generibus egissem consuetudinem; sed huiusmodi beluas inter Christianos repperi, vt nunquam fuerim crediturus, ni magno meo malo compe-  
rissem. Verum posteaquam illi sui dissimiles esse non possunt, nos  
nostri similes esse studebimus; neque desinemus pro nostro talento 10  
benemereri de omnibus, quod quidem in nobis erit. Fortasse sic Deo  
visum est, vt hoc modo luamus commissam nostra, quibus illum  
frequenter offendimus. Ignoscant illis, vt hic vicissim ignoscat

1038. 25. Anno M.D.XVIII add. H. 1039. 8. reperi N<sup>3</sup>. 13. hic F: ille H.

the most influential member of her Council. See BN; and cf. Lond. xix. 115, LB. 747, 2 July 1525.

1038. 18. coorirentur] sc. theologi.

19. vnus] Cf. Ep. 1029. 3n.

20. ad amicitiam] Cf. Ep. 1016. 15n.

22. pronuncient] sc. principes.

1039. 13. hic] sc. Deus.

mihi : nam vitae sanctimoniam, quam mihi tribuis oratione, vtinam  
 15 aliquando sua benignitate mihi tribuat Christus, omnis autor sancti-  
 moniae !

Quod nostris lucubrationibus oblectas ocium tuum, facis tu quidem  
 amice, facturus etiam vtiliter, si modo nostra legas cum iudicio—  
 neque enim dogmata scribimus; deinde si tum denique sumes in  
 20 manus Erasmus, cum non adest meliorum voluminum copia. At  
 sane totam istam regionem nobis admodum graphice depingis, vt  
 plus prope videam in oratione tua quam conspecturus fuerim si isthic  
 annos aliquot egissem.

Quod vestra Germania passim latrociniis est obnoxia, partim  
 25 opinor in causa esse reliquias priscae feritatis; partim quod regio  
 dissecta est in tot ditiones ac minutos principes, quorum nemo velit  
 alteri concedere; partim quod nulla gens crebrius belligeratur  
 stipendio conducta. Ita latrociniis exercendis bello se parant, et  
 bello defuncti belli reliquias exercent. Iam cum nulla res sit tam  
 30 incommoda quin alicui sit commoda, quibus ex deducendis hospitibus  
 aut negociatoribus quaestus est, hi nonnunquam procurant ne tutum  
 sit iter, ne ipsorum auxilio non sit opus. Ac mea sententia consultius  
 esset huiusmodi malis occurrere prudentibus consiliis ne committe-  
 rentur, quam punire commissa. Qua commeatus esset frequentissi-  
 35 mus, via liberari posset arborum densitate, ac vicis, villis et arcibus  
 communiri. Profecto non parum indecorum mihi videtur non idem  
 praestare Germanas vrbes ac principes in suis regionibus quod  
 Eluetii praestant in sua, populari consilio freti. Sed his malis  
 fortasse medebitur Carolus noster Princeps, vt summus, ita iusticiae  
 40 cultor maximus.

Caeterum quod ad fidei dissidium attinet, leuior esset calamitas,  
 mea sententia, si idem error haberet omnes. Nunc bona pars non  
 solum dissidetis, vt aiunt, ab Ecclesia Catholica, verum etiam variis  
 erroribus inter vos digladiamini. Nam quod Iudaeos habetis ad-  
 45 mixtos, id fortasse commune est cum Italiae Germaniaeque reliquae  
 partibus, sed praecipue cum Hispania. Quis autem crederet adhuc  
 superesse qui stulticiam Epicuri profiterentur, negantes animas  
 nostras superesse post obitum? Passim et hic videre est qui sic  
 viuunt quasi non credant superesse quicquam a morte; sed nemo  
 50 tam demens qui huius doctrinae vel dux esse velit vel comes.  
 Quemadmodum et Nicolaitas reperias permultos, quibus vxores sint  
 cum multis communes; sed huius dogmatis nulla est professio,  
 etiam si Plato, nobilis autor, ab hac sententia non abhorruit. Sed  
 obsecro te, mi Slechta, an istos non pudet appellari haereticos?  
 55 Nihil hoc nomine probrosius, quo tamen ipso videntur indigni. Quid  
 enim credit qui negat immortalitatem animarum? Quid tribuit  
 Euangelio qui vult vxores esse promiscuas?

Illud mihi mirum videri solet, nihil excogitari posse tam prodi-  
 giosum quin suos reperiatur sectatores. Pythagoras interdixit mortali-  
 60 bus esum fabarum, et repperit qui abstinerent. Fuere qui docerent  
 esse pium vt filii parentem necarent longaeuum, et inuentus est  
 populus qui id solenniter faceret. Fuere qui dicerent impium esse  
 quicquam possidere suum, et exorti sunt, quemadmodum testatur



diuus Augustinus in Catalogo haeresiarum, qui in ocio degentes mendicato viuerent; ac caeteros velut impios a suo consortio semoue- 65 bant, qui suis laboribus pararent vnde vxores alerent ac liberos. Erant qui Iudae proditori ferrent acceptum orbis redempti salutem, nec defuerunt discipuli qui illum pro summo diuo colerent. Fuere qui totos dies ore sonarent psalmos innumeros, nec interim quicquam aliud agentes; nec defuerunt huius insaniae sequaces. Fuere qui 70 dicerent impios eos qui caste colerent matrimonium, iis etiam scelera- tiores qui postulabant vxores esse communes; et hi titulum suo gregi dare potuerunt. Fuere qui suaderent pium esse si parentes liberos suos viuos exurerent, et inuenti sunt quibus persuaderetur dogma tam impium. Adeo credulum est genus mortalium et tanta 75 est ingeniorum varietas. Equidem opinor, si quis exoriat nunc qui doceat religiosum esse si viri nudi cum foeminis nudis saltent in foro, non defore sectae suos discipulos ac patronos. Quo magis est circumspectandum iis qui autoritate pollent, ne quid doceant insti- tuant quod non quadret ad Christi regulam. 80

Sed huiusmodi portentis, vt par est, omissis, demonstras totum Bohemiae regnum atque etiam Moraviae Marchionatum in tres sectas esse diuisum. Vtinam, mi Slechta, pius aliquis artifex ex ista triade monadem faceret! Sed dum quisque priuatim suis studet commodis, nec publica bene habent, nec priuata, neque fere quisquam ingeniosus 85 inuenitur, nisi ad ea quae sunt philosophiae vulgaris; quae, vt ferunt, moderatius apud Turcas habent quam apud nos. Non loquor de articulis quos ad fidem pertrahimus, sed de iis ex quibus ceu fontibus scatet Euangelica pietas, videlicet e contemptu pecuniarum, e con- temptu honorum, e moderatione affectuum, irae, odii, inuidiae: 90 quibus cupiditatibus si quis seruiat, quaeso quid confert fidei professio? Si plus apud nos valet auaricia, si plus ambitio, si libido sceleratior, si odium saeuus, si liuor nocentior, si obtrectatio vene- natior, quorsum attinet profiteri Christum, in hoc factum hominem vt ab his rebus nos auocaret? Haec mihi dicenti qui succensere 95 volet, succenseat Iacobo apostolo, qui diligenter ac pluribus verbis haec disserit in Epistola sua.

Sectam igitur quam tu primo loco recenses, sic velim esse primam vt vnicam esse cupiam. Quid enim magis accedit ad imaginem coelestis hierarchiae quam vt digestis ordinibus summa redeat ad 100 vnum? aut quae res vtilior ad excludenda mundi dissidia? Si princeps quispiam tyrannidem moliatur, precibus, hortatu, doctrina- que et autoritate Romani Pontificis componetur. Tyrannum agit episcopus aliquis, erit vnde subsidium imploret populus. Existit aliquis qui daemoniacam inuehat doctrinam, supererit Romanus 105 pastor, qui e puris Euangelicae philosophiae fontibus depromat digna dispensatore et Vicario Christi. Quod sicubi non respondebit summus ille Praesul, primum fieri non potest vt qui omnibus prae- sidet, satisfaciat omnibus: deinde nostrum est, quantum licet, omnia in bonam partem interpretari. Praeterea bonam partem eorum quae 110 fiunt, non ipsi Pontifici, sed iis quibus ipse necessario fidit, imputare debemus. Ad haec meminisse conuenit illum hominibus praesidere, sed hominem; neque diu constare posse mutuam concordiam,

64. Augustinus] *Haer.* 40, 57: of the Apostolici and Euchtiae.

nisi quemadmodum illius lenitas nobis obsequundat in multis, ita  
 115 nos vicissim illi pro tempore morem geramus, praesertim cum id  
 habeat Apostolica doctrina, vt improbis etiam ac morosis principibus  
 obtemperemus, quatenus licet incolumi pietate.

Atque hac in parte, mea sententia, magis peccat secunda factio,  
 quod odiose reiicit iudicium et consuetudinem Ecclesiae Romanae,  
 120 quam quod existimat pium esse sub vtraque specie sumere Eucha-  
 ristiam. Atque vtinam hic Eugenius malisset indulgere concordiae  
 publicae quam suis priuatis affectibus! si tamen vera sunt quae  
 refert epistola tua. Quanquam hic Bohemis, si me in consilium  
 adhibuissent, autor eram futurus vt, tametsi probabilis est hac in  
 125 parte illorum opinio, tamen obtemperarent potius quam contenderent,  
 praesertim cum ab hac consuetudine staret maxima pars orbis  
 Christiani. Tametsi, vt dicam ingenue quod sentio, demiror cur  
 visum sit immutare quod a Christo fuit institutum, quum causae  
 quas adferunt non admodum graues videantur.

130 Porro factionem Pygadicam longius abesse a regula pacis Euan-  
 gelicae minus mirandum est, quum, vt scribis, ab autore scelerato  
 profecta sit. Nam si ideo Antichristus est Pontifex Romanus, quod  
 aliquando contigit Pontifex impius, aut si ideo meretrix est Ecclesia  
 Romana, quod aliquoties habet cardinales aut episcopos aut alioqui  
 135 ministros improbos, eadem opera nullis episcopis, nullis pastoribus,  
 nullis regibus obtemperaremus: vt ne dicam interim, quod hac  
 fenestra aperta, vt cuique hic aut ille esset inuisus, ita impius  
 haberetur. Quanto probabilior est Augustini sententia, ministri  
 moribus non vitiari donum Dei, quod nobis per sacramenta confertur;  
 140 etiam si grauissimas poenas illi daturi sunt sacerdotes, si moribus  
 impiis efficiant vt inter idiotas et infirmos male audiat nomen illud  
 adorandum Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Quod si illi refractis omnis  
 pudoris repagulis pergant palam esse scelerosi, vt aliqua ratione  
 coercendi sunt, ita neque cuiuslibet est illos incessere; nec armis rem  
 145 geri placet, ne semel admissum exemplum violentiae saeuat et in  
 innoxios.

Quod sibi sacerdotes et episcopos eligunt, non abhorret a consuetu-  
 dine veterum. Sic electus est S. Nicolaus, sic Ambrosius, sed nondum  
 aedita formula electionis canonicae; quemadmodum olim et reges  
 150 a populo designabantur. Deinde crebri tumultus populares effecerunt  
 vt res paucorum arbitrio transigeretur. Caeterum quod indoctos  
 eligunt et literarum expertes, tolerabilius esset si vitae pietas  
 pensaret eruditionis inopiam. Nunc gemina calamitas est populi, si  
 non minus impii sunt quam indocti.

155 Iam quod se vicissim fratres ac sorores appellant, non video cur  
 debeat reprehendi. Atque vtinam eadem appellatio mutuae charitatis  
 perseueret apud omnes Christianos, sic vti mores non dissentirent  
 a verbis! Quod minus tribuunt doctoribus quam diuinis voluminibus,  
 hoc est plus deferunt Deo quam hominibus, recte sentiunt; sed quod  
 160 horum auctoritatem vbique reiiciunt, tam iniquum est quam si vbique  
 reciperent. Iam tametsi non abhorret a vero Christum et Apostolos

145. et om. N.

159. plus F Corrig.: minus F.

116. Apostolica] 1 Pet. 2. 18.

138. Augustini] in Psalm. 10. 6.

in quotidianò vestitu consecrasse, tamen impium est contemnere quod non absque salutari consilio post a Patribus est institutum. Ceremoniae sunt, sed his ceremoniis commendantur populo diuina mysteria. Et si nihil aliud, quorsum attinet in ea re dissentire quae 165 citra negocium potest observari? nisi Pontifex Romanus hoc illis permetteret, vt ad antiquitatis memoriam suis ritibus vterentur, quemadmodum Graecis et Mediolanensibus suos concedit ritus a nostris multum diuersos. Quod si istis tantopere placet Dominica precatio, ea et nostri sacrificii pars est. Vt stultum est nihil ad- 170 miscere sacris praeter vnam precationem, ita non recte faciunt qui quaslibet quorumlibet naenias admiscent.

Iam quae de sacramentis sentiunt, absurdiora sunt quam vt aures piaer ferre possint; nisi quod e tantis malis hoc boni possumus excerpere, ne nos rebus bene institutis ad quaestum aut inanem 175 gloriam aut etiam tyrannidem abutamur. Vigiliis ac moderata ieiunia demiror qua fronte contemnant, quum ea nobis toties Apostolicis verbis commendentur: quanquam ad haec malim hortatu duci homines quam imperio trahi.

Porro de festis diebus non multum abest istorum opinio a seculo 180 Hieronymi. Nunc in immensum accreuit festorum turba, quum nullis diebus plus scelerum committat vulgus: et, quod est inhumanissimum, coguntur esse ociosi totos dies, qui non aliis redditibus alunt vxores ac liberos, fortassis etiam parentes, quam opera diurna. His indicare ferias nec dare quicquam, quid est aliud quam eos ad 185 famem adigere? Sint crebra festa, sed in templis; ad quae diuitibus liceat accedere, sed ita vt pauperibus liceat viuere. Saltem illud concederetur, vt peractis sacris redeant ad sanctos labores. Quid enim sanctius quam manuum labore prospicere liberis ac familiae? Nunc ad cuiuslibet superstitiosum affectum instituitur festus dies, 190 imo fere videmus hoc studio esse quibusdam episcopis, vt singuli singulos festos dies addant calendario, quo vel hoc monumento suum nobilitent episcopatum. Verum vt est obedientiae popularis obseruare quod a proceribus Ecclesiae praescribitur, ita horum erat prudentiae non temere constitutionibus huiusmodi vel grauare populum 195 vel male consulere moribus publicis.

Haecenus e tuis literis morbum cognouimus; nunc vtinam medicina fidelis et efficax possit excogitari! Et arbitror posse, si modo boni grauesque viri huc totis incumbant studiis; praesertim cum Carolum habeamus Caesarem, ad ea quae sunt Christianae religionis toto 200 pectore propensum, cum Leonem habeamus in primis mitem et exorabilem. Pulchre coibit concordia, si pars vtraque nonnihil concesserit alteri. Fortasse finitimarum regionum querelae faciunt vt plerique istorum abhorreant a dominatu Pontificis Romani, quod se clamitent inclementer expilari premique saeuitia eorum per quos 205 geruntur Pontificia negocia. Sed aut ego plane fallor, aut facile impetrabitur ab ingenio Leonis elementi iuxta ac pio, vt et perplexas superiorum temporum rationes omittat, et in posterum etiam quam minimum ab illis exigat, praesertim si sese sincero pectore illi ceu

194. praescribitur FN<sup>2</sup>: proscrubitur N<sup>1</sup> Lond.

168. Mediolanensibus] The Ambrosian rite, still in use throughout the province of Milan.

210 patri crediderint. Satis amplum lucrum esse ducet si propulsato  
dissidio pacem et concordiam parauerit. Adiunget sese ad hanc rem  
Caesaris autoritas : quem monarcham, opinor, agnoscit et Bohemia.  
Caeterum quod attinet ad ordinationes et sacramenta, nullo modo  
oportet a reliquis orthodoxis dissentire. Et fortassis de recentiorum  
215 definitionibus remittentur aliqua. De ritibus facile condonabitur  
aliquid, etiamsi magis probarim ut omnes ubique Christiani et ritibus  
et precibus iisdem vterentur. Nunc immodica varietas est, dum pro  
suo quisque affectu haec comminiscitur, et alius aliquid addit repertis.

Quin et illud, mea sententia, complures populos conciliaret Eccle-  
220 siae Romanae, in quam nunc velut in caput quoddam colliguntur  
omnes, si non passim quaelibet sic definiantur ut velimus ad fidei  
negocium pertinere ; sed ea duntaxat quae euidenter expressa sunt  
in sacris literis, aut sine quibus non constat ratio salutis nostrae.  
Ad haec pauca sufficiunt, et pauca citius persuadentur pluribus.  
225 Nunc ex vnico articulo sexcentos facimus, quorum aliqui tales sunt  
ut citra periculum pietatis vel nesciri possint vel ambigi. Atque sic  
est mortalium ingenium, quod semel definitum est, tenemus mordi-  
cus. Porro philosophiae Christianae summa in hoc sita est, ut  
intelligamus omnem spem nostram in Deo positam esse, qui gratis  
230 nobis largitur omnia per Filium suum Iesum. Huius morte nos  
esse redemptos, in huius corpus nos insitos esse per baptismum, ut  
mortui cupiditatibus huius mundi ad illius doctrinam et exemplum  
sic viuamus, ut non solum nihil admittamus mali verumetiam de  
omnibus bene mereamur ; et, si quid inciderit aduersi, fortiter tolere-  
235 mus, spe futuri praemii quod omnes pios haud dubie manet in aduen-  
tu Christi : ut ita semper progrediamur a virtute in virtutem, ut nihil  
tamen nobis arrogemus, sed quicquid est boni Deo transscribamus.

Haec potissimum sunt animis hominum inculcanda sic ut velut in  
naturam transeant. Quod si qui volent circa naturam diuinam aut  
240 circa hypostasim Christi aut sacramenta quaedam abstrusiora rimari,  
quo magis attollant mentem in sublime et a rebus humilioribus  
abducant, hactenus liceat, ut non statim quod huic aut illi visum  
fuerit, cogantur omnes profiteri. Quemadmodum ex loquacibus  
syngraphis citius nascitur controuersia, sic ex plurimis definitionibus  
245 nascitur diffidentia. Neque pudeat nos ad quaedam respondere,  
'Deus nouit quomodo id fiat, mihi satis est quod credo fieri.' Scio  
Christi corpus et sanguinem purum pure a puris esse sumendum ;  
qui hoc sacrosanctum signum ac pignus esse voluit et suae erga nos  
charitatis et Christianorum inter ipsos concordiae. Excusiam igitur  
250 meipsum num quid sit in quo mihi male conueniat cum Christo,  
num quid sit cum proximo dissidii. Caeterum quomodo illinc sint  
decem praedicamenta, et quomodo transsubstantietur panis verbis  
mysticis, et quomodo corpus idem possit esse sub tantilla specie ac  
diuersis locis, meo iudicio haud multum conducit ad profectum  
255 pietatis. Scio me resurrecturum ; hoc enim omnibus promisit  
Christus, qui primus omnium resurrexit. Caeterum quale corpus  
futurum sit, aut quomodo possit idem esse quod toties in aliud atque  
aliud redactum est, ut non improbem suo tempore moderate vestigare,  
ita minimum conducit ad veram pietatem in his multum operae

ponere. Nunc his atque id genus aliis innumeris argutationibus, 260 quibus se iactitant quidam, auocantur hominum mentes ab iis quae sola faciunt ad rem. Denique plurimum habebit momenti ad orbis concordiam stabiliendam, si prophani principes, sed praecipue Romanus Pontifex, absint ab omni specie tyrannidis et auariciae. Nam facile resiliunt, cum vident paratam seruitutem, quum intelligunt se 265 non inuitari ad pietatem sed captari ad praedam. Si nos innoxios, si nos beneficos senserint, facillime sese credent nostrae fidei.

Ignoscam, vt rogas, loquacitati tuarum literarum, sed si tales saepe miseris; nam assueta facilius ferimus. Iodocus Ionas hoc ipso tempore mecum erat cum Academiae suffragiis rector designaretur; 270 quo viro vix aliud quicquam vidi melius. Bene vale, vir egregie.

Louanii Cal. Nouemb. ANNO M. D. XIX.

#### 1040. TO MARTIN LYPHIUS.

Rotterdam MS., Erasmus III. 102, p. 45.

(Louvain.)

Horawitz v. 10.

(c. November 1519.)

[Contemporary with Ep. 1030, because of Hochstrat's presence at Louvain, and in close connexion with Ep. 1038; but scarcely before November, since the suggestion is, both here (l. 4) and in Ep. 1041. 23-4, that the *Farrago* (E, containing Ep. 980) is already published. The arrival of that volume at Louvain cannot be dated much before the end of November; for on 25 Oct. the printing was not yet finished (Agr. E., p. 757), and on 10 Nov. the book had only just appeared at Basle (BRE. 129, 133, 136; see also Ep. 998 introd.). A copy reached Zasius at Freiburg c. 13 Nov. (ZE. 12, 13): in Jan. Erasmus was distributing others in Brabant (Epp. 1056, 7). But he had perhaps now seen clean sheets of the first part of E (which would include Ep. 980), such as had been sent to Beatus at Schlettstadt on 30 Sept. (BRE. 128). The book sold with astonishing rapidity; for by 17 Feb. Erasmus had heard from Basle that the copies were 'subito distracta', and that a new edition was called for (Ep. 1066. 83-6).]

D. ERAS. ROTERO. D. MART. LYPH. BRVX.

(Q) vob ille significauit, merum est somnium; nam Bruxellae rem odoratus sum. Hoechststratus adest Louanii. Is nactus est meam ad Luterum epistolam: eam putat idoneam ad conuincendum me quod faueam Luteri; cum ipse in hoc ediderim, vt testetur nihil mihi esse rei cum Luteri. Et si faueam, quid esset prodigii? Egit ille apud 5 aulicos, praecipue D. Bergensem; sed erant qui rem melius intelligerent. Suspicio tamen conspirasse quosdam, Briselotum, Hoechststratum et Suffraganeum Cameracensem vna cum Egmondano, non tam aduersus me quam aduersus Luterum. Me pituita grauiter

1039. 265. resiliunt] sc. homines.

1040. 1. ille] Perhaps Lee.

Bruxellae] See p. 111.

2. ad Luterum] Ep. 980; which Hochstrat had no doubt found in either the Leipzig or the Augsburg edition (see Ep. 948 introd.).

5. ille] Hochstrat.

6. D. Bergensem] See Ep. 1038. 15n.

7. Briselotum] See Ep. 597. 4n.

8. Suffraganeum] Briselot's successor in this office was also a Carme-

lite, Adrian Arnoldi († Nov. 1536), a Belgian who made his profession at Bruges in 1483, was B.D. 1507, D.D. at Paris 1515, and on 18 Sept. 1517 was appointed provisory Bp. of Risano, on the Gulf of Cattaro in Dalmatia. See *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, 1752, i. 1-2; Gams, p. 415; Le Glay, *Cameracum Christianum*, p. 85; and Dom U. Berlière, *Les évêques auxiliaires de Cambrai et de Tournai*, 1905.

Egmondano] See Ep. 878. 13n.

10 *discruciat. Pro munusculo gratiam habeo. De amicitia nihil est quod dubites, mi Martine. Vtinam liceret te visere! Noua Colloquia sunt sub prelo. Bene vale.*

## 1041. TO THE READER.

Colloquiorum Formulae f<sup>o</sup>. h<sup>5</sup> v<sup>o</sup>.

Louvain.

(c. November 1519.)

[A letter appended to Martens' enlarged edition of the *Colloquiorum Formulae* (c. Nov. 1519) (Ep. 909 introd.), and described on the title-page as 'Contestatio aduersus seditiosas calumnias'. In order to contain it, the last sheet, h, is extended to six leaves; so that it was perhaps written at the very end of the printing, and should thus be dated rather later than Ep. 1040. But the numerous points of resemblance in ll. 33-45 to Ep. 1033. 24-5, 57-68, 192-3, show that in date this cannot be far distant from 19 Oct. In the *Apologia qua respondet* (f<sup>o</sup>. F<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>; Jortin ii. 520) Erasmus states that he was not present when the book was printed; perhaps being away at Brussels or Antwerp (cf. p. 111).

In writing this letter his purpose evidently was to keep himself from being involved in the still undetermined controversy about Reuchlin and the troubles which Luther was raising: cf. Ep. 1033 introd. To what extent he writes ingenuously is not clear. With regard to Ep. 713 it may be pointed out that the form given by both authorities is *Christianistes*, not *Christianista*, and that there are several small changes in  $\beta$  from the text of  $\alpha$ : but it may be questioned whether Erasmus would have resorted to quite so narrow an equivocation. If he is given the benefit of the doubt, it follows that the words to which he objects were not in Ep. 713 as he wrote it, and that the text of that letter was otherwise changed. As to Ep. 980, his denial of the mention there of the Bishop of Liège only amounts to saying that the name is not found in E; and therefore probably does not invalidate the unauthorized text. But the suggestion in 'nescio qui euulgarunt' (l. 23), as compared with Ep. 1040. 4, that he was not cognizant of the publication of E, may be taken only as part of his habitual affectation of modesty in the matter; cf. App. 7. In any case it is to be noticed that he does not deny the general authenticity of either letter.]

## ERASMVVS ROTEROD. AMICO LECTORI S. D.

Rvrsvs exitisse doleo, lector amice, de quo malui vel intempestius admonere quam errare quenquam. Prorsus inciuliter factum quod typographorum temeritas Epistolis ad Reuchlinum iam olim euulgatis nuper adiecit quasdam nostras, haudquaquam in hoc scriptas  
5 vt ederentur; sed inciulius est quod in his quaedam odiose mutarunt. Nullam enim recusaro mulctam, si in autographis quas ad Reuchlinum scripsi, deprehendantur haec verba, 'non Christianus, sed Christianista': ne quid de caeteris dicam. Scio Reuchlinum virum prudentiorem quam qui pateretur haec fieri; nec dubito quin hoc  
10 inscio commissum sit ab iis qui Reuchlino sedulo magis quam prudenter fauent: a quibus iisdem additi sunt odiosi tituli 'Reuchlinistarum' et 'Erasmi suis diuinis scriptis Reuchlinum vbique defen-

1040. 11. Noua Colloquia] See Epp. 909, 1041.

1041. 3. Epistolis] The *Illustr. virorum* Epist. of May 1519; see Ep. 300 introd. 6. ad Reuchlinum] Ep. 713. 2, 3.

11. tituli] The title-page of *Ill. vir.* Epist. ends: 'Reuchlinistarum exer-

citum pagina inuenies mox sequenti.' On f<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>2</sup> at the head of the list of Reuchlin's defenders is Erasmus 'qui Capnionem suis diuinis operibus vndique purgat ac defendit'.

For the word *Reuchlinista* cf. HE. 46, 50. 4, 51. tit., 53. 1.

suri'. Ego nec Reuchlinista sum nec ullius humanae factionis. Ista dissidii nomina detestor. Christianus sum et Christianos agnosco; Erasmistas non feram, Reuchlinistas non noui. Cum Reuchlino 15 praeter ciuilem amicitiam nihil intercedit. Porro patrocinium illius nec ego suscepi vnquam nec ille desyderat. De causa eius viderit summus ille in terris iudex, qui extremae sententiae negotium in se recepit.

Quin et in illis prudentiam desydero, qui litteras ad quemlibet 20 familiariter scriptas in vulgus edunt, praesertim mutatis quae videntur. In epistola qua respondi Lutherio, addita est mentio Episcopi Leodiensis; at ea non est in eadem epistola, quam nescio qui euulgarunt Basileae. Quemadmodum et in epistola Eckii ad Ia. Hoehstratum, quam quidam Bruxellae circumferebant, sublata erant 25 quaedam satis petulanter scripta in illustrissimum quendam Ducem: etiamsi in hanc sane partem peccari malim. Non me pudet respondisse Lutherio; qui prouocatus responderem et Turcae. Bonis illius faueo, non malis; imo Christo faueo, non illi. Et sic respondeo vt illum de multis admoneam. Admonui ciuilitate, quod ita plus profici 30 sciam. Sic, opinor, illi fauent permulti, quemadmodum Cyprianus fauit Tertulliano, multi Lactantio, plures Origeni. Quod tamen citra fraudem Lutherii dictum velim. Ego illius nec accusator sum nec patronus nec iudex. Viderint ii quibus hanc prouintiam nominatim delegauit Rhomanus Pontifex. Quanquam quae tandem inuidia sit 35 extra causam fauere primum viro bono (quod fatentur et hostes), deinde pectori quod, etiamsi iustis de causis exasperatum plus iusto incanduit, tamen alio vocatum possit esse egregium organum Christi, qui non extinxit linum fumigans, sed excitauit; longe dissimilis istis qui perdere malunt quam mederi, opprimere quam docere. 40 Permittit legum seueritas etiam iuratis iudicibus vt faueant reo. Dictat humanitas vt faueatur oppresso.

Haec loquor et a causa Lutherii alienissimus, et ab omni genere dissidii, vt si quis alius, auersus. Porro epistolam, quae parum bene intellecta et peius interpretata dedit occasionem huic suspicioni, et 45

14. dissidii nomina] Scheurl probably had this passage in his mind when he wrote to Melanchthon, 1 April 1520 (SE. 214): 'Erasmus se integrum seruat, odit ista sectionum nomina sicut vere odienda, quod omnes Christi sumus.'

16. nihil intercedit] Cf. Ep. 967. 72,3.

23. Leodiensis] Cf. Epp. 980. 36n, 1038 introd., 1143. 43-50.

24. epistola Eckii] dated 24 July 1519, Leipzig. It deals with the questions raised in the Leipzig Disputation (Ep. 1020. 62n), and mentions Duke George of Saxony, but, as is implied here, without derogation. It was printed *s. a. et l.* (Wittenberg, J. Grunenberg: Proctor 11850); and the words which follow the title—'quam ille tanquam preciosum thesaurum cor-

dialissimis amicis cum magna gloria ostendit, quam etiam multi Iacobitae (the Dominicans) excoplaerunt'—reveal both why and how the letter passed into circulation. See also l. 27n.

25. Bruxellae] See p. 111.

27. malim] Erasmus proceeded to act on this principle himself; cutting out in F the disparaging remark of Mosellanus about Duke George (Ep. 911. 59,60), also made in connexion with the Leipzig Disputation.

28. Turcae] Cf. Epp. 1167. 193, 1192, 1202, 1219, 1255 introd.

34. iudex] Cf. Ep. 1033. 58n.

nominatim] First Caietano and then Miltitz (Ep. 1188).

39. linum] Cf. Ep. 939. 113.

44. epistolam] Ep. 980, which had been published first without Erasmus' sanction; cf. Epp. 1033. 24n, 1042. 10n.

ipse Lutherius aeditam dolet; id quod proximis suis ad me literis liquido testatur. Velim igitur, qui libros edunt, vt abstineant ab istiusmodi sediciosa licentia, nec abutantur arte sua, iuuandis studiis ac moribus reperta, non turbandae tranquillitati reipublicae Christianae. Quod si horum temeritas cohiberi non potest, meum tamen  
 50 animum tibi, lector, hoc chirographo testatum esse volui. Bene vale.  
 Louanii.

## 1042. To —.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 498.  
 HN: Lond. xii. 31: LB. 358.

Louvain.  
 (November 1519.)

[Not much later than the reconciliation with the Louvain theologians; and probably (cf. l. 10n) about the same date as Epp. 1040, 1.

The person addressed clearly was a physician; conceivably J. Bogardus (Ep. 932. 54n), who was now in orders.]

## ERASMVS CVIDAM OBTRACTATORI S. D.

QVOMODO sis abusus lingua tua ante instauratam concordiam, non me clam fuit; sed post pactam omnium superiorum obliuionem audio te conuiuia tua singula condire virulentissimis obtractationibus in fortunam ac vitam famamque meam. Vt sim is in quem ista  
 5 merito dicantur, tamen non ignoras quam foedum sit vleisci sese obtractatrice lingua, idque in conuiuio; et interim praebere perniciosum exemplum tuis conuictoribus, praesertim in re in qua nihil intelligis. Praestabat, dum ista garris, euoluere Hippocratis canones, vt haberes quod respondeas aegrotis consultoribus. Scio istam  
 10 suspicionem natam ex epistolis duabus pessime intellectis: quod facile docebo, si cui sit sanum cerebrum. Quid autem agas cum furiosis?

Sed haec explicare sit prolixius. Vt paucis dicam, si ab ista virulentia linguae temperaris, rectius consules dignitati tuae. Ego per  
 15 multa passus sum, ne quid tumultus mea causa nasceretur; et adhuc pacem instauratam mordicus teneo. Ego Lutherum nec accuso nec defendo. Sic esse res ipsa docebit. Quare nolim me horum negociis admisceri. Et id demonstrabo veris ac solidis argumentis. Quod si tu perges ista petulantia famam meam incessere, vide ne mea quoque  
 20 lenitas victa efficiat vt tu post mille annos inter virulentos sycophantas, inter gloriosos nebulones, inter malos medicos decanteris. Sed absit vt hoc eueniat. Mihi Christiana magis placent, et ad ea te prouoco. Bene vale. Louanii, [Anno M. D. XVIII.]

1042. 6. H: obtractatrici F.

23. Louanii, Anno M. D. XVIII add. H.

1041. 46. literis] Not extant: but scarcely a reply to Ep. 980. It appears to have been conciliatory in tone. For traces of other correspondence between them in 1520 see Epp. 1113 introd., 1141. 15n, 1166. 90n, but no letters survive till 1524.

1042. 1. concordiam] Cf. Ep. 1016. 15n. 10. epistolis duabus] One of these is certainly Ep. 980; cf. Epp. 1040. 2-4, 1041. 22-4, 44-5. The other is perhaps Ep. 948, which was printed and circulated with it.

20. lenitas] Cf. Ep. 1029. 9n.



## 1043. TO PHILIP OF BURGUNDY.

Paraphrasis ad Timotheum etc. p. 3.  
Lond. xxix. 75: LB. vii. 1031.

(Louvain.)  
(November) 1519.

[The preface to the Paraphrases on the shorter Pauline Epistles; dated, though perhaps not written, before Ep. 1062. The first edition was by Hillen at Antwerp (Ep. 1061. 618), and had perhaps reached Zurich by 4 Jan. 1520 (Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 113); but no copy is as yet known. It was reprinted by Froben in March 1520 (a), for the progress of which see BRE. 153; and there are later Froben editions of March 1521 (B), reprinted in July; of Feb.-March 1522, folio (γ); of 1522, octavo (δ), followed by the folio of 1523-4; of 1523 octavo (ε); of 1532, folio (ζ), followed by the octavo of 1534; and of 1540 and 1541, folio (η).]

The date can be determined with some precision from Lee's statement (Ep. 1061. 617-22) that this was the book given by Erasmus to Hillen, in order to hinder him from undertaking Lee's *Annotationes*, at the second attempt made by Lee about the beginning of Nov. 1519 (Ep. 1061. 608n). If, as Lee suggests, it was thrust hastily upon Hillen, the preface may have been composed while the printing was proceeding, and this view is corroborated by the resemblance between the opening sentence and Ep. 1053. 523; but in any case it can hardly be later than Nov. 1519. In the *Apol. qua respondet* (ff. E<sup>4</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, F; Jortin ii. 518) Erasmus states that he expected the printing to take 12 days, and that he gave it to Hillen because Martens was short of workmen; also that he was at work on the Paraphrase 40 days before Christmas, and long before he had formed any idea of writing Ep. 1053 (ibid. ff. B<sup>3</sup>, B<sup>4</sup> v<sup>o</sup>; pp. 502, 3).

For recent intercourse between Erasmus and the Bishop of Utrecht see Ep. 1001. 7-8n.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS OPTIMO PRAESVLI ET EIDEM CLARISSIMO  
PRINCIPI TRAIECTENSI, PHILIPPO A BVRGVNDIA, S. D.

CVM hisce mensibus arua passim nuda steriliaque iaceant, ornatis-  
sime Praesul, literaria tamen seges nunquam non aliquem fructum  
aedit; nec est vlla tam rigida bruma quin ex studiorum agris pro-  
uentus aliquis redeat. Mihi porro visum est aequum vt hinc nonnulla  
portio decideretur episcopo, velut huius agricolationis principi. 5  
Etenim cum rem Euangelicam pro nostra virili adiuuamus, aliqua ex  
parte in vices tuae sollicitudinis succedimus. Id autem eo feci liben-  
tius, quod argumentum etiam ipsum ad hoc inuitaret. Explicauimus  
enim paraphrasi Epistolas diui Pauli ad Timotheum duas, ad Titum  
vnam: quibus adiecimus, ceu coronidis vice, quam scripsit ad Phile- 10  
monem, ne sola relinqueretur, cum sit vltima, licet argumento dis-  
simili; quanquam in Paulo nihil est quod non pertineat ad episco-  
pum. Siquidem in tribus superioribus mire depingit ac repraesentat  
imaginem germani vereque Christiani praesulis, et quibus dotibus  
praeditum oporteat ad tam arduam prouinciam adisci, et quibus 15  
officiis obire munus delegatum. Nam quam sit ardua res inculpatum  
episcopum agere, quanta rursum pernicies sit humanae vitae parum  
syncerus custos Dominici gregis, vel illud arguit quod non alia de  
re Paulus vnquam instantius ac magis anxie praeceperit. Quoties  
enim identidem inculcat et infigit eadem! Quoties obsecrat, obte- 20  
stat, adiurat per omnia sacra! nunc blandiens, nunc pollicitans,  
nunc territans, nunc suo, nunc Christi exemplo prouocans.

Iam cum Paulus sic metuat iis quos ipse sua doctrina formarat,

1. αδ: ornatissimae γ.      8. ipsum post hoc add. ζ.      14. αδ: veraeque γ.  
15. adscisci ε.      23. iis αγζ: his βε.

quos suis ipsius manibus impositis ordinarat, quorum fidem et integritatem tot modis perspectam et exploratam habebat, quanto plus hodie periculi est tam difficile munus cuius temere credere! Olim singulis ciuitatibus singuli praesidebant episcopi: atque in his ipsis sane quota portio erat Christi religionem profitentium? Vt ne dicam quod illis temporibus feruebat adhuc in pectoribus hominum Christi sanguis, vt recens effusus, ardebat adhuc ignis ille coelestis qui dabatur a baptismo: quorum vtrumque nunc, nescio quomodo, refrixisse videtur in moribus nostris. Has ob res episcopus non solum paucioribus praesidebat verumetiam vltro parentibus. Proinde mihi non paulo difficilior videtur hodie praesulem fidum et incorruptum agere, non tantum ob hoc quod vnus tot oppidis praesideat, verum multo magis quod plerique praeter dispensationem Euangelicae doctrinae, quae praecipua ac peculiaris est episcopi functio, prophanae quoque ditionis administratione sint onerati.

At dictu mirum quam aegre inter sese cohaereant mundus et Christus, quam difficile conueniat coelestibus curis ac terrenis. Cumque multo difficillimum sit alterutrum praestare, vel bonum episcopum vel salutarem principem, quantum negotii fuerit vtroque districtum sic moderari negotium vt nec religioni desis nec ditioni, sic satisfacere principi mortali vt Principem immortalem non offendas, sic placere aulae vt non displiceas coelo! Olim quisquis suscipiebat episcopatum, huic statim ad omnes persecutionum procellas praeparandus erat animus. Sed haud scio an horum temporum tranquillitas, si tamen haec tranquillitas est, plus habeat periculi quam illorum tempestates.

Quancquam autem pro mutato rerum statu fieri non potest vt per omnia sit eadem gerendi episcopatus ratio, neque protinus damnandum quod ab illius aetatis exemplo dissidet; nec sinunt rerum humanarum aestus id semper impetrare praesulem quod optimum iudicabit, quemadmodum peritus etiam ac vigilans gubernator nonnunquam frustra clauo assidens vndarum ac ventorum arbitrio rapitur: tamen minus aberrabit ab illa syncera perfectaue boni praesulis imagine, quisquis hanc Pauli formam ceu scopum quendam semper habebit prae oculis; vt egregius nauclerus, licet nonnihil a recto cursu cogatur deflectere, tamen a Cynosura non dimouet oculos, ne toto, quod aiunt, coelo contingat errare. Si Paulum assequi non licet, est tamen aliquid illum vtcunque sequi. Ad optima nitenti non deerit Christi praesidium: cuius vices gerit tua celsitudo, et sine cuius ope frustra est omnis conatus mortalium. Bene vale. Anno M.D.XIX.

## 1044. FROM MARTIN DORP.

Basle MS. G. II. 13<sup>a</sup>. 40 (a).

Dorpii Oratio, March 1520, p. 51 (β).

The Hague.

28 November 1519.

[The ms. (a) is early xvi<sup>o</sup>, but not autograph; its siglum may be divided for the copyist (a<sup>1</sup>) and a corrector (a<sup>2</sup>), who appears to be contemporary. For β see l. 16n. The year-date is confirmed by the date of that edition.

Dorp's position among the theologians of Louvain was at this time undergoing marked change. From being closely united to them and to some extent their

30. vt a: vtpote ζ.

39. sese a: se η.

mouthpiece (Epp. 304, 337, 373n, 347, he had had a reconciliation with Erasmus (Ep. 438) and then again a rupture (Ep. 474, 17n). But the breach had been healed again (cf. Epp. 627, 16, 852, 946, and BRE. 121); and now, reacting towards humanistic studies, and yielding perhaps to external pressure (cf. Epp. 994, 13-15, 1002, 33-9), he had recently printed his Oration (l. 16n), in evidence of his changed point of view, and for a time was even inclined to take an interest in Luther (cf. Zw.<sup>2</sup> E. 124, LE.<sup>2</sup> 291). From this he retired later; but his sympathy with humanism remained unimpaired, and parted him from his former allies. See de Jongh, pp. 162-5, 45\*-46\*; and cf. *Acta Acad. Louanien. contra Lutherum*.

The purpose of his present visit to the Hague is not known. He had just resigned the Presidency of the Collège du Saint Esprit at Louvain, perhaps not altogether willingly (see l. 16n), and had been succeeded by Ruard Tapper, 21 Nov. (de Jongh, pp. 181, 44\*). It seems from l. 81 that he was on business and was not quite his own master. It is evident, however, from de Jongh, p. 46\*, that his severance from Louvain was only temporary; cf. Epp. 1103, 25-6, 1165, 26-7, and EE. 11.

This letter is the last that survives of his correspondence with Erasmus; but their friendship now renewed (cf. l. 49n) lasted till Dorp's death in 1525.]

MARTINVS DORPIVS CLARISSIMO DOMINO ERASMO ROTERODAMO

SALVTEM D. P.

MIROR vehementer, eruditissime domine, quid acciderit istis vt ita sursum ac deorsum omnia versent, vt eximios aliquot sic de studiis, sic de re Christiana meritis male vexent. Polliceor tibi et Domino Deo, me non habebunt turbæ istius consortem. Quanto Christianius est recte omnia ac sane intelligere et in meliorem partem interpretari! 5 Secus qui faciunt, nonne ipsi malum inferunt doctorum virorum lucubrationibus? Queso te per gloriam Christi, mi Erasme, omnis eruditionis princeps, vt ne animo frangaris ob quorundam et paucorum et inermium ineptissimam simul et stultissimam importunitatem. Magis te consolentur tot eximiorum tum principum tum episcoporum, 10 tot eruditissimorum toto orbe virorum amicissima de te tuaque eruditione iudicia, eaque quum verissima tum constantissima.

Hic certe ita ex animo fauent tibi, ita admirantur, ita predicant opera tua insignia, vt non credam simile contigisse cuiquam mortalium omnibus retro seculis, ne Hyeronimo quidem ipsi. Non fingo hoc, 15 teste Deo, mi Erasme. Omnes eruditi gratulantur mihi de Orationis meae editione, quod animum sententiamque meam ingenue testatus sim sine villo fūco. Magnificus idemque eruditissimus iuriconsultus

4. istius turbæ β.

17. quod a<sup>2</sup>: quæ a<sup>1</sup>.

1. istis] The orthodox theologians.

16. Orationis] See Epp. 438, 1024, 1029; and cf. Am. E. 3. It had been delivered in 1516, but had only recently been printed, Antwerp, M. Hillen, 27 Sept. 1519, with a preface to Beatus Rhenanus (BRE. 126). Dorp no doubt sent it to Basle, for Froben reprinted it in Jan. 1520 (cf. BRE. 143; Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 118); but it appears (ll. 56-8) that he had not yet received any intimation of Froben's intention, and so appealed for Erasmus' intervention.

As a result, Froben produced a later issue of the same edition, March 1520, with this letter appended: to Dorp's regret (BRE. 166)—for, in spite of the discreet omission at l. 40, the publication was sure to increase his difficulties at Louvain; cf. a letter of Jerome Froben, 7 Feb. 1520 (Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 118), reporting that Dorp had been 'a factione theologica summa ob orationem editam affectus contumelia, simulque ex suo eiectus collegio, ac nunc totus agit Erasmus'. See, however, Ep. 1165, 26-7.

D. Nicolaus, praeses Hollandiae et ceterarum prouintiarum, ita  
 20 amplectitur vt numquam letius prandeat quam de te cum est proluxa  
 et in primis honorifica mentio, eaque de causa magno fauore me pro-  
 sequitur. Quidam domini consilarii omnibus modis student bene  
 mereri de me, quod audierint, et in Oratione aperte legerint, me ex  
 animo tuum esse. Omnes scholae, omnia eruditorum conuenticula,  
 25 omnis magnatum corona Erasmus predicat; inter quos precipuus  
 est magnificus idemque illustris ac doctus dominus de Assendelft,  
 qui tuis monumentis vnice delectatur, ea in manibus habet pene  
 assidue, quum vacat.

Me student hic inaurare. Non desunt passim eximii viri religiosi  
 30 qui te, vti par est, summis in coelum efferunt laudibus. Inter quos  
 duo precipue me hortati sunt summo studio tuus vt essem, quum  
 hortatione non foret opus. Alter est Gardianus Mechliniensis, vir  
 cordatus, rerum experientissimus, idem eximie doctus. Proximus  
 Amandus, Grece Hebraiceque doctus, quem nosti, opinor. Ii sic

23. ex animo me β.

29. eximie β.

31. tuus α<sup>2</sup>: tum α<sup>1</sup>.

19. Nicolaus] Everard; see Ep. 1092.

26. de Assendelft] Hugo (3 Nov. 1467—21 July 1540) of Assendelft, 10 ms. NE. of Haarlem. In his missal, now at C. C. C., Oxford (MS. 462: see EHR. xxxiii. 225-34), he has recorded many facts of his life. On 31 March 1478 he saw the enthronement of Maximilian at Haarlem; and he was present, 3 Feb. 1483, at the death of his great-uncle Hugo, founder of the Cistercians at Heemstede. He was M.A. at Louvain, 3 April 1487, and Lic. in Law, 1 Feb. 1497. On 13 March 1497 he was ordained deacon at Liège, and on 24 March priest; but returned to Louvain to celebrate his first mass, 30 April. He was then appointed vice-curate at Haarlem, under Nic. Ruistre (Ep. 177), and took part in Philip's enthronement there, 24 June 1497. He received a canonry at the Hague, 15 March 1507: but was at Haarlem, 16 Aug. 1508, when he welcomed Maximilian with an oration. On 20 July 1509 he became consul at the Hague; and there the remainder of his life was spent. In 1525 and 1530 he appears as taking part in the suppression of heresy (de Hoop Scheffer, *Gesch. d. Kerkherv. in Nederl.*, pp. 393, 590). See also Ep. 1166 introd.

29. inaurare] Perhaps to give him some post in connexion with the Government of Holland at the Hague: such as might be in the gift of de Assendelft (l. 26n).

32. Gardianus] Franciscan Wardens were transferred so frequently that it is not certain who is meant here: possibly John Byl (also Bilhemius or Bylkens) of Louvain († 2 Nov. 1540),

who was Warden at Mechlin and is buried there. He was first Provincial of Lower Germany, 1529; and wrote 'De curis et anxietatibus Guardianorum' and 'De ruina Obseruantiae', now lost.

See F. Gonzaga, *De origine religionis Franciscanae*, 1587, p. 999; Wadding, *Script. ord. Minorum*, 1806, p. 133; and BN. Sanderus, *Chorographia sacra Brabantiae*, iii (1727), p. 187, gives Bonaventura Vorsel as Byl's predecessor.

34. Amandus] of Zierikzee († 8 June 1524), of the Franciscan house at Louvain. His *Chronica mundi* was printed at Antwerp, S. Cocus, May 1534; with a preface by Franc. Titelmann, 6 May, which contains almost all that is known about him. This credits him with proficiency in Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, history and divinity, and praises his sweetness of character and humility and patience in long suffering. He composed commentaries on Genesis, Ecclesiastes, and Job, and wrote other theological works: also 'De Sophi, rege Persarum, hoste Turcarum', 1518.

Wadding, *op. cit.*, p. 11, gives the date of his death from the obit-book of the Franciscans at Louvain, but conjectures that it should be 1534, because the Chronicle goes down to that year: so also BWN. i. 239. Titelmann, however, speaks as though Amandus had been dead some time; so that 1524 may be accepted. The continuation of the Chronicle may probably be attributed to Titelmann, bringing it up to date before publishing it.

fauent tuis sanctis laboribus vt ne suis quidem magis queant. In 35  
Germania, in Anglia, in Francia, quot sunt chiliades mortalium sic  
ex animo fauentium Erasmo vt ne aris quidem ac focis impensius!  
et o me dementem, qui non semper nisus sim manibus ac pedibus ne  
nasceretur de me pessima suspitio, quasi is ego essem qui tali viro  
aduersarer, staremque ab nescio quibus etc. 40

Cur non ab initio id palam testatus sum? Cur tam diu distuli?  
Malo fato actus fui, mi Erasme; sed prestat recurrere quam cursum  
male institutum pergere. Quam gaudeo me Orationem illam edidisse,  
quo omnibus constet quam repugnante animo meo facta fuerint quae  
contigerunt! neque enim vnquam mihi placuerunt quae moliebantur. 45  
Sed in hoc errorem meum ingenue confiteor tibi, mi Erasme humanis-  
sime, quod non aperte explicuerim quid sentirem. Id si denuo  
futurum est, male peream, quantus quantus sum.

Queso te vt aliquo in loco, quum erit opportunum, mei mentionem  
facias amicam, quo intelligant omnes pulchre inter nos conuenire: 50  
hoc mihi gratius facere non potes. Non desunt epistolae quaedam  
ad me tuae et meae ad te; harum si quae erunt idoneae quae impri-  
mantur, per illas fieri poterit quod peto. R. D. Edmondensis amice  
sentit de te, vir pius et qui natiua bonitate dissidia ista odit. Apud  
eum et apud omnes nihil cessabit Dorpius tuus, neque id clam habe- 55  
bit. Orationem meam, etsi ineptam ac indoctam, mire tamen cupio  
Basileae impressum iri typis Frobenianis. Id tu si voles, factum  
est: quid enim tibi neget vel Rhenanus vel Frobenius? Cum scribis  
ad Morum, ad Paceum, ad Rhenanum, ad Huttenum, ad Budeum,  
facito, queso, amicam Dorpii tui mentionem. 60

Pater meus, vir senex ac pene octogenarius, plurimam salutem tibi  
ascribi iussit. Fortasse non meministi vnde te norit. Collocutus  
est tecum suauissime annis abhinc paulo plus duobus in Collegio  
Atrebatensi. Magister Iacobus Mauritius, consiliarius, qui olim fuit  
pensionarius Goudensis, toto pectore tibi addictissimus, iubet te 65

40. nescio quibus etc.  $\alpha^2$ : nes.  $\alpha^1$ . 41. sum  $\alpha$ : fui  $\beta$ . 42. mi  $\alpha$ : o mi  $\beta$ .  
44.  $\alpha^2$ : fuerunt  $\alpha^1\beta$ . 64. Mauricius  $\beta$ .

40. etc.] The usual sign of omission;  
cf. Epp. 368. 8, 423. 58n, 424. 83. The  
passage omitted evidently contained  
reflections upon the theologians at  
Louvain; cf. l. 16n.

42. recurrere] Cf. Ep. 659. 22.

49. mei mentionem] Erasmus replied  
to this request with characteristic  
generosity and alacrity, and wrote no  
doubt to all the persons named, bid-  
ding them welcome the penitent. His  
letter to Beatus survives (Ep. 1063);  
and he wrote also to Hutten (cf. H.E.  
164) and Oecolampadius (Ep. 1064).  
His friends complied on all sides:  
More (Jortin ii. 668, 9), Beatus (BRE.  
156), Hutten (H.E. 164), Zasius (Z.E.  
21, 22), Botzheim (ibid.; cf. Ep. 1103),  
Bo. Amerbach (Am. E. 3, 19 March;  
cf. Ep. 1084 and Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73.  
392, 31 Jan. 1520, with a very different

opinion of Dorp). Beatus passed on  
the request to Capito and Hedio also  
(BRE. 156), Zasius to Zwingli, Oswald  
Myconius and Vadianus (Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 129,  
136, 145). See also Ep. 1109. 33-5.

51. epistolae] Of the nine still extant  
only two (Epp. 304, 337) had as yet  
been published by Erasmus, and one  
(Ep. 438) by Dorp, with this Oration,  
no doubt in pursuance of the wish ex-  
pressed here. Two more (Epp. 536,  
852) had been included in E; but of  
this Dorp evidently was unaware.

53. Edmondensis] Meynard Mann;  
see Ep. 304. 161n.

58. Rhenanus] Cf. Ep. 732. 1n.

61. Pater meus] Nothing else seems  
to be known of Dorp's father.

64. Atrebatensi] The foundation of  
Nic. Ruistre; see Ep. 177 introd.

Mauritius] See Ep. 176.

saluere meis verbis. Rapior hic a viris doctrina fortunaque praestantibus. Raro prandeo domi, non quod amem conuiuia, sed vt confabulemur.

Lutherio, quod nuper scripsi tibi, mirifice hic fauetur. Est vir  
70 quidam nominatae doctrinae magno ingenio ac studio indefatigabili, virenti etiamnum aetate, qui Louanii olim summa cum laude eruditionis vixit, qui in eius defensionem scripsit, explicans defendensque vniuersa solidis Scripture locis. Ipse libellum legi, et afferam mecum; ita enim vult ipse, vir magno animo ac diues.

75 Saluta, queso, D. Neuium et ora vt veterum barbarum ne meminerit. Scio si rem penitus nosset, nunquam admodum egre me ferret. D. Berselio, Reschio et ceteris meo nomine plurimam dicito salutem. M. Ioannes Coecmanus, pater sanctae Agathae, vir pius et doctus, tuorum operum helluo, qui tecum prandebat vna apud me Louanii,  
80 sese comendabat tibi. Bene vale, et si commodum tibi erit, responde; nam hinc nondum licet emigrare.

Ex Hagha comitis die lune post Catharinae. M.D.XIX.

6201045. FROM GERMANUS BRIXIUS.

Antimorus f<sup>o</sup>. I<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>. (a).

Paris.

<December> 1519.

[The verses with which More had mocked the French, in reply to Brixius' *Chordigeræ Conflagratio* (Ep. 212. 1n), did not at first attract notice. But when Brixius heard of them, apparently before the publication of More's *Epigrammata* (cf. Epp. 620. 29n, 1117. 61-3), he wrote an elaborate poem of rejoinder, *Antimorus*. In printing the poem, Paris, P. Vidoue, 1519, he appended Ep. 620, which he had seen for the first time in the *Farrago* (see Ep. 1040 introd.), and this letter which he had composed to answer it.

This letter may therefore be placed between the arrival of the *Farrago* in Paris (perhaps Nov. fin.; cf. p. 119) and Easter 1519, which is the latest date to which the printing of the *Antimorus* can be stretched. As More did not reply till well on into the spring (cf. Epp. 1087, 1090), it may be conjectured that Brixius' book was not published until some time after the turn of the year (cf. LE.<sup>2</sup> 284, from Paris, 14 March, announcing its appearance, and Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 124 and BRE. 159, 17 and 19 March, reporting its arrival in Basle; also Basle MS. C. VI.<sup>2</sup> 73. 298, 397); but this letter, which is concerned with Erasmus' defence of More, was probably written immediately on perusal of Ep. 620.]

GERMANVS BRIXIVS DESIDERIO ERASMO S. D.

HERI quum forte fortuna inuisissem Budaeum meum, quod frequens facio, ostendit ille mihi Epistolarum tuarum volumen, recens isthic typis excusum, atque in eo lectam iam a se, vt dicebat, tuam ad me

66. fortunaque β: fortuna α. 70. quidam α<sup>2</sup>: quidem α<sup>1</sup>. magno α<sup>2</sup>:  
magni α<sup>1</sup>. 74. vir α: & vir β. 77. α<sup>2</sup>: Berschelio α<sup>1</sup>. 78. Coecmanus  
scripsi: Coelmanus α. 80. erit tibi β. 82. Haglia β. M.D.XIX. add. α<sup>2</sup>: om. β.

69. vir quidam] Perhaps Cornelius Hoen; cf. Ep. 1166.

75. veterum barbarum] Cf. Epp. 696, 838. 7-10.

77. Berselio] See Ep. 674.

Reschio] See Ep. 546.

78. Coecmanus] The correction is necessary; see Ep. 504. 26n. A Jac. Coelman, M.D., is mentioned as Dean of Anderlecht in 1510; see Gestel, *Hist. archiepiscopatus Mechlinien.* 1725, ii. 53.

epistolam: quam verisimile est te prius tabellario cuipiam ad nos  
perferendam quam typographo excudendam dedisse; verum ea certe 5  
nunquam reddita, per Budaeum tum primum nobis oblata est.  
Dicerem placuisse, nisi id seorsum de singulari aliquo Erasmi scripto  
a me dictum superuacaneum iudicarem; sunt enim in vniuersum  
Erasmi scripta omnia Germano grata ac sane quam ἐράσμια.

Quod ad Thomam Mörum attinet (iam enim primo loco respondere 10  
placet ad id argumentum quod tu postremo in epistola collocasti),  
scribis audire te 'nescio quid dentati libelli'—vtar enim eo verbo quo  
ipse vteris, licet inuidioso—'aduersus illum me moliri'; et quod  
'vtrunque nostrum pari amore complecteris', id ipsum ne faciam  
hortaris: 'expedire et publico bonarum literarum nomine harum 15  
mystas inter sese conuenire, postea quam tam odiose conspirant qui  
Musas auersantur.' Agnosco, mi Erasme, animi tui candorem per-  
quam egregium. Agnosco fidem amoremque in me tuum non vul-  
garem. Agnosco singularem quandam in politiores literas earumque  
cultores beneuolentiam, charitatem, studium. Quae ipsa per se sin- 20  
gula tantam certe apud me vim, tam magnum pondus optinent, vt  
nihil quicquam esse prorsus queat quod Erasmus vel solo nutu non  
perfacile a nobis impetret. Verumenimvero ita mihi Musae ipsae  
adsint, siquando illarum praesentia opus sit, vt iam Antimorus mea  
(id enim syluae in Mörum nomen est) in manibus typographi erat, 25  
magna ex parte formis excusa: cuius rei testes mihi esse possunt tum  
Budaeus tum Beraldus, quibus ego Antimori editionem iam aliquot  
ante diebus indicaueram. Est autem tibi, arbitror, eorum vterque  
tam spectatae ac probatae fidei vt vel vtriuslibet testimonium ad  
causae huius probationem apud te facturum satis existimem. 30

Porro autem Antimorum ipsam, quam ad te mitto, vbi legeris  
(legere autem ne pigeat obsecro, etiam si te non nisi excultissimis  
atque elegantissimis quibusque legendis scribendisue operam dare  
sciam), fateberis plane non dentatum esse, quod auguraris, libellum,  
quinimo prorsus edentulum, vtpote in quo mordeam quidem sed 35  
absque dentibus, in quo iocer sed absque calumnia, in quo rideam sed  
citra conuicium, in quo ludam sed citra maledictum, in quo com-  
monefaciam sed sine obiurgatione, in quo erudiam sed sine ferula.  
Nam Mörus tametsi probris etiam atque execrationibus me et inco-  
gnitum, quod ais, et commeritum nihil, quod arbitror, vltro insectatus 40  
est, Cyclopi videlicet barbariem imitatus, qui apud Homerum, dum  
se videt in Vlysem nauem iam ingressum aliter saeuire non posse,  
illi prae stomachi rabie imprecatur tum suam tum sociorum perniciem,  
ac propterea poteram ipse iure quodam duelli pari telorum genere  
armatus cum aduersario in harenam descendere; tamen facturum 45  
me multo apud omnes commendabilius atque adeo modestius iudi-  
caui, si Mōri maledicta in lusus, conuicia in risus, probra in iocos,  
execrationes in ironias, diras in scommata conuerterem. Id quod  
a me factum feliciterne mihi an secus successerit, tum tuo tum alio-  
rum qui syluam legent iudicio relinquo. Hoc vnum plane reor, nisi 50  
me meum fallit praesagium, futurum vt apud caeteros qui vtriusque

12. dentati *correx*i, secundum Ep. 620. 29: detētati a. Cf. etiam v. 34

41. Homerum] Od. 9. 513 seq.

causam aequo examine perpenderint, neutri nisi pro causae meritis fauentes, nequaquam sim male auditurus, quod Mōro, quem equidem nullis vnquam neque scriptis neque dictis lacessiueram, ac ne laces-

55 sere quidem in animo haberem, vltro tamen prouocanti responderim; atque ita sane responderim vt eundem ipsum erratorum mille penitus pudendorum, et quae diutius circumferri absque insigni authoris traductione ac perpetua quadam ignorantiae nota non poterant, amice, beneuole, fideliter, id quod facio, commonefecerim.

60 Quo nomine non video certe an alteri magis debere quis possit. Nam quod ad iudicium tuum spectat, Erasme doctissime, tametsi hortatus es, idque re quidem non integra, ad libelli suppressionem (qua ex re aperte declarasti quam cupias amicorum tuorum animos in vnum consentire), tamen libello iam euulgato authorem, arbitror,

65 nequaquam editionis damnabis, nisi tibi ipsi prorsus aliud ius dicere velis Apologia in Fabrum edita, aliud mihi Antimōro emissa; quum ipse in hac perinde atque tu in illa non nisi lacessitus adorientem hostem defendam, tametsi non perinde depugnans, vt qui non pari armorum genere instructus sim: siquidem in Apologia totus ipse

70 armatus cominus tam acriter digladiaris quam ego in Antimōro inermis eminus iocose ludo. Verum vt tibi quadrare illud potuit Christiane pietatis adsertorem agentis, ita mihi hoc quoque conuenire potest poeticam modo personam representanti. Magna vero, si diis placet, Mōri esset praerogatiua, magna item dominatio, si illi libere ac temere

75 potius in alios scribere liceret, aliis in eum rescribendi locus abrogaretur, concessa illi, praesertim apud nos quidem Galliae incolae, non Vdepotiae insulares, scribendi tantum, non etiam proscribendi facultate.

Proinde Mōrus tametsi prior lesit, incognitum innocentemque me

80 vltro insectatus, sumque ego adductus hominis contumelia, non mea ipsius improbitate, ad tragoediae huius actionem; tamen posteaquam personati ambo in proscenium prodiimus, ac suas iam pro virili vterque partes egisse visus est, ille prouocantis, ego defendentis, estque Mōrus alioqui, quod scribis, amore meo dignissimus: per me modo

85 non stet, si illi ita videatur, quominus tragoedia haec tota, te authore ac veluti choragum agente, in comediam desinat, ac dextris inuicem iunctis Erasmo patrepatrato foedus feriamus animisque vtrique coeamus. Qui si tragoediae ipsius exitum spectare mauult, nihil item moror quominus ea ad postremum vsque actum deducatur; vt

90 cui Mōri hypocrysis tam non est admirabilis vt me a proscenio deterreat, nec vires item vsque eo formidabiles vt, si manus conserere maluerit, congressum detrectare debeam, modo ille suis, non vt Patroclus Achillis, armis concertaturus in palestram descendat, et mihi ab eo ante conflictum tuba insonet.

66. Apologia] See Ep. 597. 32n.

77. Vdepotiae] It appears that Brixius was translating the earlier form (cf. Epp. 461. 1, 467. 14, 474. 30, 477. 5, 481. 62) of the name as though it were *Nunquama*; for on f<sup>o</sup>. G<sup>2</sup> of the *Antimorus* he writes: 'Vdepotiam, non Vtopiam, si quid volebat Graece recte formare, appellare debuit.' But

a printed note in the margin of f<sup>o</sup>. B defines Vtopia as 'remp. quae nusquam extat'.

Budaeus had already given *Vdepotia* as an alternative form, in his letter to Lupset, 31 July (1517), prefixed to the Paris edition of the *Vtopia*, G. Gourmont, (1517): BE.<sup>4</sup> 12.

84. scribis] Ep. 620. 32, 3.



Quod ad alterum epistolae tue argumentum pertinet, verbis equi- 95  
dem explicare non possim quam mihi gratum foret si qua adduci  
posses ad Galliae nostrae contubernium, siue Regis huius authora-  
mento ac promissis longe amplissimis, siue amicorum, quos hic  
multos habes, et eos quidem non vulgares ac plebeios sed summates  
atque illustres viros, iucundissima tibi futura consuetudine; qui 100  
vtique omnes Erasmus iampridem fama ad nos aduentantem, vt  
tandem reipsa adueniat coramque adsit, votis omnibus exoptant.  
Tibi ego, Erasme eruditissime, nequaquam mentiar; amicus optimus  
amico item—falli me non puto—optimo. Mortalium nemo sane  
vsquam viuit cuius gloria fauorabilior ac fama plausibilior apud hos 105  
omnes elegantium literarum mystas circumuolitet quam tua vnus.  
Atque equidem maximam tibi ipsi, maximam item omnibus nobis  
Erasmi conspectum, complexum, colloquium tam auide concupiscen-  
tibus iniuriam facturum te arbitramur, nisi tu omnino ad nos adeas,  
si non contubernii ac conuictus perpetui, at saltem peregrinationis 110  
atque hospitii (quanquam contubernii malim) nomine. Hospites  
autem tametsi omnes tibi adesse cupiunt, teque vnusquisque, quod  
video, in aedes suas proprias, vbi adueneris, excipere certat, tamen id  
vnum abs te vehementer etiam atque etiam peto ac precibus omnibus  
contendo, ad me vt diuertas, apud me tibi hospitium vt deligas, 115  
futurum sane hospitem tam gratum tamque liberalem vt fortunas  
omneis meas communes habiturus sis. Quae etiam si non longe  
amplissimae sunt, tamen ambobus nobis, quod satis erit, victum,  
vestitum, famulitium, equitatum et crumenulam insuper nunquam  
non aere grauem suffecturae sunt: vt hic omittam hortulum, quem 120  
domi meae habeo, tam mhercule amoenum, tam voluptuosum, tam  
oculis gratum et arridentem (id quod Lutetiae habere quammaximo  
aestimari non nescis) vt eum incolere vel Musas, opinor, ipsas non  
tederet.

Porro facit vetus nostra amicitia Venetiis primum inita, mox 125  
Patauii confirmata, vt te etiam tam familiariter, ne dicam temerarie,  
ad hospitii foedera mecum sub tuguriolo hoc ferienda inuitem: potis-  
simum vbi olfaciam a non paucis hic tibi Moecenatis hortos et Lucul-  
lianas plane aedes apparari, in quibus illa ipsa quae dixi foedera  
splendidius multo ac magnificentius inire possis. Sed video Appol- 130  
lini placere magis Musarum conuictum vel simplicem quam Iouis  
lautissimas dapes: ad quas ille, si quid Homero credimus, accedere  
non solet, nisi ab Ioue aduocatus, cum eo in deorum corona anxia  
aliqua de re, quae vel ad Graecos vel ad Troianos spectet, querente  
interim Iunone consultaturus. 135

Superest vt apud te hic de typographo tuo expostulem, qui dum  
nomen meum illustrius reddere se putat, excusa per eum altera nostra  
ad te epistola idipsum obscurius reddit. Quid enim aliud est Brixiana  
scripta Erasmicis connectere quam vel rosae anemonam vel auro  
plumbum assuere? Quanquam in eo malignitatem non damno, 140

98. promissis] Cf. Ep. 994. 111.

123. aestimari] For a 'hanging garden' at Paris see Beatus Rhenanus' *Res Germanicae*, Basle, Froben, March 1531, p. 183.

125. Venetiis] Cf. Ep. 212. 11.

128. Lucullianas] Cf. Epp. 435. 137, 480. 156.

132. Homero] Cf. *Il.* 1. 602-4.

136. typographo] Froben, who had printed the *Farrago* (E).

138. epistola] Ep. 569.

alienae potius famae incuriam demiror. Nam ea epistola tametsi poenitenda omnino mihi non est, tamen si eam editum iri existimassem, curassem mediusfidius vt cultior ac venustior de manibus nostris in hominum ora prodisset. Nunc quandoquidem quam tu  
 145 ad nos scripsisti, nostrae huic argumentum dedit, visum est eam per te isthic iam euulgatam et hic quoque formis excusam nostrae antepondere, vt ea perlecta, si qui forte erunt qui et nostris manus admo-  
 uere non perhorrescent, in huius intellectu minime haereant. Bene vale, et me, vt soles, ama.  
 150 Lutetiae. M.D.XIX.

## 1046. TO JOHN ROBYNS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 516.  
 HN: Lond. xiii. 31: LB. 480.

Louvain.  
 1 December 1519.

[The researches of the late Prof. de Jongh elucidate this letter in a most interesting manner. The difficulties of the professors of Busleiden's college and of external teachers in general were not ended by the settlement of 20 Sept. 1519 (Ep. 991. 39n). In accordance with the requirement of the University Rescius (Ep. 546) had supplicated for incorporation, and therewith for licence to teach; but finding himself without colleagues, the Latin and Hebrew chairs being temporarily vacant (ll. 28, 29nn), he applied on 29 Nov. to have the consideration of his case deferred. The Arts Faculty, too, following the example of the Theologians, were raising difficulties about unmatriculated students as well as about unincorporated teachers; and Nesen (Ep. 329), who had recently arrived in Louvain with his pupils (Epp. 994. 9n, 1026. 9-10, 1034), was forbidden to proceed with a course of lectures on Mela (l. 23n) which he had announced to be given publicly at the Austin Friars.

According to modern standards such control by the University seems reasonable; but in an age of fluid and irregular conditions the requirements appeared arbitrary and tyrannical, especially as they could be represented as aimed against the new studies of humanism. In consequence among some of the students, feeling against the University and the Faculties ran high. On the night of 29 Nov. between 9 and 10, four men armed rang at the house of the Rector, John Calaber, and one of them, covering his face with his gauntlet, thrust into the hand of the astonished servant a letter threatening violence to the Rector and the Vice-Chancellor, Briard, unless the inhibition on Nesen were immediately removed. Their letter delivered, the men ran off. But one of them had been recognized; and next day the Rector had Rescius arrested. This action was approved by the University on 1 Dec., and at the same time Rescius' application for incorporation which he wished to withdraw, was brought forward and granted in his absence.

Evidently Erasmus had been moved to invoke the aid of the Dean of Mechlin, who, as intimately concerned with Busleiden's college (Epp. 805, 1001. 15-18) might be expected to protect one of its professors. There is some reason to suppose that the arrest of Rescius was wrongful, and that he may really not have had any hand in the nocturnal visit to the Rector; for when Calaber's half-year of office was over, Rescius brought an action against him. The University decided to support their officer; but as they could hardly do otherwise, their decision does not throw much light on the rights of the case. The issue of the suit is not known.

See de Jongh pp. 200-3, 14\*-16\*, 25\*-6\*; and, for the subsequent developments of the contest within the University, Epp. 1057 introd., 1240.]

ERASMVS ROTEROD. D. IOANNI ROBINO, DECANO  
MECHLINIENSI, S. P.

VIR eximie, vides humanae vitae scenas. Quid facias? Non aliter constat haec fabula. Paulus gloriatur se vinctum esse Iesu Christi. Rutgerus gloriari potest se vinctum esse Collegii Trilinguis. Dissimulent quantumlibet, hoc collegium illos pessime habet. Atque haec auguria mihi portendunt olim florentissimum 5 futurum. Sic natum est Romanum imperium. Sic creuit Hebraeorum gloria; sic orta, sic propagata, sic constabilita Christiana religio. Nulla res egregia nisi difficilibus initiis nata est. Argumentum omne cognoscas ex Bartholomeo, qui fuit non modo spectator verumetiam affinis periculo. Vt sunt res humanae non vsque- 10 quaque purae, etiam si quid commissum esset, tamen humanitatis vestrae fuerat aliquousque fauere Professori. Nunc et tali et innocentissimo multo minus debetis deesse. Doctior an inueniri possit nescio, certe diligentiores ac moribus puriores vix inuenias. Vtimur eadem mensa, et inter pocula quiduis garrimus. Ille tot 15 modis fuit lacessitus—hunc enim studio expetunt, ne quid offendant magis masculos—; nec vnquam tamen audiui illum quicquam impotentius loquentem.

O pectus vere Christianum! Modo cum Paulo contuli Rutgerum; qui hac certe parte vincit, quod qui Paulum affligebant, errabant, 20 nimirum alieni a professione Euangelica; hi proceres Christianae doctrinae, prudentes, de composito haec designant. Inhibuerunt et Nesenum, aggressum Geographiam Pomponii Melae; qui si domi suae lupanar aliquod instituisset, tolerandus erat. O sanctam Aca- 25 demiam, si cum aliis conferatur! sed dignam aliis quorum arbitrio temperetur. Mihi multis modis videtur hoc mereri Rutgerus, vt illi salarium, quod iam aliqua portione est auctum, augeatur vsque ad octodecim libras. De Professore Latino prospectum est, ni fallor, ex animi vestri sententia. De Hebraeo non possum iudicare, sed consulam eos qui sine dubio possunt. Excellentiam tuam incolumem 30 seruet Iesus optimus maximus.

Louanii calend. Decembr. ANNO M.D.XIX.

9. Barptolemeo H: Barptolemaeo N<sup>1</sup> Lond.: Barptolomaeco N<sup>3</sup>.

2. Paulus] Eph. 3. 1, 4. 1; 2 Tim. 1. 8; Philem. 1, 9.

9. Bartholomeo] Perhaps Bart. Grauius, who was afterwards Rescius' partner in printing, and who took his degree at Louvain. See BN. v. 112. Bart. de Wessem (Ep. 1051. 8n) is possible but less likely; for in his case some title might have been expected. Whoever it was, appears to have been concerned in the present affair with the Rector.

17. magis masculos] For Rescius' retiring character cf. Ep. 1237.

23. Nesenum] Cf. Epp. 1104. 25-8, III. 61-2.

Melae] Vives subsequently lec-

tured on him at Louvain in Feb. 1522: see EHR. xxii. 747.

28. Latino] Goclenius (Ep. 1209) had just been appointed to succeed Barland (cf. Epp. 1050, 1).

29. Hebraeo] Matt. Adrian (Ep. 686. 5n) had been succeeded by an English Hebraist, Robt. Wakefeld, who only held his chair for four months, 1 Aug.-1 Dec. 1519; and arrangements were now necessary to fill his place. The successor appointed, Robt. Shirwood, also an Englishman, retired 'ingloriously' after a month. See Val. Andreas, pp. 283-4, Nève, and DNB. Campensis was the first to hold the chair for any length of time.

<sup>943</sup>1047<sub>1137</sub> FROM JOHN TURZO.

Munich MS. Lat. 965, p. 352 (a).

Breslau.

F. p. 559: HN: Lond. xv. 1: LB. 479.

1 December 1519.

[For the ms. see Ep. 850 introd.: the copyist of this letter also is Hand B. As shown already, the Munich MS. has excellent authority; but like Ep. 850, it was probably copied from a rough draft among Turzo's papers at Breslau, whereas F obviously was printed from the letter actually received. Accordingly the ms. cannot be given invariable preference.]

ERASMO ROTORODAMO S. P. OPTAT.

EXPLICARI nequit, Erasme doctissime, quantum me tue litere oblectarunt, licet vix septimo tandem mense ad me peruenerint: quibus sane vt antea nihil mihi fuit optatius, ita reuera nec acceptius quicquam euenire poterat. Proinde eas ipsas obuiis, vt aiunt, 5 manibus excepi, exceptas et legi cupide, et lectione earum etiamnum obsaturari nequitquam possum. Fuerunt, fateor, sepissime magne nimis tum admirationi tum delectationi Erasmi doctissimi ad alios scripta doctissima, formulis literariis alienaque manu excusa: iam vero voluptati et gaudio nihil reliqui factum est, vbi authographum 10 eruditissimi ac omnibus dotibus ornatissimi viri conspicatus sum. Erunt itaque hec tue litere mihi selectissimi et preciosissimi muneris loco, tuique recordationem nulla obliuione abolendam perpetuo exhibebunt.

Non est autem, ornatissime Erasme, quod meas lituras verius 15 quam literas tantopere collaudes: noui egomet me, atque intra meam perquam libenter me pelliculam contineo. Veruntamen quam inhumanus optimo iure valeam iudicari nisi tibi pro ea etiam re gratias agerem, tam essem impudens si tuas predicationes agnoscerem. At tu quomodo tibi non iniurius videri possis, qui laudes 20 quibus te vniuersus propemodum orbis verissime prosequitur, nimia, ni fallor, hac in parte vsus modestia, tantum abest vt admittas, vt contra maxime auerseris declinesque? Debentur profecto tibi longe maiora, presertim cum tui vnus patrocini omnium honestissimarum disciplinarum nitor, nullo iam barbariei situ et 25 squalore obtenebratus, resplendescat; tum sincere illius quoque theologie puritas et sanctissima studia prope ad interitum redacta, te parente, te duce, veluti renata toto orbe reforescant.

Quod ad me attinet, tue nimirum litere totque tui vigilantissimi iuxta ac sanctissimi labores me tibi obstrictum efficiunt, atque nullo

TIT. MS.: IOANNES TURZO EPISCOPVS VRATISLAVIENSIS ERASMO ROTEROD. S. D. F. 6. Fuerant F. 7. nimis MS.: admodum F. 10. F.: eruditissimi MS. 11. hec om. F. et MS.: ac F. 12. tuique... 13. exhibebunt om. F. 14. ornatissime MS.: charissime F. lituras MS.: literulas H. 16. F.: Veruntamen MS. quam MS. N: quoniam F. 21. vsus MS.: huius N. 24. nullo MS.: multo F. F.: barbariei MS. 25. quoque illius F.

2. septimo] This reply was six months on the journey; cf. Ep. 1137. 3. states that the box of presents reached Erasmus at Antwerp (p. 291). 16. pelliculam] Cf. *Adag.* 592.

non momento tui ingerunt memoriam; quantumuis nihil prorsus 30  
 mei apud te sit quod huius mortalis recordationem vicissim tibi  
 possit afferre. Ergo igitur vt amoris et obseruantie meae singularis  
 in te studium tibi etiam atque etiam magis fiat cognitum, interim-  
 que ob oculos obuersetur Tursonis tui memoria, munus tibi mitto,  
 non magni sane precii: quatuor horologia inquam, vitreis vasculis 35  
 exigua, puluisculoque paulatim delabente horas dimetientia; quorum  
 vsus, opinor, clepsydrum nostro seculo equat. Hec sane crebro  
 trac(ta)tu atque obuersatu te nostri in horas poterunt admonere.  
 Adiunxi preterea auri puri natiuique quatuor particulas siue ramenta  
 e subterraneis specubus adeoque ex ipsis terre visceribus in ditone 40  
 mee dioceseos, qualia vides, nuper eruta, nempe vt auri viuax vis  
 te immortalitate dignissimum declaret: ad hec tegumentum sacro  
 tuo capiti ex murium Ponticorum exuuiis, quas nostrates Sebellinas  
 pelles etiam dum vsurpata voce cognominant. Debebunt equidem  
 hee pelles, dum caput tuum et grata mollicie demulcebunt et foue- 45  
 bunt caloris temperie, meum in te amorem aut testari aut com-  
 probare.

Ego adeo hec tibi mitto, non quia te, qui regum et potentissimo-  
 rum principum muneribus exornaris cottidie, similibus longeque  
 prestantioribus carere arbitrer; sed vt amoris mei et propensissime 50  
 obseruantie studium, quemadmodum premonui, tibi fiat compertius.  
 Verum quicquid est huius quod mitto, vt lubens et grato animo  
 accipias vehementer oro. Id quod futurum confido, si animi mei  
 beneuolentia atque profusissima in te propensione, non precio,  
 munusculum estimabis. Nam si pro tuis meritis ornandus sis, vix 55  
 certe totius orbis opes et copie, nedum dynastae cuiuspiam facul-  
 tates, tue dignitati satis sunt facture. Quod superest, charissime  
 Erasme, maxime omnium opto, me, vt cepisti, amare pergas, beneque  
 ac foeliciter valeas.

Datum Wratisl. Kl. decembr. Anno M.D.XIX.

Iohannes Thurzo, episcopus Wratislauien.,  
 manu propria.

60

31. mortal<sup>is</sup> MS.: hominis F. 32. Ergo om. F. 33. interimque MS.:  
 atque interim F. 34. Turzonis F. F: muniis MS. 35. F: magne  
 MS. quatuor add. F. inquam horologia F. 38. tractu atque obuersatu  
 MS.: obuersatu atque tractatu F. F: poterint MS. 41. dioeceseos  
 H. nuper add. F. 42. F: immortalitate MS. dignissimum  
 F. tegumentum F. 43. F: exiuiis MS. Sabellinas F. 44.  
 etiamnum H. 45. hae F. hoc post caput add. F. 46. F: tempore  
 MS. 48. MS. H: potentissimis F. 55. aestimaueris F. ornandus F:  
 ornatus MS. 56. certe add. F. F: Dynoste MS. 59. felicissime F.  
 60. Datum F: Vale. MS. Vratislaviae F. 61. Ioannes Turzo F. Vrati-  
 slaviensis F. 62. scripsit post propria add. F.

41. nuper eruta] It was perhaps a  
 result of this discovery that Turzo had  
 obtained from Maximilian by 1513 the  
 right to mint a gold coinage: see W. C.  
 Hazlitt, *Coinage of the European Continent*,  
 suppl., 1897, p. 20.

43. Sebellinas] For a present of  
 sables from John Lasky to Boniface  
 Amerbach, sent from Posen in 1526,  
 see La. E. 9, and Lond. xxx. 43, LB. 827.  
 45. hee] For similar forms see p. 97.  
 51. premonui] Ep. 850. 44, 5.

## 1048. To MARTIN LYPHIUS.

Brussels MS. 4850-7, f. 153 (a).

(Louvain.)

F. p. 596: HN: Lond. xvi. 6: LB. 488.

(December?) 1519.

[In a Lypsius prefixes this argument: 'Has misit literas per ministrum suum M. Ioannem Houium, in quibus obiter tangit tragoediam per theologos potissimum excitatam. Quam certe vicit mira patientia et diuersis artibus excogitatis.'

For the three letters, Epp. 1048, 1049, 1052, there is no decisive indication of date. The visit to Antwerp may be that of Dec. 1519: in which case Epp. 1048, 1049 must be placed between Epp. 1046 and 1051, of 1 and 7 Dec.]

ERASMVS ROT. D. MARTINO BRVXELLENSI S. D.

CHARISSIME frater, acceptis tuis literis non respondi protinus. Decreueram visere te; verum semper nouis occasionibus sum prohibitus. Oro te ne quid animum tuum discruciet haec tragoedia plane fatalis; tuus dolor mihi prodesse non potest, obesse potest certe tibi. Omissis huiusmodi neniis oblecta te sanctis studiis et philosophia Christi, que gaudet bonis et tolerat malos.

Puto me habiturum Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum Antwerpiae. Si non mutasti sententiam, curabo vt ematur: syn secus est animus, describe quid velis fieri. Bene vale in Domino, mi Martine charissime.

10 ANNO M.D.XIX.

Erasmus.

## 1049. To MARTIN LYPHIUS.

Brussels MS. 4850-7, f. 153 (a).

(Louvain.)

F. p. 596: HN: Lond. xvi. 10: LB. 486.

(December?) 1519.

[Lypsius supplies the following argument in a: 'Missa fuit ad concionatores Louanienses, quos Praedicatores vulgus appellat, epistola virulenta incerto auctore, quae e diui Martini collegio profecta dicebatur. Suspicio multorum in Ioannem Fagium, virum senem, ferebatur ob calumnias quasdam quibus Erasmi nomen, cum vulgo sentiens, asperserat.']

ERASMVS ROT. D. MARTINO BRVXELL. S. D.

S. P. Tot obruo laboribus studiorum vt, si maxime cupiam, non vacet adire te. Ioannes Hagius abiurat se esse autorem famosi libelli. Ego suspicor Leum autorem esse, aut certe instigatorem, ni me mea

1048. TIT. add. F (D. ante MARTINO om. H).

10. ANNO M.D.XIX add. H.

11. Erasmus om. F.

1049. TIT. add. F (D. ante MARTINO om. H). 1. S. P. om. F.

1048. 5. sanctis studiis] Erasmus gives this advice to Lypsius repeatedly: see Epp. 750. 4, 38, 807. 5-7, 843. 683, 901. 23-4, 1049. 6, 1056. 8-9, 1174.

7. Vetus Testamentum] Perhaps Bomberg's *Biblia Rabbinica* (Ep. 456. 92n), the most recent edition of the Hebrew Bible: see also Epp. 1049, 1052. For prices of Hebrew Bibles at

this time see ME. 19 and Ep. 1200. n. Later Erasmus helped Lypsius to a Greek Bible (Epp. 1174, 1189).

1049. 2. Hagius] Beyond thementions here nothing seems to be known of this aged canon of Val St. Martin. Ep. 1052. 2 corroborates this form of his name as against that given in Lypsius' introduction in the ms.

fallit diuinatio. Res leuiter me mouet, mihi ipsi bene conscius; sed si possim certum scire qui sit, fiet vt sit aliis exemplo, quisquis est ille Satanae organum. Tu fac te sacris litteris oblectes absque contentione; quae tuam tranquillitatem turbat et meis negociis non multum adfert momenti.

Cras eo Antwerpianam, empturus Hebraicum volumen, nisi quid variat animi tui sententia. Bene vale, Martine charissime, aetate 10 filii, sacerdotio frater, et istos homunculorum tumultus magno animo despicere, nixus coelesti Christi presidio. ANNO M.D.XIX.

Erasmus tuus.

#### 1050. TO ADRIAN BARLAND.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 496.

(Louvain.)

HN: Lond. xii. 27: LB. 367.

(December init. 1519.)

[Probably shortly before Ep. 1051: after Goclenius' election on 1 Dec. and before Erasmus had left Louvain (cf. ll. 6, 9-10) for Antwerp. The year-date added in H has no value.]

ERASMVS ADRIANO BARLANDO SVO S. D.

Non libet credere quod quidam aiunt, te nescio quid et stomachari et maledicere in Goclenium: neque enim hoc tui candoris est, neque meriti illius. Est vir egregie doctus, nec minus integer quam doctus, nullius gloriae inuidens. Postremo conuenit hoc tempore συγκρητίζειν qui colunt bonas literas, barbarorum phalangibus sic sese vndique 5 condensantibus. Non me fugit esse quosdam in hac schola qui morbo naturae pessime loquantur, et de his a quibus nunquam fuere laesi, imo quorum beneficentiam experti sunt. Qui si sanari non possunt, tu tamen, mi Barlande, tui similis esse pergito, nec horum consuetudine te contamina. Bene vale: cum voles, confa- 10 bulabimur copiosius. [Anno M.D.XVIII.]

#### 1051. (TO ADRIAN BARLAND.)

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 513.

Antwerp.

HN: Lond. xiii. 26: LB. 346.

7 December (1519).

[This letter, being in F, cannot be later than 1520. It clearly is addressed to some person who had been disappointed by the election of Goclenius to an office; which from the date is no doubt the Latin Chair in Busleiden's college at Louvain.

In Ep. 622. 31n Val. Andreas' statement that Ceratinus had competed with

1049. 12. ANNO M.D.XIX add. H.  
Anno M.D.XVIII add. H.

13. Erasmus tuus om. F.

1050. 11.

1049. 10. aetate filii] Cf. Ep. 807. 8; quoting Hier. Ep. 105. 5.

1050. 2. Goclenium] See Ep. 1209.

4. συγκρητίζειν] To combine against a common foe, a practice for which the Cretans were famed, when combatants

among themselves: cf. *Adag.* 11, quoting Plut. *Phil.* 19. 490b. Erasmus uses the expression frequently: see Epp. 620. 38, 930. 9, 947. 20, 1066. 76, and Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 107, where it is perhaps repeated from him.

Goclenius for the Chair, led me to suggest that it was he who was the object of Erasmus' indignation here. He certainly was a candidate against Goclenius. But he cannot be intended here; for P. Nannius expressly states (*Funeris oratio pro Goclenio*, Louvain, S. Zassenus, 1542, f. B<sup>3</sup>) that in the election Erasmus' whole support was given to Ceratinus, and further dilates on Erasmus' candour in accepting Goclenius when duly appointed. Eppendorff's identification with Barland (App. 14) may therefore be taken as correct; for though Eppendorff was not in Louvain at this time, it can easily be imagined that while living with Erasmus at Basle in the summer of 1522, he may have asked questions about the enigmatic descriptions and allusions which he found in his newly acquired copy of the *Epistolae ad diversos* (F).

The identification seems to show that Barland's appointment to the Latin Chair in 1518 (cf. Ep. 492 introd.) was only provisional; and that now, after little more than a year, he had been obliged to give way to Goclenius. Under these circumstances it may be conjectured that Ep. 1050 was written whilst Erasmus was still at Louvain, when he had heard the first report of Barland's attacks on Goclenius; Ep. 1051 later, when full details of what had been said had reached him. Epp. 1163 and 1237 show that his indignation with Barland was not lasting.]

ERASMVS CVIDAM AETPOΓAHTTΩI S. D.

NVXQVAM tam male de te sensurus eram, nisi teipsum adeo palam declarasses; toties tibi dixi id quod res est, rem in mea manu non fuisse, nec integra re te mihi locutum de professione. Sed finge quod non est, executores totum negotium meae fidei concredidisse, 5 meque te praeterito Goclenium ut magis idoneum praetulisse; quid erat cur sic in me debacchareris, perinde quasi auum tuum ferro necassem? Haec me quidem leuiter commouent, sed tui me miseret. Si quid fuisset spei, non defuissem officio. Sciebam executores nullo pacto propensos in te, etiam si de tuo addidisses duodecim libras. 10 Hoc tibi nolebam indicare; quid enim erat necesse? Crede mihi, ista tua improbitate multorum animos abste alienas; homines illici volunt, non cogi. Nimirum isti sunt mores ob quos Abbas tam parce tecum agit. Non, ut opinor, antehac sum male de te meritis, si nihil bene meritis. Etiam nunc te admoneo ut in posterum 15 rectius sapias, et sapias tibi. Nam minimum est in quo me possis laedere. Bene vale.

Antuuerpiae. Pridie conceptae virginis matris. [Anno M.D.XVIII.]

17. H: Pridiae F. Anno M.D.XVIII add. H.

8. executores] To this charge Bus-leiden had appointed Adrian Josel, canon of Antwerp; Nic. de Nispen, secretary to Robert Croy, bp. of Cambray; and Barth. de Wessem, canon of Malines. Besides these, Stercke or Robyns (Ep. 1046), if the new college should be founded within either St. Donatian's or the college of Arras. Josel did not act. See Nève, pp. 49-51, 382. To these was afterwards added Ant. Sucquet; cf. de Jongh pp. 13\*, 17\*.

9. duodecim libras] Apparently an attempt to purchase the post; with a sum which, from the proposal in Ep. 1046. 27-8, must have been about as much as a year's salary.

12. Abbas] Perhaps some patron who had contributed to Barland's support; as Henry of Bergen (Ep. 49 introd.) had to Erasmus'. Barland's tutorship to Charles of Croy, abbot of Affligem, seems not to have begun till later.



## 1052. TO MARTIN LYPSEIUS.

Brussels MS. 4850-7, f. 153 v<sup>o</sup>.

(Antwerp.)  
(December 1519?)

[The following argument is given by Lypsius in the manuscript: 'Ab Antwerpiensi oppido subiectum misit epistolium cum omnibus Chrysostomi operibus, inscribens ea non, ut solebat, fratri M(artino), sed toti collegio. Indicaram enim illi quod affectu multo a nostro Suppore desyderarentur. Author de quo rursus agit, nunquam deprehensus est.' The date is clearly not long after Epp. 1048,9.]

S. P., charissime frater. Emi Chrysostomum. De Hebraeo volumine curabimus ut primum licebit. Quod Hagius non subscripsit nomen, non est mirum; nam si subscripsisset et esset laicus, ageretur de capite illius. Est enim non solum libellus famosus verum et seditiosus. Tu vide an sint argumenta quibus possit reuinci. Bene vale cum tuis omnibus.

1053<sub>1061</sub> TO THOMAS LUPSET.

Epistolae eruditorum virorum p. 29 (a).  
F. p. 623: HN: Lond. xvii. 2: LB. 481.

Louvain.  
13 December 1519.

[It is clear from Ep. 1061. 637-40 and from two passages in the *Apol. qua respondet* (ff. C v<sup>o</sup>, D v<sup>o</sup>; Jortin ii. 505, 510), that this letter was first printed by Martens at Louvain, shortly after it was written, and when Lee had already sent his book to Paris; and Ep. 1061. 626-7 shows that Martens' issue was completed on 14 Dec. 1519, the day after this letter. A further indication of the date of this separate publication is that to the points made here Lee replies in his letter of 1 Feb. (Ep. 1061); having evidently seen them in print, not in manuscript. In reprinting EAE. (p. 210) in *Eev.*, Aug. 1520, Froben prefixed this letter; taking his text no doubt from Martens' issue. Subsequently it was included in F with very little change; but in H Erasmus revised it somewhat, polishing away the marks of rapid composition. No copy of the first issue is known to the Ghent bibliographers: in its absence Froben's must serve as the archetype.

In the *Apologia qua respondet* (f<sup>o</sup>. B<sup>4</sup> v<sup>o</sup>; Jortin ii. 504) Erasmus rather loftily declares that a letter like this could be written in half a day. It amounts almost to an *Apologia*, and as such is placed next to Epp. 1006, 998 in F (cf. p. 9). The selection of Lupset for recipient of it was perhaps suggested by the fact that he was Lee's countryman, and by the warmth with which, on a visit from Paris to Louvain during 1519, he had espoused Erasmus' cause against Lee (*Eev.* 76-8).]

## ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS THOMAE LVPSETO SVO S. D.

Ex literis magni cuiusdam amici, sed qui idem Leo non sit inimicus, cognoui isthic late sparsum esse rumorem, et ita sparsum ut plerisque fidem quoque fecerit, hic mea meorumque opera fieri quo minus Eduardo Leo librum suum, quem iam olim aduersum me parturit, aliquando parere liceat, et typographis obstetricantibus 5

1053. TIT. SVO *om. H.*

1052. r. Chrysostomum] Probably the most recent edition, Froben's of 1517 (cf. Ep. 575. 36n): in Latin.

1053. r. amici] Probably More; cf. ll. 360-4. where his name is substituted in H for a similarly vague expression.

aedat in lucem: imo nos minis territare hominem ne quod scripsit ausit euulgare. Iam ista τοῦ πολέμου κενὰ mirari non debeo, quibus vt pene cottidianis iampridem oportuit assueuisse. Illud admiror, quinam sint istius omnium impudentissimi rumoris autores. Non enim adduci possum vt credam Leum, qualis qualis est, vsque adeo perfrictae frontis esse vt ista sustineat affirmare, nimirum ipse sibi probe conscius rem longe secus habere. Neque enim tam stupide credulus sum vt mihi quisquam vel persuaserit vel persuasurus sit Leum perpetuo pressurum egregias illas suas vigilias, annis iam aliquot desudatas, spem immortalitatis suae et vnde potissimum famam suam voluerit auspicari. Compertum habebam eum harum rerum parciolem esse quam vt passurus sit tantum operae atque olei sibi perire. Nec intantum sum obesae naris, etiam si minime suspicax planeque simplicis ingenii, vt mihi non suboleret quid ageret ille. Et si meus stupor hoc minus potuisset deprehendere, tamen non deerant qui submonerent, primum hoc venari Leum, vt si quid mihi accideret humanitus aut si quis casus in regionem longinquam auocaret aliquo, tum demum ille non tutius modo verum etiam felicius aederet suas notationes.

25 Γλυκεῖ ὁπώρα φύλακος ἐκλελειπότης.

Nouit ille verum esse quod vulgo dicunt, non remordere mortuos. Fortassis et apud Quintilianum legit (nam videtur et bonas literas aliquando degustasse), si quis mentiri velit, in neminem id posse fieri tutius quam in vita defunctos. Deinde non ignorat, tametsi stimulat<sup>30</sup> fama gloriaeque siti, quam ingens ipsi foenus haec dilatio sit allatura. Siquidem dum interim vndique captat quid quisque calumniatur, in conuiuuiis aut in conciliabulis, quid suggerant Praedicatores aut Carmelitae, quid notarint Baccalaurii Theologiae candidati (nam his datum erat negotium ab his qui post non fraudabuntur sua laude), quid Licentiati, quid Magistri nostri, si qui sunt qui mihi parum aequi videntur, arrosent: dum subodoratur quid ego aut alius pro me respondeat, dum inter relegendum quaedam displicent, quae primus ille scribentis calor nimium commendarat auctori: dum animus ac fortassis odium identidem nouum aliquid indicat quod calumniatur, quando dolor non solum eloquentes verum etiam ingeniosos facit, et, iuxta Satyricum, absoluit indignatio versum, quem natura negat: postremo dum ex quotidiana lectione subinde non nihil adiicit auctarii, nimirum fit vt opus exeat non solum locupletius atque instructius verum etiam emendatius. Nam ipse mihi fassus<sup>40</sup> est in proximo colloquio se totum fere opus a capite, quod aiunt,<sup>45</sup>

13. vel ante persuaserit add. F. 25. F: ἐκλελειπότης α. 32. praedicatores α: dominicani H. 33. Baccalauri Lond. 34. his α: istis H.

7. τοῦ πολέμου κενὰ] Cf. *Adag.* 1919: 'De inani suspitione aut pauore sine causa oborto'; with quotations from Polyb., Cic., Plut., Curt.

18. obesae] Cf. *Hor. Epod.* 12. 3.

25. Γλυκεῖ] Cf. *Adag.* 3392, quoting Plut. *Amat.* 5 (752A).

26. vulgo] Cf. Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 77 (660): and *Adag.* 2541.

34. negotium] Cf. *Epp.* 1059. 3-6, 1126.

255-6; and *Zw. E.* 107. The leaders of the Faculty of Theology at Louvain had no doubt given an informal commission, that Erasmus' works should be examined in the same way as Luther's (cf. *Ep.* 1030. 16n); but no condemnation followed. For similar proposals earlier cf. *Epp.* 481. 41-54, 505. 8-14.

41. Satyricum] *Juv.* 1. 79.

vsque ad calcem retexuisse, multa resecurisse, vt iam a posteriore Noui Testamenti aeditione superuacanea, tum pleraque mutasse, in nonnullis a seipso dissentire re diligentius pensitata.

Porro quod ista facit postea quam decretum est belligerari, nec admiror admodum nec indignor magnopere. Suum agit negotium; 50 fortasse ius belli permittit vt nihil non machineris in eum quem velis opprimere. Verum in hoc illius prudentiam nonnihil desidero, quod in eo de quo modo dixi colloquio, serio mihi fassus sibi totum opus retexi, tamen vrgebat vt sibi crederem asseueranti nunquam futurum vt librum eum euulgaret. Hoc scilicet consilio sumpserat 55 operam in retexendo, vti retextum premeret. Veritatis vt simplex, ita constans est oratio; nec vllis frequentius accidit σφάλμα μνημικόν quam his qui non loquuntur ex animo: nisi forte non fuit ille memoriae lapsus, sed meus stupor hanc illi fiduciam addidit, vt existimarit me protinus crediturum primum rem tam incredibilem, 60 deinde tali autori.

Proinde cum mihi persuasum esset omnino futurum vt ille quod scripserat euulgaret, et adeo persuasum esset vt nec hi mihi diuersum persuadere potuerint vnquam, quibus ego nihil non soleo credere, atque hac vna in re dissentirem ab his quibuscum libentissime con- 65 sueui sentire, neque nescirem quantum illi commodi, rursum mihi quantum incommodi foret allatura mora, imo quanto meo periculo quantaque illius spe prorogaretur opus, quis non desideraret in me sanam mentem si, quod isti iactitant, modis omnibus obniterer ne liber exiret in manus hominum? Mihi semper fuit eadem et mens 70 et oratio, vt optarim quam primum euulgari quicquid esset operis. Si proferre possunt vllam epistolam in qua secus sentiam, si proferre qui me secus loquentem audierit, vicerunt.

Sed huiusce rei non possum alium magis idoneum testem adducere quam Leum ipsum. In primo congressu, cum a proxime relictis 75 Basilea venissemus in colloquium, idque in aedem diuo Petro sacram, quemadmodum rebus parum pacatis belli duces solent in locum aliquem vtrisque tutum conuenire, atque ille iactaret plusquam trecenta loca sibi notata quae nemo posset diluere, ne res exiret in rabiem et in contentionem cum Christianis omnibus, tum vero prae- 80 cipue theologis indecoram, proposui vt e tribus vnum eligeret. Primum vt (quod maxime dignum esset animo Christiano, quodque dignum nostra vetere necessitudine, in qua professus esset se talem fore vt, tametsi nouus amicus, nulli tamen veterum fide atque officio cederet) communicaret suas annotationes. Nam eam voluminis 85 partem quae nostras Annotationes complectebatur, licet esset excusa typis, nondum tamen aeditam esse, nec futurum vt aederetur nisi toto opere absoluto. Adhuc integrum esse mutare chartas aliquot. non illud quidem iam absque iactura pecuniae, sed mihi longe chariorem esse famam meam ac publicam studiosorum vtilitatem 90

57. μνημικόν voluit LB: sed cf. Ep. 1061. 691. 58. his a: iis F. 72. proferre ante qui a: producere H.

75. congressu] At Louvain in the autumn of 1518. For the renewal of the controversy at that time cf. Epp. 886. 58-78, 906. 448 seq.

86. Annotationes] The colophon to these is dated 23 Aug. 1518; but the volume of the text was not ready till March 1519: see Ep. 864 introd.

quam pecuniam. Proinde si quid indicasset quod alicuius esset momenti, me sarturum, sed ita ut nihil interim mihi suffraret alienae laudis; ingenue testaturum cum honorifica nomenclatura Leici nominis cui fructum illum deberet lector.

- 95 Hanc conditionem (adeo aequam ut his quoque probaretur quos tum suspicabar, post comperi mihi nequiquam aequos esse) cum ille toto corpore renueret, ad id quod esset proximum descendi. In rem praesentem utrique veniremus, et collatis utriusque voluminibus rem viua voce transigeremus: ita nihil fore scrupuli cur timeret  
100 exemplari suo. Quod cum nec ipsum placeret, coepi prouocare ut opus suo meoque periculo publicaret: nihil enim aliud superesse, quando iam liber ipsi propemodum esset aeditus, mihi non item, cum in exemplaria non pauca propagatus legeretur a coniuratis duntaxat, et me rumor per illum illiusque fautores iactatus magis  
105 etiam grauaret quam si fuisset aeditus liber: ut semper auget fama quod dissipat, praesertim si quid sit affine malis. Quod si ipsum vel sumptus vel opera deterreret, me meopte impendio meoque periculo curaturum ut excuderetur. Ad haec si quid addubicaret de mea fide, sibi seruaret antigraphum, quo mox coargui possem, si  
110 quid esset a me vel additum vel omissum vel immutatum.

- Haec, opinor, sic esse gesta Leus ipse non inficias ibit. Alioqui vel illud arguerit me nihil fingere, quod Leus aliquando amicis communibus, simulatque iam gustum operis coepissent, magnopere deterrentibus ab aeditione, per literas questus sit se per me prouocatum ad aeditionem. Theodorico Alustensi semper suasi ut, si  
115 Leus traderet exemplar, excuderet; me volente id facturum. Cum comperissem illum Antuerpiae egisse cum duobus typographis de publicando libro, nec processisset, norunt omnes quam indigne tulerim quod institutum erat, ad nihilum recidissee. Mox accito  
120 typographo, quanto possum studio ago ut pactionem instauraret; sed Leus mutata sententia sese iam subduxerat. Rumor sparserat ab illo volumen esse missum Coloniam, ut illic aederetur. Scripsi duobus amicis, sinerent aedi, tantum curarent ut mihi mature fieret voluminis excusi copia: nam illud ab iis iactabatur qui Leo fauent,  
125 sic excusum iri librum, ut inter mihi male volentium manus volitans post annum demum a me deprehenderetur. Et multis coniecturis adducor ut id verum esse credam: eas alias fortasse adducam. Iam producere possum quibus testibus receperim me effecturum ut Theodoricus librum excuderet, quo possit ipse Leus praeesse castiga-

97. esset a: erat H.

115. Theodorico Lond.

99. rem a: negocium H.

129. a N<sup>2</sup>: Theodoricus FN<sup>3</sup>.

102. ipsi a: ipse H.

103. exemplaria] Cf. Ep. 1026. 14n.  
115. Theodorico] Martens.

117. typographis] The *Apol. qua respondet* (f<sup>o</sup>. B<sup>3</sup>: Jortin ii. 502) identifies these with Hillen (l. 133n) and a French printer, ? Thibault or Theobald, who had printed recently for Erasmus (Ep. 934. 3n) and Barland (Ep. 681. 1n). In Lee's *Annot.* f<sup>o</sup>. CC v<sup>o</sup> and Ep. 1061. 606-7 it is stated that the two in question were the only printers in Antwerp able to produce Greek. The

*Apologia* says that Lee applied to Hillen first; but Lee's narratives in his letter to Louvain and in Ep. 1061 are obviously the better authority.

122. missum Coloniam] This is denied in Ep. 1061. 680-1. In Ep. 1074. 85 and the *Apol. qua resp.*, f<sup>o</sup>. C (Jortin ii. 504) Erasmus alleges Bonn: where, however, no printing is known till c. 1543.

123. amicis] Probably Ct. Hermann of Neuenahr (cf. Ep. 1078) and Jo. Caesarius (cf. Ep. 610. 42,3).

tionem. Appellent qui volent Galfredum, Lei fratrem, per quem<sup>130</sup> velut Ἐρμῆν quempiam aliquoties mecum collocutus est, quoties per hunc prouocauit vt aederet. Postremo iam dicebatur transegisse cum Michaelē typographo Antuerpiensi; nihil esse in mora nisi quod dubitaret quo animo essem id laturus. Respondi vt maturarent: mihi vehementer probari. Haec literis mea manu scriptis<sup>135</sup> docere in promptu est. Et post haec quae tandem impudentia est dissipare vanissimam fabulam, me modis omnibus adniti ne liber euulgaretur?

Iam de minis quoque paucis dicam, in quo non solum demiror impudentiam verum etiam insignem ingratitude istorum. Sen-<sup>140</sup> seram quosdam mihi impensius etiam quam ipse cuperem fauentes, nescio quid submoliri, vt in Leum atrocibus libellis inueherentur, atque etiam, si pergeret, non calamo tantum sed fuste rem gererent. Quorum vtrunque vt ne fieret, cum quantum in me fuit obnixus essem, inimicitias denunciatis ei qui rem tam barbaricam et literis<sup>145</sup> indignam mea causa fuisset aggressus, non tamen ita fisus sum illorum ingeniis ac promissis, quin Leum quoque super hac re commonefaciendum esse putarem, ne quid accideret incauto, quod pariter et illum offenderet et bonarum literarum cultores inuidia grauaret. Nam quod ad me pertinet, puto neminem esse qui vel<sup>150</sup> mea legerit vel mecum aliquam egerit consuetudinem, quin perspectissimum habeat me nihil aeque detestari quam exempla libelli famosi aut violentiae. Itaque sic mecum reputabam; si quid esset periculi, amice monui; si nihil est, amice timui. Nec dubitabam quin hanc admonitionem esset boni consulturus. Quod si hoc offi-<sup>155</sup> cium meum secus interpretatur, malo tantisper hoc officii perisse mihi, quam illum scire quantum mihi hac sane in parte debeat. Proferat epistolam quam illi proxime scripsi; ea docebit quod simpliciter et amanter monui, eadem docebit me illum ad aeditionem

145. ei H: his a: iis F.

130. Galfredum] Lee, whose parents were connected by ties of close friendship with More's (cf. Ep. 1139. 56), had more than one brother (cf. Ep. 1126. 6: Evv. pp. 59, 64; Jortin ii. 648, 651). Wilfrid had been much in Louvain (cf. Ep. 1074. 88: and *Apol. qua respondet*, f<sup>o</sup>. D, Evv. pp. 56, 69, 78, 79; Jortin ii. 509, 646, 654); and in 1533 Erasmus writes of him with regard as 'mihi olim amicus, adeo vt in conflictu quem habui cum Leo, palam a me steterit: nec vllam habet nobilitatem, nisi quod est in iure consultus, vnde apud Anglos omnis fere nata est nobilitas (cf. Ep. 999. 149-50). Natus est in vico'. See a letter printed by T. Wierzbowski, *Materyaly do Dziejów Piśm. Polskiego*, i, 1900, p. 43, and by C. Miaskowski in Commer's *Jahrb. f. Philosophie*, xv, 1901, p. 326. Erasmus' statement there that W. Lee had succeeded More as Chancellor is perhaps based on a misapprehension of the name of

More's actual successor, Thos. Audley.

133. Michaelē] (c. 1480—22 July 1558), son of John Hillen of Hoogstraeten. He became a burgess of Antwerp in 1508-9, and about the same time began printing, with a Flemish service-book. In 1519 he was one of the leading printers in Antwerp: so that Erasmus entrusted to him one of his Paraphrases (Ep. 1043), the *Apologia de 'In principio erat sermo'*, and the three replies to Lee (p. 110), c. March-May 1520. He produced three reprints of the *Colloquiorum Formulae* in 1519 (see BEr.<sup>2</sup>); and printed also for Latomus, Dorp, Vives, and Barland in 1519-20. In 1546 he handed over his business to his son-in-law, John Steelsius. See BN; and for a bibliography of his publications, *Bull. du bibliophile belge*, 2nd series, x-xi, 1863-4.

148. commonefaciendum] Cf. Ep. 998. 68.

158. epistolam] Ep. 998.

160 operis prouocasse, non deterruisse. Imo non ob aliud in illum tantopere stomachabantur amici mei, nisi quod tam insolenter vbique iactaret suum librum, nec aederet tamen.

Neque vero me fefellit qua techna hic Leus sit vsus. Cum nondum esset satis instructus ad aeditionem, voluit hoc interim gloriae  
165 lucrifacere, quasi in gratiam meam premeret opus. Rursus vbi iam gestiret animus aedere, sibiue videretur vtcunque adornatus, quiritari coepit se per me prouocari ad aedendum, ne quid offenderet suos amicos qui tantopere deterrebant ab aedendo. Proinde si quos posthac audieris eadem garrientes, dic illis meis verbis eos aut  
170 vehementer falli aut impudentissime mentiri. Denique si cui haec quae dixi nondum persuadent, in promptu est experimentum. Etiam nunc tradat Leus librum, et nisi curaro vel Basileae excudendum, idque nullo ipsius sumptu, credant omnes me hactenus obstitisse quo minus aederetur.

175 Atque vt manifestum mendacium fortiter reiicio, ita quod verum est ingenue fatebor. Cum facile suspicarer futurum vt hoc opus aspersum esset variis contumeliis,—vel quod scirem Leum, vtcunque nunc affectus est, prorsus inimico animo negocium hoc suscepisse, id quod, vbi res postulabit, clarissimis argumentis euincemus; vel  
180 quod ipse saepius efflagitanti atque vrgenti, cur tantopere caueret ne liber quem in me scripsisset, mihi omnium vni nollet communicare, cum eius copiam faceret tam multis, tandem respondit inesse quaedam quae mihi bilem essent motura; quasi vero non indignius esset, si aliis de me scriberet, quae mihi coram non auderet proferre; vel  
185 quod vna atque altera annotatio, quam mihi forte contigit interciperi, satis declararet quale futurum esset reliquum opus,—admonui vt argumentis, non contumeliis, rationibus, non conuiciis rem ageret: ita tum illi fore simplicem in scribendo laborem, tum mihi in respondendo. Nunquam enim offensum iri me, etiam si mille locis  
190 a me dissentiret: imo gratiam habiturum quod nostram industriam sua industria adiuuaret. Sin admisceret conuicia, geminum vtrique fore tum laborem tum incommodum; siquidem illum in periculum venturum, ne vir parum modestus ac grauis habeatur, me rursum gemino malo constrictum iri, qui si responderem conuiciis, viderer  
195 illi non dissimilis, sin minus, fortasse plerisque viderer agnoscere quae ille in me congesisset.

Opinor hoc consilium nulli probo non videri et prudens et amicum. Et tamen hoc animo semper fui vt, qualis qualis esset liber, quam primum exire in lucem optarem, quiduis passurus citius quam  
200 quorundam insulsissimas gloriolas. Nec enim sum tam iniquus Leo quam quidam existimant. Scio quid possit gloriae stimulus, quam violentum calcar habeat ambitio laudis, quid valeat iuuentae calor, praesertim in eo qui nunc primum famae stadium sit ingressus. Ad quid enim non adigat nominis immortalitas, cum non fabulosum  
205 sit quod de Erostrato proditum legimus? Adest ingenium non

181. nollet communicare a: communicaretur H. Lond.

189. N LB: offensurum a

185. interciperi] Cf. Ep. 998. 17n.

205. Erostrato] who burnt the temple

of Diana at Ephesus in order to make his name famous.

aliter audum gloriae quam naphtha flammae; nec deerant exempla quae, iuxta Flacci prouerbium, oleum adderent camino.

Nam vt ne commemorem vetera, videbat quantum si non laudis, certe famae, sibi nuper parasset Ortuinus Gratus ex vna aut altera qualicunque conflictatiuncula. Intelligebat esse verum quod scripsit Pindarus, bello nobilitari viros, et quos tranquillitas obscurat, tumultus illustrat: nec fugerat illum, opinor, illud Graecorum prouerbium, Ἐν δὲ διχοστασίῃ κἀνδροκλείδης πολεμαρχεῖ. Perspiciebat et longam et difficilem esse viam ad parandam gloriam, scribendis libris innotescere mundo, nec admodum dissimilem Hesiodiae illi. Vidit aliam magis etiam compendiarium ea quam tibicen ille apud Lucianum indicat discipulo, nimirum vt artis suae specimen praeberet his qui iam omnium iudicio probati tibicines haberentur: sic enim compendio fore vt horum suffragiis commendatus quorum iudicio plurimum tribueret vulgus, per vniuersam Graeciam illustris euaderet. Honestam sane viam indicauit ille tibicen, sed quae nonnullis nondum satis compendiarium videtur. Malumus insynceram gloriam quam quae verior, sed serius, contingat. Qui taxat aliena scripta, primum vno statim anno tantundem nominis assequitur quantum ille multorum annorum vigiliis sibi parauit. Deinde vulgo doctior habetur qui reprehendit. Postremo non desunt qui admisso subdant calcar, qui currentem incitent, qui acclament, qui mellitissimum illud 'εὖ γε' succinant, qui applaudant, qui medio in cursu frigidam suffundant, qui

Crescentem tumidis inflent sermonibus vtrem.

230

Haec faciunt vt, etiam si quid iuuenilius scriptum esset a Leo, non admodum aegre laturus sim, modo ne nimium diu torqueat nos ista parturiens, pollicitans, iactitans, minitans, obrectitans, et rem ad seditionem vocans. Quod si meo consilio parens meminerit vbique modestiae Christianae, magisque spectarit quid ipso dignum sit quam quid cupiant quidam qui alienis ingeniis abutuntur ad laedendum subolescentia meliora studia, non solum apud studiosos verum apud me quoque gratiam non mediocrem inibit. Cur enim mihi turpe ducam si in tot milibus locorum, quae vel restitui vel explicui, cernat aliquid quod meos oculos alio properantes suffugisset, aut deprehendat in quo a me dissentendum putet? Non hac lege scripsimus Annotationes, vt caeteris ius esset ademptum vel addendi, si quid praeterea queat aliquis animaduertere, vel corrigendi, sicubi nos essemus hallucinati, non solum homines, verum etiam et ingenio perquam exiguo et eruditione vix mediocri. Id etiam si non essem testatus, tamen nemini debebam vsque adeo videri arrogans vt, cum ipse non dubitem locis aliquot a probatissimis doctoribus, Ambrosio,

212. illustrat a: ? illustrare.  
236. H: laedenda a.

218. his a: iis F.

227. F: acclamant a.

207. Flacci] S. 2. 3. 321.

209. Gratus] Cf. Epp. 526. 8n, 622.

211. Pindarus] Py. 2. 115-21.

212. prouerbium] Cf. Adag. 1191; quoting Plut. Vit. Nic. 11 (530) and Phil. 479A.

215. Hesiodiae] Op. 289-91.

217. Lucianum] Harm. 2 (853).

230. Crescentem] Cf. Hor. S. 2. 5. 98.

246. testatus] In the *Apologia* prefixed to the New Testament (1516, f. bbb<sup>6</sup>. 7 - v<sup>o</sup>. 4: 1519, p. 64); also in the *Capita Argumentorum* added in 1519, p. 69, §§ 1, 2.

Augustino, Hieronymo, Cypriano dissentire, caeteris praescribam legem ne quis a me dissentiat. Nunc clara voce testor me velle hoc  
 250 ius primum mihi ipsi integrum esse, deinde alios ad hoc studium prouoco atque inuito, tantum abest vt deterream.

Atque haec fortassis non legerat Leus. Nam memini cum in colloquio quodam me grauiter admoneret vt testarer alicubi in praefatione me non hoc animo aedidisse Nouum Testamentum, quod  
 255 nollem a Graecorum lectione vsquam dissentiri, moxque respondissem iamdudum id mihi non semel testatum esse in prologis, aiebat sese praeteritis praefationibus ad rem properasse. 'Atqui si idem' inquam 'faciant caeteri quod tu, quid retulerit fuisse testatum?'

Illud mihi videor meo iure sumpturus, neminem ante me vel plura  
 260 vel diligentius annotasse. Vt ne dicam interim quod in eo opere non profiteor me quicquid est scitu dignum annotaturum, sed ea duntaxat quae ad lectionis synceritatem faciunt. Quod si cui videbitur diuersorum generum annotationes complecti, non continuo me vicerit, nisi in eodem argumento se praestiterit copiosiore. Et  
 265 tamen sic faueo piis studiis, vt non a Leo tantum verumetiam ab omnibus vinci cupiam. Ad Christi gloriam, ad publicam vtilitatem eorum qui deamant sacras literas, hoc quicquid est laboris desudauit: cur repente mutatus inuiderem iis quorum gratia tantum vigiliarum exantlasser? imo cur mihi ipsi inuideam, si quis suo sumptu me  
 270 velit docere vel plura vel rectiora? Quaeso, quid hic est quod vel mihi Leus indignetur vel ego sim illi iniquior? Si non probat argumentum susceptum, cur ipse voluit in eodem argumento versari? Et cum res fere tota pendeat a Graecae Latinaeque linguae peritia, cur mihi non concedat vtriusque linguae aliquanto, opinor, peritiori quam  
 275 ille sit, quod ipse sibi permittit, nuper Graecae linguae rudimentis initiatus, nec eo progressus adhuc in lingua Latina vt mecum, opinor, dedignetur vti iure communi? Deinde cur mihi non permittat in Nouo Testamento, qui sibi nihil non permittit in Veteri, idque nuper degustatis Hebraeorum literis? praesertim cum a me stet tot probato-  
 280 rum exemplarium consensus, tot orthodoxorum autoritas, ille praeter hodie vulgatos Hebraeorum codices et lexica quaedam nullis pene praesidiis nitatur. Postremo cur mihi ius non sit hoc facere, hortante et approbante Leone Pontifice Maximo, quod ipse sibi sumit autoritate propria?

285 Neque vero haec dico quod parum comprobem Lei industriam, sed quo declarem neutri causam esse cur alteri vel inuideat vel indigne-  
 tur. Etenim qui contendunt nefas esse quicquam immutare in vulgatis nostris codicibus, prorsus insaniunt: vt abunde docuimus in Apologia qua Nouo Testamento praefati sumus. Sin quaedam in  
 290 opere meo non probat, quorsum opus erat hac belli specie, quorsum tot oblationibus, tot susurris, tot sycophantiis, tot obrectatricibus epistolis? cum ego vltro prouocarim ad hoc officium, priusquam Leus

249. ius hoc F.

276. opinor add. H.

291. oblatribus F.

275. nuper] Cf. Ep. 998. 29n.

278. in Veteri] Cf. Ep. 1061. 751-2  
 Ascham states (Ep. ii. 17, (c. 1544 fin.)) that Lee left at his death a commentary on the Pentateuch in ms. It has never been printed.

289. Apologia] Cf. l. 246n.

292. prouocarim] Erasmus evidently means in his first edition of the New Testament (cf. Ep. 1006. 208n): for Lee was at work on Greek in July 1517 (Ep. 607. 15).



attigisset Graecas literas, aut suspicarer futurum etiam vt attingeret. Non sum tam impudens vt factum improbem ad quod prouocaui: viam modumque facti nullus, opinor, cordatus aut grauis homo probaturus est, quando nec illi visus est hac in parte Leus aequum facere, cui nihil non aequum videri solet quod bonis literis et Erasmo aduersetur.

Quod si rectam rationem maluisset adhibere in consilium quam iram aut odium aut liuorem aut ambitionem aut alium his similem affectum, neque me laesisset dux et organum factus sycophantis, qui nunc nescio quo fatali sydere regnant, et sibi gloriam peperisset, vt vberior, ita etiam verior.

Primum enim, cum difficillimum sit prodesse, laedere facillimum, ab illo potius quam ab hoc debebat parandi nominis auguria sumere. Nunc cum audito Lei nomine, antehac obscuro, rogabunt hospites 'Quid hominis est Leus iste?' Respondebitur 'Is qui primus omnium extitit Erasmomastix'. Vt ingeniosius, ita plausibilis est nouum aliquod opus gignere quam in alienis libris ingeniosum ac doctulum velle videri: praeclarius est autorem esse noui cuiuspiam operis quam in alienis operibus Momum quendam agere, etiamsi Momus reprehendit duntaxat, non etiam calumniatur, liber verius quam contumeliosus. Quis autem ferat eum conuiuium, qui in epulo accumbens magna cura grauique sumptu apparato dissimulet si quid lautum sit, ac tantum degustatis omnibus damnet et exprobrat conuiuatori, quid deprehenderit quod parum palato respondeat? Quanto ciuilius sit conuiuatorem illum vicissim domi tuae lautioribus epulis accipere!

Proinde si rem ingenue, si Christiana lenitate gessisset, nemo probus non probasset hominis industriam. Egissem et ipse gratias ac laudibus applausissem. Iam si vel ingenii vis vel aetatis calor ad bellum pertraxit, proximum erat ingenue bellum gerere; virtute, non technis; viribus, non insidiis; aperto Marte, non dolis. Qui caedem, incendium, qui internitionem moliuntur hosti, prius missis foecialibus expostulant, rem repetunt, condiciones praescribunt, quae si praestentur, arma non recusent deponere. At Leus coram amicis nulli cessurum professus, subito factus est inimicus, nec laesus vnquam nec expostulatione facta. Imo cur in odium mei factus est amicissimus iis de quibus antea pessime et loquebatur et sentiebat? Id si inficiabitur, est in promptu quo possit redargui. Deinde cur in praesentem mutus, in procul absentem ferox ac formidabilis esse coepit? cur captato etiam tempore ad laedendum magis accommodo, cum sciret hic exulceratam rem ob quorundam conspiracy, in eo hulcere velut vnguis extitit, ac ceu noxius humor buboni sese adiunxit? Cumque cerneret linguae morbum apud nostrates ἐπιδημεῖν, cur primus impulit Dodonaeum lebetem amicus nemini cessurus, princeps et autor tinnitus perpetua

315. *F*: exprobat *a*.

325. recusant *F* *Corrig.*

296. illi] Ep. 998. 2-4 shows unmistakably that John Briard 'Atensis' (Ep. 670) is intended here. Though he had formerly expressed satisfaction with Erasmus' explanations of the New Testament, the negotiations over Lee (p. 109) had aroused all Erasmus' suspicions again; and more recently

there had been trouble over the *Encomium Matrimonii* (Ep. 670 introd.) and the negotiations with the Theological Faculty at Louvain (cf. Epp. 1016. 15n, 1029. 3n).

302. fatali] Cf. Ep. 1060. 5n.

327. amicissimus] Cf. Ep. 1061. 761.

334. Dodonaeum] Cf. Ep. 1030. 14n.

reciprocatione in orbem obambulaturi? Cur veterem aeditionem calumniatus est, cum sciret me nouam emittere?

Aberam hac de causa Basileae. Nunciabar, vt eram, aegrotus; fortasse rumor, vt solet, rem auxit et mortuum esse sparserat. Hinc  
 340 subito fortis Leus totam hanc regionem ac suam Angliam sexcentis illis locis implebat. Quod si haec simplici animo facta sunt, cur reuerso non exhibuit quod sine fine iactitat apud omnes? Si me mihi voluit ostendere (sic enim ille loquitur), cur vni non fit legendi copia? Si sibi scripsit, cur in tot exemplaria propagatus liber per multas  
 345 etiam prouincias volitat inter manus coniuratorum? apud quos esse tantum fidei demiror in re sycophantica, cum hodie vix vsquam reperias qui in re quamlibet honesta fidem praestet. Si scripsit omnibus, cur non aedit? Si decreuit premere, cur sic vbique iactitat, cur tam multis impartit? denique cur rexit toties ac recudit? Si  
 350 verum erat quod antea praedicabat, nihil esse cui posset responderi, cur non vel in pauculis locis ausus est periculum facere? Cur nunc a seipso in multis dissentit? Si fidit libro suo, cur totus est in hoc, ne veniat in manus meas? Si diffidit, cur tot fumos vbique spargit? Si cupit aedere, cur tam anxie celat? cur non vtitur conditione  
 355 toties delata? cur quiritatur apud suos quod ad aeditionem prouocem? Quid sibi vult ista perplexa inconstantia, 'Volo, nolo, nolo, volo'? Si simplici puroque animo haec fiunt, cur his potissimum ostendit, quos nouit mihi male velle? quibus hic non videtur ob aliud bene velle nisi quod mihi male volunt. Cur his solis negat  
 360 quos scit mihi certos amicos esse? Sic enim ipse mihi percontanti cur Thomae Moro non faceret copiam sui libri, respondit eum mihi synceriter amicum esse. Et tamen is est amicus communis, licet Leo ὁμόπατρις quoque, in quo videlicet ille πλεονεκτεῖ. Adeo satis idonea causa visa est illi negandi, quod mihi ex animo esset amicus.  
 365 Sed interim locupletat et emendat opus suum. Non improbo; sed interim quod verum est ingenue fateatur. Ne fingat se premere in gratiam meam, quod in suum commodum differt. Ne simulet se a me prouocatum ad aedendum cogi, cum ipse id facere gestiat? Sed interim tamen non perspicit quod, dum auget opus suum, imminuit  
 370 operis gloriam. Si statim aedidisset satis iactatum opus, nemo non credidisset rem ipsius Marte gestam. Nunc periculum est ne plaerique clamitent prodire cornicem Aesopicam plumis alienis sese venditantem, vt etiam si quid praestiterit, minima gloriae portio sit ad ipsum reditura.  
 375 Iam mihi vide, quaeso te, quam nec illic sibi recte consulit. Expectat vt casus aliquis me tollat e medio. Quid? An vir fortis tum demum prodibit in aciem? et opima spolia feret? ouationem ac triumphum aget? ac non metuit potius ne, quod est turpissimum, dicatur et ipse cum laruis luctari? Quid vnquam laudis retulit  
 380 ὁ ἐρήμῃ νικήσας? Sed esto, maluit iste tutam quam gloriosam victoriam. At vereor ne hoc quoque in diuersum illi cadat. Nec enim

339. Hinc a: Hic H. 353. ne a N LB: nec H Lond. 357. his a: iis F.  
 361. Thomae Moro H: illi cuidam a.

338. aegrotus] Cf. Ep. 844. 293n. 998. 18n.  
 340. sexcentis] Cf. ll. 78-9 and Ep. 344. exemplaria] Cf. Ep. 1026. 14n.

dubito quin pro vno Erasmo plures sint exoritur qui Leo respondeant in-  
clementius quam ego fuerim responsurus ; qui tot contumeliis hinc  
atque hinc lacesitus, nondum ab instituto vetere potui depelli, quo  
decretum est non committere vt quisquam meis scriptis fiat ater, 385  
etiam si non defuerunt qui me libris aeditis petulantissime pro-  
sciderint.

Ab aliis repertum est nouum genus libelli famosi. Conspiratum  
est agminatim ab his qui se deuouerunt diis manibus, ni funditus  
perdant et bonas literas et veterem theologiam, vt nusquam non 390  
blaterent in Erasmus, in computationibus, in foris, in conciliabulis,  
in pharmacopoliis, in curribus, in tonstrinis, in fornicibus, in priuatis  
ac publicis lectionibus, in scholasticis diatribis, in sacris concionibus,  
in arcanis colloquiis, in secretis admissorum confessionibus, in biblio-  
poliis, in tabernis pauperum, in aulis diuitum, in palatiis regum, apud 395  
superstitiosos senes, apud crassos Midas, apud indoctam plebeculam,  
apud stultas mulierculas : per quas, serpentis illius exemplo, aditum  
sibi parant ad fallendos viros, nusquam non penetrantes, nihil non  
mentientes, quo me videlicet de omnibus benemerentem in publicum  
odium vocent. 400

Ad hoc sanctum negocium alunt suos emissarios, non minus dili-  
genter instructos ad inficiendos animos simplicium et imperitorum  
et constabiliendum regnum diaboli, quam Christus suos discipulos  
instruxerat ad praedicandum regnum Dei. Ad hoc munus Euan-  
gelicum Euangelicis viris potissimum sunt vsi, quos hodie mundus 405  
simul et mendicos alit et tolerat tyrannos. Quod ego sane nolim in  
communem vllius ordinis inuidiam rapi, sed in eos duntaxat reci-  
dere qui sibi tyrannidem quandam vsurpantes opprimunt bonos ac  
mansuetudine Christiana praeditos. Asciscunt et auxiliares copias  
eorum qui vel frusto panis ad quoduis facinus conduci possunt. 410  
Quem non subornarunt ad agendam hanc fabulam ? Cuius ingenio  
aut morbo non sunt abusi ? Et huius fabulae sunt autores, qui de  
sarcienae pecuniae iactura tam superstitiose disputant, nec diffidentur  
grauiores esse iacturam ereptae famae quam pecuniae. Siquis ausit  
mutire in sophistas theologos, si quis in Carmelitarum aut Praedica- 415  
torum superstitionem tentet verbum facere, protinus coelum terrae  
commiscent. Vociferantur periclitari Ecclesiam Christi, superos  
atque inferos inelamant. Ipsi cum tanta malicia, tanta pertinacia,  
tanta conspiratione mentiantur aduersus eum qui studet omnibus  
prodesse, laedere neminem, sanctuli videlicet sibi videntur et pii. 420

In famosum libellum capitalis est actio. Isti talium sibi conscii  
non dubitant protinus illotis animis ad sacrosanctam Christi mensam  
accedere. Et satis esse credunt si suis viciis vtcunque blandiantur :  
quasi vero desit sicariis et parricidis, quo sibi sua facinora vtcunque  
excusent. Age, conferamus, si videtur, quantum horum scelus absit 425  
a libello famoso aut etiam ab homicidio. Quisquis autor est famosi

384. atque hinc *add. F.* 389. his a : iis *F.* 390. vt *H.* : et a. 391.  
a *H.* : blaterant *F. Corrig.* 401. *F.* : emissorios a. 413. *F.* : diffidentur a.  
415. Praedicatorum a : Dominicanorum *H.* 416. facere a : iacere *F. Corrig.*  
423. *F. Corrig.* : blanditur a.

382. plures] See Epp. 998. 66n, 1083.  
385. ater] Cf. Ep. 1007. 81n.

397. serpentis] Gen. 3.  
401. emissarios] Cf. Ep. 998. 59-60.

libelli, primum vnum hominem scelere contaminat: isti tot faciunt  
 autores alienae infamiae, quot hominum linguas inficiunt et infectis  
 abutuntur. Ille suo periculo scribit: hi quoniam praetexunt sancti-  
 430 moniam, laudem etiam sibi venantur ex maleficio. Ille quoniam  
 palam profitetur hostem, in totum fere sibi fidem abrogat: isti cultu  
 venerandi, in locis sacris pro doctrina Christi spargunt venena linguae  
 in immerentem. Ad haec libello famoso, etiam si incertus est autor,  
 tamen quoniam certa crimina obiicit, responderi potest: quod a  
 435 Caesaribus aliquot etiam factitatum legimus. Hi quoniam et multi  
 et sparsim et fere clanculum obtrectant, nescias quid cui respondeas,  
 et vulnus sentis, nec licet autorem vulneris deprehendere. Quod si  
 quando deprehenduntur, ibi in promptu est status inficialis, etiam  
 si rhetorice nunquam didicerunt: Non dixi, non ista dixi, secus  
 440 relatum est quam dixi.

Iam vt maxime deprehendas omnia, quis possit cum tam multis  
 delitigare? Quid quod vix vllus libellus tam late spargi potest quam  
 istorum calumniae, qui sic per orbem terrarum obambulant, vt olim  
 non aequae Apostoli? quibus nullus est thalamus tam abditus in  
 445 quem non penetrent; qui non aliter permixti sunt toti mundo quam  
 sanguis et succus per corpus vniuersum diffusus. Quid quod infamiae  
 libellum nonnunquam excusat necessitas? nimirum vbi territur  
 tyrannus quem obiurgare nulli sit tutum. Isti vociferantur in eum  
 qui cunctis obuius et expositus paratus est omnibus rationem reddere.  
 450 Nihil cuiquam charius est quam sua vita. Et tamen bonis viris hac  
 quoque charior est fama, qui vitam eripi patiuntur, famam eripi non  
 sinunt. Hanc igitur qui destinata malicia eripit, nonne nocentior est  
 sicario aut etiam venefico? Sceleratissimum homicidii genus est  
 venenum in lingua, non in pyxide, circumferre.

455 His iniuriis cum haecenus nunquam percelli quiverim vt obliuis-  
 cerer modestiae Christianae, imo ne ad hoc quidem, vt de studiis  
 bene mereri desinerem, non erat quod vereretur Leus, etiam si quid  
 scripsisset procacius aut iuuenilius. Iam istarum rerum non sum  
 insolens, et pulchrius atque etiam fortius arbitror alienam petulan-  
 460 tiam ferre quam referre. Nec interim desunt tamen qui mihi pro-  
 cacitatis morbum conentur impingere, quod alicubi attingam com-  
 munes hominum mores, quod a probatis ac receptis autoribus alicubi  
 dissentiam, quod cum stomacho quaedam reiiciam. Si dissentire  
 contumelia est, quis vnquam scripsit qui non alicubi dissentiat  
 465 a caeteris? Si contumelia est taxare in genere mortalium vicia, cur  
 in publicis concionibus depingunt et euulgant arcanorum flagitiorum  
 mysteria? quod a me tamen nusquam est factum. Porro sicubi  
 videor stomachantior, expendere decuit vnde stomachus ille nascere-  
 tur. Saeuit in Turnum Aeneas; sed pietati datur quod saeuuit.  
 470 Pallantis occisi baltheus vicit natiuum Aeneae clementiam. Videbam  
 sacrosanctos Ecclesiae doctores partim pro antiquatis et obsoletis  
 haberi, haberi deprauatos, confusos, conspurcatos. Videbam Euan-

429. hi a NLB: hii F Lond.  
 461. H: attingo a.

432. F: spergunt a.  
 470. F: Palantis a.

435. Hi a NLB: Hii

438. inficialis] Cf. Quint. 3. 6. 15, 32. Ep. 1126. 272 seq.  
 447. excusat] For the use made of 470. baltheus] Cf. Verg. Aen. 12. 940  
 this passage later by an opponent see seq.

gelicam doctrinam pene obrutam commentatiunculis hominum, et huius libros mendarum vepribus ac zizaniis obsitos. Nimirum hic pietas, non ingenium, me vehementem fecit. A tam profundo lethargo non poterat leni placidaque voce mundus expergefieri. Si quid igitur hic stomachatus sum, non admodum me poenitet. Vbi vero videor immoderatus incanduisse, quoties priuatam iniuriam a me depello? Malim hoc animo praeditus esse quam istorum adsimilis qui, ad Christi iniuriam lenes et placidi, tantum non insaniunt, si de priuato lucro, si de gloria, vel vnciolam detrahas.

Haec pluribus ad te scripsi, vt hac epistola, ceu clypeo quopiam, impudentissimas istorum naenias facile propulses. Sed quis tandem erit istiusmodi sycophantiarum aut modus aut finis aut pudor? Quando desinent huic excetrae nimium foecundae sua repullulare capita? Quis noxius daemon, quae Erinnyes, quis malus genius pestem hanc inuexit Christianorum studiis? Nam mihi plane videtur fatale quoddam esse malum quod tam late grassetur. Dicis Aleto, quae paulo ante principes ac populos impiis bellorum tumultibus miscebat, sese vertisse ad studiorum exitium. Bellatur inter eruditus pene perniciosius linguis et calamis, quam hactenus inter principes bellatum est ferro. Et o Deum immortalem! vbi interim Musae sorores? vbi harum sodales simplices Gratiae? Parum erat si lues haec prophanas duntaxat disciplinas corripuisset. In ipsas etiam inuasit literas, quae nos solae poterant docere Christianam concordiam, quae nostros animos ab omni cupiditatum tumultu tranquillare. Hic vnicus portus nobis erat relictus, in quem nos ab hisce rerum humanarum vndis ac tempestatibus reciperemus.

Quis nescit quam variis malis tota hominis vita sit obnoxia? Ab his quo nonnunquam refocillari liceret, patebat nobis diuinae Scripturae paradisus. Hic dabatur per amoena vireta reptare ociosis. Hic e purissimis fontibus lassi pectoris aestus refrigerare. Hic aura liberiore respirare, hic dulcissimos animi fructus vnde libet decerpere. Hic gratissimos flosculos vngui spiritus demetere. Sed vnde serpens ille noxius huc etiam irrepsit, ac foelicissimum ocium veneno discordiae corripit? Quis salubribus herbis noxium aconitum admiscuit? Quis limpidissimas scatebras malo toxico viciauit? Quis salutiferas arbores letalibus sorbis adulterauit? Pro charitate, pro modestia, pro lenitate, pro candore Christiano, liuor, odium, ira, contentio, ambitio studia temperant. At interim vbi purus ille et Euan-geliceus oculus, vbi iudicat liuor? Vbi charitas, quae de malis etiam bene mereri studet, quando, dictaturam gerente odio, qui bene merentur, pro officio reportant maleficium? Quis sano iudicio locus est, vbi bilis dictat, exequitur furor, vrget temeritas, absoluit caecitas? Porro quis malorum finis, vbi litem ex lite serit, malum ex malo pro pagat contentio? Quomodo vincet veritas, vbi summam rerum versat ambitio? Quid autem recte dictum erit illi qui iratus, qui inuidens, qui corruptus hoc animo librum sumit in manum, vt venetur quod carpat? imo qui praeiudicans sibi, prius damnauit quam legeret. Et video rem plane a conspiratis ac deuotis, imo plusquam gladiatoris, animis geri.

476. leni *H*: leui *a*. 482. ceu *a*: seu *Lond*.  
504. spiritus *NLB*: spiritu *H Lond*: om. *a*.  
515. ex ante malo *a*: e *F*.

501. *a N*: virecta *F Lond*.  
505. veneno *a*: vento *H*.

Itaque pene in animo est, absolutis Paraphrasibus in Paulum, quod aspirante Christo facturum sum his hibernis mensibus, in posterum mihi canere et Musis, imo Christo magis. Descendat alius qui volet  
 525 in harenam, ego cum huiusmodi monstris satis mihi videor luctatus. Expedit nonnunquam deploratae maliciae cedere, cum nec officii fructus est vilis et irritati mali grauius laedunt.

Sed nos querelae finem faciamus oportet, cum illi suae vesaniae nullum faciunt finem. Illa querela iustissima mihi tecum communis  
 530 est, quod mors ademit Ioannem Coletum, mihi syncerissimum amicum, tibi singularem patronum, praeceptorem ac potius parentem. O verum theologum! o mirum Euangelicae doctrinae praeconem! Quanto studio vir ille imbiberat philosophiam Christi! quam auide hauserat pectus ac spiritum diui Pauli! Vt coelesti doctrinae totius vitae  
 535 puritate respondit! Quot annos ille gratis populum docuit, et in hoc suum Paulum referens! Nunquam mihi tam familiare aut non serium cum illo colloquium fuit, quin ab eo discederem melior, aut certe minus malus. Quo magis tibi, Lupsete, adnitendum ut tantum praeceptorem, quicum tot annos domesticam consuetudinem egeris, et  
 540 eruditione referas et pietate. Bene vale.

Louanii. Natali. S. Luciae. 1519.

#### 1054. TO NICHOLAS PRAEPOSITUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 513.

HN: Lond. xiii. 25: LB. 482.

Louvain.

19 December 1519.

[The year-date is confirmed by the mention of the *Collectanea antiquitatum* (l. 1n); to which Schoeffer put the colophon in March 1520.

I cannot identify the person addressed. He evidently was expected to know something of Mainz and its antiquities, so that he had probably at some time been resident there. The second part of the letter indicates that he was head of a community which had control of a house near the Chapter school at Antwerp: of which Nicholas of Hertogenbosch (Ep. 616. 14n) was now master.

It is possible that Erasmus was intending James Probst (Praepositus) of Ypres: for whom see Ep. 980. 54n. Mistakes in Christian names occur not infrequently in Erasmus' letters (cf. Epp. 966 tit. nn, 1006. 147, 1057 introd., 1162. 152, 1200 tit., 1281. 5-7), especially of persons with whom he was unfamiliar. Of Probst's antecedents before 1518 nothing seems to be known; but at this time he was head of the Augustinians at Antwerp. Their convent since 1514 had been situated a little distance to the south of the cathedral, but within its parish (J. C. Diercxsens, *Antuerpia Christo nascens*, iii, 1773, pp. 279, 80; cf. de Decker in MSH, 1883, pp. 374, 5), so that they might quite well have owned a house which was near the Chapter school. Probst is known to have been intimate subsequently with Nicholas of Hertogenbosch, being involved in the same persecution by the Inquisition. If Erasmus had written his local designation 'Ipano', it might conceivably have been misread at Basle from his rough draft as 'Edano': for in contracting *per* he not infrequently curls the

529. faciant *F*.

535. in *om. F*.

541. 1519 a: AN. M.D.XIX *F*.

522. Paraphrasibus] Cf. Epp. 1043, 1062.

526. deploratae] Cf. Ep. 994. 21n.

535. gratis] For Erasmus' own prac-

tice (cf. Ep. 296. 135), and therefore for his meaning here, see Ep. 233. 10n. He repeats his point twice in Ep. 1211. 282, 344; cf. also Ep. 260. 23-4.

down stroke of the p up and round to form the cross-stroke, in a way that gives it something the appearance of a d.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS EXIMIO D. NICOLAO

PRAEPOSITO EDANO.

VIR eximie, scribit ad me bibliopola quidam Moguntinus sibi excudi nescio quid libelli de antiquitate agri Moguntini, in quo praedicat visi molem quandam quae vocetur Drusiana. De ea siquid habes, aut in commentariolis tuis aut in memoria, maiorem in modum te rogo vt nobis impartias. Bene vale.

Louanii. XIII. Calend. Ian. An. M.D.XIX.

Erasmus.

AVDIO vacare aedes quasdam vicinas scholae, et in tua manu propemodum esse situm cui debeant cedere. Neque nescit tua prudentia quam incommode habitet D. Nicolaus Busciducus, quantaque felicitatis portio sit bene habitare; nec est necesse hominem vobis omnibus notissimum commendare. Rogo itaque, si citra tuum incommodum potes optimo viro commodare, vt tui similis esse velis; eodem officio me quoque tibi deuincturus. Rursum vale.

Anno. M.D.XIX.

### 1055. TO ULRICH HUTTEN.

Weimar MS. Spalatinus 4°, f. 461.

<Louvain.>

HE. 150: ME. 57.

<1519.>

[The continuance of Erasmus' friendly relations with Hutten (cf. also Ep. 1030. 16n) may be illustrated by the following extract from a letter of Hutten to Melanchthon, 20 Jan. 1520. It refers probably to the controversy with Lee, in which Hutten subsequently took part with a letter to Lee, 19 May <1520> (HE. 166), printed in the appendix to EAE. To Melanchthon he writes:

*Curabo Erasmi quoque negotium ibi, qui magnas mihi tragoedias de suis aemulis scribit. Primum conciliandus nobis Ferdinandus est; quo de Franciscus bene mereri gestit. Post facile erit exagitare improbos.*

Active intervention on Erasmus' behalf had perhaps been expected from Hutten; for after mentioning Erasmus' threats of 'verbera' from Germany (Ep. 998. 68n) Lee states (*Annotationes* f°. CC²) that he had been warned to leave Louvain, for fear lest 'nobilis quidam et doctus iuuenis' should come to punish him (cf. Ep. 1083. 19n).

For Erasmus' letter no precise date is possible.]

1054. TIT. EXIMIO D. om. H. S. D. post EDANO add. H. 7. Erasmus  
F: APPENDIX H. 10. D. om. H. 15. Anno. M.D.XIX. om. N.

1054. 1. Moguntinus] Jo. Schoeffer, who was just producing the *Collectanea antiquitatum in vrbe atque agro Moguntino repertarum*; see Ep. 919. 12, 50nn.

3. Drusiana] The Eigelstein, outside Mainz, said to have been erected in honour of Nero Claudius Drusus († 9 B.C.). A sketch of it is given on f°. C of the *Collect. antiquitatum* (l. 1n); and a note on the v° states that it was

then 100 ft. high.

10. Busciducus] See Ep. 616. 14n.

1055. 1. ibi] At the castle of Landstuhl, belonging to Francis of Sickingen; see Ep. 582. 27n.

2. Ferdinandus] Hutten proceeded to address to him a book which he had recently found at Fulda, *De vnitae Ecclesiae conseruanda*, Mainz, Jo. Scheffer, March 1520 (HE. 155).

## 1056. TO MARTIN LYPHIUS.

Rotterdam MS., Erasmus III. 102, p. 46 (a).

(Louvain.)

F. p. 518: HN: Lond. xiii. 34: LB. 369.

(c. 1 January 1520?)

[Perhaps contemporary with Ep. 1057, in which a copy of the *Farrago* (E) is sent as a present. Lypsius' may have been intended as a New Year's gift (*strena*).]

D. ERAS. ROTEROD. D. MART. LYPH. BRVX.

Vt ad vtrunque tuum epistolium vnico respondeam, miror te solum nihil audire de Erasmo, cuius nomen per omnes etiam tabernas obambulat. Epistolarum volumen dono tibi mitto. Leum tentasse neque tua, mi Martine, neque mea referebat. An tu putas Christianam charitatem, quae nihil non complectitur, finibus vsque adeo angustis esse sepiendam vt non possis Leeo amicus esse, ni mihi amicus esse desinas? Hi tumultus plane fatales nihil ad te pertinent: quo mihi videris felicior. Proinde tu te sacris autoribus euoluendis oblecta.

10. De recognitis Prouerbiis non est quod labores; nam pauca quaedam loca duntaxat castigauimus, quae tu facile describes in tuum volumen. Et liber fortasse post annum exhibit. Bene vale. [Anno M.D.XVIII.]

## 1057. TO JODOCUS VANDER NOOT.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 517.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xiii. 33: LB. 381.

7 January 1520.

[Between Nesen's arrival at Louvain in July 1519 (Ep. 994. 9n) and the publication of F at the end of 1521. That the year-date must be 1520 is shown by the troubles between Busleiden's professors and the University, which called this letter forth. Again, as in Ep. 1046, we are indebted for much light to the work of the late Prof. de Jongh: see his pp. 202-3, 17\*-21\*.

Nesen being prohibited from lecturing (Ep. 1046. 23n) had announced that he would take part in an 'opposition' on 7 Jan., the date of this letter. The University promptly applied to the Council of Brabant, and obtained confirmation of its right to require incorporation; and armed with this, its officers proceeded to stop Nesen's 'opposition'. Meanwhile one of Busleiden's executors, Ant. Sucquet, had intervened on behalf of the College: with such success that on 12 March 1520 an agreement was made, the University recognizing the College

TIT. D. om. F.	D. om. H.	LYPH. om. F.	BRVXELLANO S. P. F.	3.
Leum F.	6. Leo F.	8. videre F.	10. nam om. F.	11. duntaxat
a: modo F.	12. Et liber . . . exhibit om. F.	Anno M.D.XVIII. add. H.		

3. Epistolarum] E: see Ep. 1040 introd.

tentasse] with an attack in support of Erasmus.

8. sacris autoribus] Cf. Ep. 1048. 5n.

10. Prouerbiis] The new Froben edition of Oct. 1520, for which Erasmus

had perhaps just arranged (cf. l. 12), contains only 21 adages more than that of 1517-18: which he had probably presented to Lypsius earlier. The 1520 title-page has the words: 'Qui nouam aeditionem emunt, lucrum faciunt; qui veteribus contenti sunt, certe nihil faciunt damni'.



and accepting its professors already appointed, without requiring from them the formality of supplication (cf. l. 4n). For external teachers in general the requirement was still enforced; and thus Vives obtained it on 3 March. Nesen, however, seems never to have applied for it, being doubtless indignant at his treatment over this matter. In April he was away at Erfurt, probably in quest of employment under more liberal conditions (Ep. 1088, 10); and he perhaps visited Pirckheimer also at Nuremberg (Ep. 1095 introd.). By 31 July he had gone off to Frankfort (Ep. 1126, 356-7).

As in Ep. 1046 Erasmus' influence was again exerted on behalf of the College with which he was so much in sympathy. For Nesen he had no strong personal feeling; and with his conservative instincts he might have been expected to side with constituted authority. But authority in this case was coincident with his opponents, and the present contest was only another form of the struggle that he was continually waging for the freedom of liberal studies. So he was glad enough to appeal to a member of the Council of Brabant; before which the question had been brought.

Of the person whom he addressed nothing seems otherwise to be known. A Jodocus de Nooth of Brussels entered at Bologna on 26 Jan. 1516 as a student (ANGB. p. 280); but he could hardly have been a member of the Council of Brabant four years later. Possibly Erasmus had the Christian name wrong (cf. Ep. 1054 introd.) and was intending the Chancellor's brother and successor, Adolphus: or he may have been thinking of Josse Laurens, who was a member of the Council, and whom he couples with the Chancellor in letters of 14 July 1522.]

ERASMVS ROTEROD. ERVDITO D. IODOCO NOTIO, CONSILIARIO  
BRABANTIAE, S. D.

ORNATISSIME Iodoce, si clarissimus simul et prudentissimus D. Cancellarius fauebit in hac causa libertati studiorum, maxime faciet ex sententia Regis nostri, qui haud dubie cupit suam Academiam quam maxime florere honestis disciplinis. Quod obiciunt de supplicando, merum commentum est, et huius quosdam iam pudet, quanquam 5 alioqui satis perfrictae frontis. Res per paucos coniuratos acta est, qui sua doctrina contenti magis student augendae rei quam literis; nec curant quantum proficiant iuuenes, modo ipsi Louanii suo regnent arbitrato. Nusquam est Academia quae modestiores habeat iuuenes minusque tumultuantes quam habet hodie Louanium. Horum boni- 10 tate iamdiu abutuntur isti, et ingenuos iuuenes habent pene pro emptitiis mancipiis. At illi consul consul non erat, cui ipse non esset senator. Si quid murmuris aut tumultus est, ab ipsis est, non a iuuenibus. Mihi hic nec seritur nec metitur. Ipse nec lego cuiquam nec audio quenquam: a nemine colligo quicquam, do nonnullis. Sed 15 tamen mouet me publica causa studiorum. Nezenus hospes est, et

TIT. ERVDITO D. om. H.  
16. Nesenus H.

NOTIO H.

BRABAN. H.

I. D. om H.

1. Cancellarius] Evidently Jerome Vander Noot, Chancellor of Brabant.

4. supplicando] sc. pro venia legendi; cf. de Jongh pp. 14\*. 3, 20\*. 6, 9.

12. illi] This is a saying of Crassus, related by Cicero, *de Orat.* 3. 1. 4; the consul being L. Philippus. Cf. also Cic. *Phil.* 2. 5. 10. I owe these references to Prof. A. C. Clark.

14. nec lego] These words, though not necessarily applicable to the whole

of Erasmus' residence at Louvain, throw doubt upon the statement which has been sometimes made, I cannot discover upon what evidence, that he lectured in Busleiden's college. For such work he always had a strong distaste, even in the time of his poverty (cf. Epp. 171. 13, 172. 9, 233. 8-10, 245. 4-7): so it seems unlikely that now, when he was above want, he should have returned to the schools.

linguae nostratis imperitus: quo magis fauendum est viro alioqui docto, integro ac modesto.

Mitto tibi dono volumen Epistolarum, quo, cum erit ocium, fallas  
20 horas aliquot. Bene vale, meque magnifico D. Cancellario commenda.  
Louanii postridie Epiphaniae. ANNO M.D.XIX.

Erasmus ex animo tuus.

# 1058. To NICHOLAS BERALDUS.

Apologia qua respondet f<sup>o</sup>. C (a).

⟨Louvain.⟩

Jortin ii. 504.

⟨c. January 1520.⟩

[The following extract is from Erasmus' first *Apologia* against Lee, Antwerp, M. Hillen, ⟨c. March⟩ 1520 (see p. 109). The date of the letter mentioned can be established with some precision from the printing of Lee's book (pp. 108, 110), to which it refers. Erasmus, of course, is the speaker.]

*TANDEM litteris e Lutetia redditis intelligo illic excudi volumen. Pro-*  
*tinus et illuc lego quendam cum litteris ad Nicolaum Beraldum, admonens*  
*ne quid ob id facturi essent molesti cuiquam Anglorum: mihi cum*  
*vno Leo rem esse, caeterum gentem esse charissimam; ad haec ne*  
5 *quis stilum acueret in Leum, conuiciis illum aggrediens, etiamsi non*  
*dubitarem quin liber illius scateret conuiciis; tantum curarent vt*  
*mihi cum primis voluminis fieret copia.*

# 1059. To ⟨JAMES LATOMUS ?⟩.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 517.

⟨Louvain.⟩

HN: Lond. xiii. 32: LB. App. 508.

⟨January 1520 ?⟩

[The last line shows that the person addressed was at the head of some society, very likely the Theological Faculty at Louvain, with which he was expected to have weight. He may therefore be identified very probably with Latomus (Ep. 934. 3nn), who from Epp. 1113. 12-14, 1123. 16-19, appears to have taken the lead among the theologians after Atensis' death (8 Jan. 1520). Other persons possible are Vianensis (Ep. 650. 4n; cf. Ep. 651. 21-3) or Nic. Coppin (Ep. 1162. 108n).

A date may be assigned conjecturally not long after Atensis' death. For renewed attacks on Erasmus by the theologians at that time see Ep. 1063. 1.]

## ERASMVVS ROTEROD. THEOLOGO CVIDAM S. D.

EXIMIE vir, miratur Homerus mortalibus nullam esse belli satietatem, cum rerum caeterarum omnium sit saturitas: at ego magis demiror nobis nullam esse tumultuandi satietatem. Audio denuo

1057. 20. D. om. H.  
scripsi: factum a.

22. Erasmus . . . tuus om. H.

1058. 3. facturi

1057. 19. Epistolarum] The *Farrago* (E). cf. 19. 221.

1058. 3. Anglorum] Cf. Ep. 1083. 33n.

3. denuo] Since the reconciliation:

1059. 1. Homerus] *Il.* 13. 633-9: but for which see Ep. 1016. 15n.

magno studio quosdam nescio quid moliri in me, et inquirere in libros meos; quod nunquam istis venit in mentem, nisi cum irati cupiunt vlcisci. At sperabam Atensi mortuo studia fore tranquilla, nec sperabam fore ut hac in parte Helias ille suos haberet Helizeos. Tu fac eum praestes quem es pollicitus. In Epistolis, licet ante concordiam aeditis, nihil est quod cuiusquam laedat famam, nisi se prodat. Bene vale, et tranquillitati studiorum consule; quod magis in rem vestram est quam meam.

Erasmus tuus.

1060. TO THOMAS WOLSEY.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 496.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xii. 28: LB. 384.

1 February 1528.

[This letter may be compared with Ep. 1062: with which it is evidently contemporary.]

R. D. D. THOMAE CARD. EBORACENSIS ERASMVVS

ROTTERODAMVS S. D.

Nvnc meritas do poenas stulticiae meae. Qui poteram isthic inter eruditos amicos et suauiter et cum dignitate viuere, si benignitatem regiae maiestatis ac tuae R. D. vltro oblatam fuissem amplexus, nunc cogor cum ingratis quibusdam et impudentissimis sycophantis conflictari. Ut sunt fatales corporum morbi, ita video et animorum fatales quasdam esse pestes, vndecunque proficiscuntur: siue ab astris, siue ab ipsis corporibus aliter atque aliter affectis, siue quod magis reor, ab humani generis hoste, qui nulla re magis gaudet quam nostra discordia. Quis enim alius tantum veneni studiis inuexit, etiam sacris? a quibus pendet tum incolumitas tum dignitas Christianae religionis. 10 Tam amaris odiis nunc passim inter sese decertant etiam theologi, tam virulentis libellis inuicem sese proscindunt, publicis apud populum concionibus sese mutuo lacerant, ut mea sententia praestiterit hortum colere quam literas.

Atque hac in re nulli peccant impudentius quam ii qui sub mendicitatis professione tyrannidem meditantur. Complures eruditissimi viri ex toto orbe mihi gratias agunt pro Nouo Testamento iam bis recognito, inter quos et aliquot episcopi sunt, atque adeo summus ille omnium Leo, eius nominis decimus. Et istos non pudet, nondum lecto opere, seditiosis clamoribus apud populum traducere bene me- 20

1059. 12. Erasmus tuus om. H.

1060. TIT. R. D. D. om. H.

3. tuae

R. D. F: tuam H.

13. vt om. N.

15. ii F: hi N.

1059. 4. in libros meos] Cf. Ep. 1053. 34.

8. Epistolis] Doubtless the *Farrago* (E): for though it was not actually published before the reconciliation, Erasmus' part in it must have been completed in Aug. 1519.

9. laedat famam] For subsequent modification of this opinion see Ep. 1123. 7-8; and for Erasmus' self-deception about his own writings cf. Ep.

1007. 8 in.

1060. 1. poteram] Cf. Ep. 964 introd.

5. fatales] For Erasmus' view of fate as an element in human life cf. Epp. 777. 22-3, 785. 8, 786. 19, 794. 84, 848. 11-12, 1053. 448: see also Ep. 1102. 6n.

15. ii] The friars; whom Erasmus frequently designates as *πρωτοῦραννοι* (cf. Epp. 998. 59n, 1053. 405-6).

17. ex toto orbe] Cf. Ep. 950 introd.

rentem. Quales et hic extitere quidam, et isthic quendam audio fuisse, qui in concione frequenti vociferatus sit me corrigere voluisse Euangelium Ioannis, quod pro *verbo* verterim *sermonem*: quasi Ioannes scripserit Latine, aut quasi non ante me Filium Dei pro *verbo sermo-*  
 25 *nem* appellarint Cyprianus, Hilarius, Hieronymus, cumque his in-  
 numeri; aut quasi *sermo* non melius exprimat Graecam vocem *logos* quam *verbum*. Quid stultius dici potuit apud doctos? at quid apud imperitam multitudinem seditiosius? At vbi interim illa dulcedo studiorum quam narrat Hieronymus? vbi illud in campo Scriptu-  
 30 rarum sine dolore nostro ludere? Quid quod interim bona pars fructus perit vtrisque? nam et illi dum sacris concionibus, quae praeter Christum nihil sonare deberent, admiscunt suos affectus, minus commouent populum ad pietatem; et nostri libri vel a paucioribus vel minore cum fructu leguntur, viciata per istos imaginatione,  
 35 quae vbiue valet plurimum: adeo vt si quis Augustini librum legat, persuasus esse Pelagii haeretici, minimum fructus sit reportaturus.

R. D. T. succurrit isthic bonis literis, apud nos adhuc cum veteris inscitiae patronis belligerantibus. Vtinam dignetur et sacrorum studiorum tranquillitati consulere, non solum apud Britannos verum-  
 40 etiam toto terrarum orbe! Id facile fiet, si R. T. D. Romanum Pontificem literis suis admoneat vt sua autoritate coerceat hanc incessendi licentiam; suam quisque professionem ornet citra contumeliam alienae, quemadmodum Paulus suum glorificat euangelium, non obscurans tamen euangelium Petri. Quod si dissentiant alicubi  
 45 ingenia, res Christiana modestia peragatur, non diabolica virulentia; argumentis decertetur, non seditiosis clamoribus, vt et victor discedat gloriosior et victus eruditior. Rem magnam praestiterit tua celsitudo et de republica Christiana optime merita fuerit, si studiorum tranquillitati dignabitur, vt facit, autoritate sua consulere. Scripsimus hac  
 50 de re nonnihil S. Domino N. Leoni. Sed quantulum nos homunculi possumus!

Absolui Paraphrases in omnes Epistolas diui Pauli germanas; opus, ni fallor, victurum, et adeo felix vt illis quoque probetur quibus nihil placet Erasmicum. Vtinam mihi liberum esset huic operi  
 55 tui nominis facem praetendere! Sed vt magnis interuallis, non vno impetu, perfectum est, ita parteis laboris diuersis inscripsimus. Sed quaeretur aliud aequae victurum quod tuae celsitudini dicabitur: certum est enim his immori laboribus, etiamsi sentio me indies reddi segniorem, non tam aetate quam studiorum laboribus irrequietis,  
 60 imo taedio contentionum magis quam laboribus per se iucundis. Bene valeat R. T. D. Louanii Cal. Febr. An. M.D.XIX.

28. At F: Caeterum H. 37. R. D. T. F: Tua autoritas H. 40. R. T. D. om. H. 41. tuis admoneas H. 49. vt facit add. H. 50. S. Domino N. F: summo pontifici H. 55. vt om. N. 61. valeat R. T. D. F: vale H.

21. quendam] Standish; cf. Epp. 608. 14n, 1072 introd., 1126.  
 25. Cyprianus] Testim. 2. 3; Domin. oral. 28; Vnit. eccl. 21.  
 29. Hieronymus] Ep. 82. 1.  
 37. bonis literis] Cf. Ep. 967. 26n.  
 43. Paulus] Gal. 2. 7 seq.

49. Scripsimus] Ep. 1007.  
 52. Paraphrases] Cf. Ep. 1062 introd. and 175n.  
 germanas] except Hebrews: Ep. 1181.  
 57. quaeretur aliud] This promise was quickly redeemed: see Ep. 1112.

998, 1053] 1061. FROM EDWARD LEE.

Annotationes Leei, Paris, (1520), f. 132 (a).

Louvain.

1 February 1520.

[A letter printed in the volume to which Ep. 1037 is preface. Besides contesting Ep. 998 almost sentence by sentence, it replies to Ep. 1053, which Lee had doubtless seen in Martens' edition of (c. 14 Dec. 1519): this second portion being perhaps composed later. It may be noted that the citation of Ep. 998 is far from exact. Erasmus' reply is the Apology cited on pp. 109, 156, and frequently referred to elsewhere in this volume as the *Apologia qua respondet*. The year-date of this letter needs no confirmation.]

EDOVARDVS LEEVS DESIDERIO ERASMO SALVTEM.

EAM statuo esse commodissimam rationem, Desideri Erasme, qua respondeatur illi epistolae tuae, quae nuper Basileae excusa antea apud bibliopolas prostaret quam ad meas manus tota peruenerit; vt eius periodos, cola ac commata singulatim excutiam, praepositis primum ipsis verbis tuis, subinde nostra statim satisfactione appositita. Sic fiet vt et ordinem tuae epistolae sim seruaturus, nec multa etiam omissurus quae admodum ad rem pertinea(n)t. Sic ergo ordiris.

ERA. *Quod a nobis dissentis alicubi non admodum aegre fero; semper hoc licuit inter eruditos incolumi amicitia. Quod istis rationibus rem tractas, demirabor si quisquam vir grauis probet, quando nec ipse probat* 10 *D. Ioannes Briareus Ateus, tui, vt par est, amantissimus.*

EDO. Si dissentire licuit incolumi amicitia, cur has tragoedias moues, nulla prorsus alia causa nisi quod dissentiam? Porro quibus rationibus tracto rem, quas nec probet Atensis, non agnosco, nec credo illum agnoscere. Nam quae postea in hac epistola contra nos 15 exageras, suis locis diluemus. Sed quod Atensem mei, vt par est, dicis amantissimum, ego certe ne tantum adhuc ab illo meritis sum villo meo officio vt me vel vulgariter amet; quum contra illi a me debeatur, nec minus a te ipso, quod tam candide vtriusque nostrum hortatu suscepit prouinciam conferendi meas Annotationes cum tua 20 secunda aeditione: id quod perfecturus erat, si per te licuisset.

ERA. *In tot milibus Annotationum, in tanta sententiarum aut ingeniorum varietate, quid nouum aut mirum sicubi vidisses quod me fefellit, aut tibi minus placeret quod mihi non displicuisset?*

EDO. Plane, vt dicis, nihil nouum aut mirum: et eo magis miror 25 te, quum nulla prorsus sis re offensus, tam odiose contra me ferri.

ERA. *Quis autem probaturus est quod tam subito ex amico factus hostis in absentem scripseris? quum nec lacessitus esses iniuria, nec vnquam expostulasses cum praesente.*

EDO. Erasmo nec adhuc quidem hostis sum tot iniuriis lacessitus. 30 Hostibus tuis tam sum infensus vt exterminare cupiam, si quo modo possim: hoc est erratis tuis. In absentem non scripsi. Nam priusquam concederes Basileam vt denuo emitteres opus, Annotationes

8. nobis a: me E.

22. aut a: &amp; E.

23. fefellit a: fefellisset E.

27.

tam add. a.

28. nec ante lacessitus a, ad finem versus: nec vlla E.

2. Basileae] In the *Farrago* (E), Oct. 1519: for the date of its publication see p. 119.

21. secunda aeditione] of the New Testament.

33. concederes] In May 1518.

meas ad calcem produxi: id quod teipso nemo melius nouit, qui ante  
 35 discessum hinc tuum omnes videris. An vlla fuerim lacessitus  
 iniuria, viderit aequus quiuis qui nostram lecturus est Apologiam.  
 Et tamen animus non erat par pari referre, nec adhuc est. Cum  
 praesente expostulassem, si vacasset verba prodigere: nam quis nescit  
 Erasmus posse nigra vertere in candida?

40 ERA. Quod in veterem aeditionem scripseris quum scires me adornare  
 nouam: quod opus tuum per omnia monasteria sparseris, praesertim vbi  
 scires esse qui mihi parum bene vellent: quod iis modo communicaris  
 quos noueras iniquiores esse Erasmo: quod nunquam prouocari potueris,  
 nec Atensis auctoritate, vt mihi voluminis tui faceres copiam, imo ne ad  
 45 hoc quidem, vt voce vel vnum proferres locum quem reprehendisses: quod  
 virulentis comiciis, imo mendaciis opus passim asperseris—id enim  
 affirmant qui viderunt, neque reclamant paginae quas intercepi: quod  
 nusquam non praedicas ac iactitas sexcenta loca abs te reprobata, nec  
 vnus facis copiam: queso vnde istud exemplum vel grauitatis vel animi  
 50 Christiani?

Edo. Ego in veterem aeditionem scripsi, id est veteris aeditionis  
 quae mihi videbantur errata annotaui: non facturum nisi ad hoc ipse  
 nec semel tantum miris praestigiis me incantasses. Aedere nunquam  
 institueram, nisi tu sic vrgeres. Nullum orbis monasterium exem-  
 55 plum habet, quod sciam, praeter duo. Alterum sic habet vt aut nulli  
 aut non multis communicet: alterum vt mihi, sicuti mea omnia quae  
 in illius fide sunt, seruet. Nam, sic homines sumus vt et nugas  
 nostras exosculemur, nec sinamus perire. Nulli communicauimus quem  
 scirem tibi iniquiorem esse aut tibi male velle: imo vero, vno Atense  
 60 excepto et aliquot notariis, his tantum aut qui amici tibi sint aut qui  
 te ne de facie quidem noscant. Nam Morus et Latimerus amici sunt,  
 et Roffensis tuo consensu volumen habuit. Nec erat cur Atensis  
 auctoritate vel cuiusquam alterius prouocari debuerim vt volumen  
 meum tibi traderem, qui praeter meas insidias nihil cogitasti. Vt  
 65 dixi, animus non erat aedere. Etiam si aedere voluissem, nulla tum  
 libri erat facies, nihil edolatum exasciatumue, nihil concinnatum,  
 perfectum nihil in toto opere erat. Quod si volumen in tuam pote-  
 statem fuisses nactus, mihi integrum postea non fuisset demutare  
 quicquam, imo in tuo iam fuisset arbitrio rude ac deforme opus publi-  
 70 care quum velles. Itaque me, quod nulla non arte parabas, symiam  
 fecisses ac fabulam vulgo.

Voce quidem ac scriptis multas Annotationes impartisse me, non  
 satis miror tam impudentem esse te vt inficiari possis, quum apud me  
 sint responsiones tua manu scriptae. Et quid non ostendissem, nisi  
 75 tu egre tulisses amicam monitionem? Atque id quidem testabuntur

40. adornare me E.  
 vnus interim E.

43. esse add. a.  
 queso a: quaeso te E.

49. vnus a, ad finem versus:

55. praeter duo] Evidently Win-  
 combe and St. Mary Overey; see ll. 150,  
 152nn.

Alterum] This description is  
 given later for Linstead of St. Mary  
 Overey (l. 152n); but the alternative  
 description here might also be taken

to apply to him. For in view of his  
 subsequent relations with Lee and of  
 Lee's connexions with Kent and Lon-  
 don, Southwark rather than Win-  
 combe would be likely to serve Lee as  
 a place of deposit.

66. exasciatumue] Cf. Plaut. *As.* 360.

aliquot responsiones tuae. Reliquarum vero, quas ipse non misi, factam tibi copiam a meo proditore ipsius proditoris, epistola ad te missa, sed quae nunc in manibus meis est, apertissime probabit. Sed scio cur inficeris te quicquam vidisse. Id prorsus caues, ne vel iota per me profecisse videare. Et tamen hac parte contra te re-<sup>80</sup> clamabit aliquot locis secunda aeditio tua. Nam et hic verecundiam exuo, vt mea tum agnoscam tum repetam; quae mea esse tam ingratus homo non agnoscis.

Virulentis conuitiis nullo loco vtor. Si paulo liberior sum alicubi quam tu velles, non sine exemplo id feci, quum res sic vrgeret.<sup>85</sup> Nec puto Christum conuitio sed castigatione vsum, quum Pharisaeos vocat ypochritas ac sepulchra dealbata, nec Paulum, quando Ananiae dixit 'Percutiet te, paries dealbate'; nec Polycarpum, Ioannis Apostoli discipulum, qui Marcioni perconctanti an se cognosceret respondit 'Cognosco primogenitum Satanae'. Paulus iubet peccantem<sup>90</sup> coram omnibus coram omnibus increpari. Et tamen ego nusquam hoc mihi sumo vt te increpem. Libere moneo quid me offendat. Alicubi volui te reuocare ob oculos tuos, qui mihi tui ipsius oblitus videbare.

Sed quod mendacia obicis, insanum fuerit mentiri in opere quod orbis leget. Et quanquam tu id facis, non inde mihi sumam exem-<sup>95</sup> plum. Imo quod coniectura tantum videbar consecutus, sub specie coniecturae et non certae cognitionis profiteor. Si deprehenderis vel vno loco mendacium fecisse (nam mentitum non esse certo scio; nec tamen tam sum semper mei compos vt nihil possit mihi excidere), monitus recantabo. Nam certe hoc foedissimum est, publice mentiri:<sup>100</sup> quod miror te aliquoties facere, hominem et theologum et monachum. Nusquam iactitavi sexcenta loca a me reprehensa. Hoc fingis, vt caetera. Exemplum mei facti accipio ex sacris literis. Si peccauerit in te frater tuus, corripe eum inter te et ipsum. Si te non audierit, adhibe vnum vel duos testes. Si nec illos, dic Ecclesiae. Hunc<sup>105</sup> ordinem adamussim obseruavi; vt nunc frustra tentatis duabus prioribus viis, tertiam cogar inire, Ecclesiae dicturus.

ERAS. Si prodesse vis omnibus, cur non aedis?

ED. Vtinam ea mea esset felicitas vt prodesse possem! certe vellem. Sed quominus liceret, quum vellem et tentarem, idem qui<sup>110</sup> nunc vrget vt aedam, bis obstitisti. Primum interturbato negotio, quum iam characteres essent compositi ad primum praelum: deinde ita fascinato altero typographo, quicum mihi postea conuenit, vt qui primo de ea re sermone videbatur ambire opus, postea tradita illi abs te Paraphrasi ad Timotheum nullas vellet aequas conditiones recipere,<sup>115</sup> ne quidem eas quas antea ipse sua quidem sponte obtulit. Si tantopere cupiebas Annotationum nostrarum aeditionem, quum scires cum hoc typographo iniisse me tractatum, imo et iam pactum esse de quibusdam articulis, cur Paraphrasim ob[s]trusisti, et illi typographo quicum antea nulla tibi erat consuetudo: quin vero cui antea, vt<sup>120</sup>

77. proditore] Lypsius; cf. II. 401-3.

epistola] The reference is possibly to Ep. 900. 10, 11; but more likely to some letter which has not survived.

86. Pharisaeos] Matt. 23. 27.

87. Ananiae] Acts 23. 3.

88. Polycarpum] Cf. Iren. c. Haer. 3.

3. 4.

90. Paulus] 1 Tim. 5. 20.

103. sacris literis] Cf. Matt. 18. 15-17.

112. compositi] with Thibault?; cf. l. 536 and Ep. 1053. 116-19.

113. altero] Hillen.

115. Paraphrasi] See Ep. 1043.

aiunt, non satis faueras quod domini Iacobi Latomi Dialogum typis suis emisierit. Si tibi tam cordi erat liber meus, cur mihi bis clausisti officinas? Ego prorsus decreueram nullo sumptui parcere quo aedertur: nec te credo sumptui peparcisse quo reiiceretur; siquidem non  
 125 puto tam negligentes esse sui compendii typographos vt gratis tantum lucri vellent amittere.

ERAS. *Si me docere vis, cur solus non impetro vt legam?*

Ed. Ego te docebo, qui omnes veluti cum imperio doces, et cornicum, quod dicitur, oculos configis?

130 ERAS. *Si tibi scripsi(sti), cur tam late volitat liber?*

Edo. Imo vero magis tibi scripsi quam mihi. Nam meum commodum nullum est nisi quod nunc pro cotidiana plusquam semestri opera odiosissime abs te infamor. Tu quantum inde commodi assecutus es, indicabit secunda aeditio: quantum praeterea potuisses iudicauerit lector. Liber non late volitat: nam qui ante aeditionem viderint, in toto orbe non sunt viginti; qui exemplaria habuerunt extra  
 135 manus meas, ne quidem quatuor.

ERA. *Si diffidis operi tuo, cur sic vbique iactas? Si fidis, cur anxius es ne quis legat, nisi qui mihi parum sit aequus?*

140 Edo. Lectoris iudicio librum permitto. Ego nec vsquequaque diffido operi; nec tamen mihi ipsi satis fido, neque tanti aestimo opus vt vbique iactem. Nunquam hactenus tam placui mihi quin voluerim aliorum subire censuram. Idem si ipse fecisses, non iam ageremus hanc tragoediam.

145 ERA. *Ita dum me traducis apud eos qui tibi iurati mihi male cupiunt, nec me reddis meliorem et illos inficis.*

Edo. Non ego te traduco apud eos qui mihi iurati tibi male volunt. Atensis, quum meum librum haberet, tibi amicus erat: postquam sensi resiliere te a censura, librum e manibus illius reuocaui. Roffen-  
 150 sis nec mihi iuratus est nec tibi male vult. Vvinchelcombensis

134. iudicabit a: *correx*i.

138. anxius a: tam anxius E.

121. Latomi] See Ep. 934. 3nn.

128. cornicum] Cf. Ep. 456. 21n.

150. Vvinchelcombensis] Richard of Kidderminster entered the Benedictine Abbey of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire at the age of 15. Four years later he was sent to study at Gloucester Hall in Oxford; and after three and a half years returned to become 'scholar' or 'pastor' of the Abbey. In 1487-8 he was elected Abbot in succession to John of Twynning. His interests are shown by an intimate letter written to him by Colet (c. 1498) about studies in St. Paul: see S. Knight, *Life of Colet*, 1724, pp. 311-14. In 1500, being then D.D., he spent a year in Rome; preaching sundry times before the Pope (cf. Brewer v. 327). In Jan. 1505 he created a monk from Canterbury D.D., apparently in Oxford: see *Reg. Oxf. Univ.*, ed. Boase, OHS. i (1885), p. 40. In March 1511 he was Court Preacher at Greenwich (Brewer ii, p. 1449); and in Feb. 1512 (ibid. p. 1454) was ap-

pointed with Fisher to attend the Lateran Council (Ep. 252 introd.). A letter from him, Aug. 1514, congratulating Wolsey on preferment to York, is in a very servile tone (Brewer i. 5355; cf. iii. 668). In 1515 he led the opposition of Convocation to the Act about the punishment of clerics by lay tribunals, and was confronted by Standish (Ep. 608. 14n). He possessed enough influence with Oxford University to obtain concessions for monastic students there in 1521; and c. 1523, when Henry VIII invited the University to write against Luther, Richard hurried into Oxford, though only just recovered from serious illness, and contributed a book *De Ventis*, which seems not to have been printed. See the University Letter-book, Bodl. MS. 282, f. 46 r<sup>o</sup> and v<sup>o</sup>. Antiquarian tastes are shown by collections made for the history of his Abbey in 1523; in the preface to which he describes how by his own encouragement to 'sacrae literae' Winchcombe



nemini male vult. Te credo nunquam vidisse: et certe est summorum ingeniorum et bonarum literarum admirator. Queriensis meus nulli communicat. An ex nostris laboribus melior effectus sis, id est profeceris, viderit lector. Certe per me nemo infectus est, id est deterius de te sentit quam merearis. Nam vbi ego a te dissentiens 155 bene sentio, cur non sentiant eruditi mecum? At si a te dissentiens male sentio, non tam Suffenus sum vt velim mecum sentire quenquam contra te. Mihi semper lucro fuerit doceri.

ERA. *Quid quod interim nec tuae gloriae, quam hoc tumultu venaris, non satis recte consulis? Si statim aedidisses opus tuum, omnes admirati 160 fuissent prodigiosum ingenii tui felicitatem, qui pauculis mensibus tantum Graecitatis et Hebraismi deuoraris, vt tuo iudicio nihil sapiat in Graecis Erasmus, in Hebraicis Hieronymus (si tamen haec est illius translatio): nam id honoris gratia soles addere, ne parum tribuere videare Hieronymo. Imo aiunt te mox triduo postquam Hebraizare coeperas, multa damnasce 165 in Capnione, nonnulla etiam in Capitone.*

EDO. Si gloriam sitissem, proxima ad eam via erat a te non dissentire, sed comice ludere, Ait; aio: Negat; nego. Hoc est quod immortalitatis patronus primo nostro colloquio et item postea, nec tantum semel, pollicebare, redditurum te meum nomen immortale, 170 si te in hoc opere iuuarem. Id quum ego interpretarer 'si ingenue, quum res moneret, dissentirem', tu contra 'si adblandirer et admirarer quiduis abs te dictum, nec villo pacto conuellerem'. Quod me stupidum fefellit: alioqui iam habitus essem tuo albo suffragio immortalitatis. 175

Id vero scilicet mire prodigiosum fuerit, si potui pauculis mensibus

159. non add. a.

164. videare tribuere E.

165. posteaquam E.

had become 'altera noua vniuersitas, tametsi exigua', and recommends it as an example to 'nostrae tempestatis monachi, qui putant praeter vniuersitates nullum esse eruditionis locum'. See A. Wood, *Hist. Univ. Oxford*, ed. J. Gutch, ii, 1796, pp. 20, 1.

About 9 Nov. 1525 he resigned his abbacy, and continued to live as a monk at Winchcombe. In 1527 he wrote upon the Benedictine Rule; a book which Longland, then bishop of Lincoln, wished to see in all Benedictine houses in his diocese. In return Longland dedicated to him some sermons, London, R. Pynson, (c. 1528?), which he had delivered before Henry VIII in 1517. In 1531 Henry proposed to associate Richard with Warham as judges about the Divorce; styling him 'a man of notable lernyng in diuinite, and great experience and knowlege', 'to aged to be moued from the ryght eyther for feare or loue' (Brewer v. 6, 327). The last trace of him is in a letter from him to Cromwell, 3 Nov. (1531?), which speaks of great age and sickness (ibid. 510).

The Bodleian possesses a copy of

Jerome's *Vitae Patrum*, Lyons, N. Wolff, 28 April 1502 (MS. Rawl. Q. d. 12) with an inscription of his ownership, and ms. notes, a few of which are perhaps in his autograph. See Dugdale ii. 299; A. Wood, *Athenae Oxon.* i, 1813, pp. 61-4; D. Royce, *Landoc de Winchelcumba*, ii, 1903, pp. xxxiii-v; Miss R. Graham in *V. C. H., Gloucester*, ii, 1907, p. 71; and DNB.

152. Queriensis] Barth. Linsted or Fowle. Since 26 Jan. 1513 he had been Prior of St. Mary Overey, a house of Austin canons in Southwark; the church of which is now the cathedral. In June 1518 he appealed to the chapter of his order at Leicester for the enforcement of stricter observance of their rule, but met with little response (Brewer ii, App. 48). He was frequently engaged, 1526-9, in forwarding money to Lee, who was then ambassador in Spain (Brewer iv, v). He surrendered his house at the Dissolution, 27 Oct. 1539 (Brewer xiv. ii. 401); and was still living, on a pension, in 1553. See Dugdale vi. 169.

157. Suffenus] Cf. Cat. 22. 17.

168. comice] Cf. Ter. Eun. 252.

adeo profecisse vt iudicare licuerit haec verba Graece sic haberi vel non haberi, id quod tantum mihi sumo. Sed id parum nimium tibi visum est, quod toties moneo te contra fidem exemplaris tui annotasse,

180 oscitanterne an de industria alii viderint.

Erasmum nunquam sensi parum scire Graece, imo tantum quantum omnibus meis fortunis non grauati redimere vellem. Nec est tamen quod egre feras si sint qui quosdam tibi praeponant aut saltem aequant. Nec id tamen arrego mihi vt iudicare possim, sed sic

185 quorundam fert opinio. Nec tamen de hac re digladiabor.

Nec vnquam dixi Hieronymum nihil sapere Hebraice. Insanus plane essem si sic dicerem. Certe non inficiabor dixisse me olim tibi, quum variis de rebus confabularem in templo diui Petri Louanii, videri mihi toto diametro alicubi distare a veritate Hebraica

190 quod in templis canitur Psalterium, et non satis mirari me si Hieronymi esset. Hic si quid peccaui, monitus ab Hebraice docto paratus sum dare manus. Et quam Christiani pectoris hoc est, quod non male nec arroganter dixi, calumniae miscere! Si ego par pari vellem referre, credis te nunquam in sinum meum effutisse quod nolis

195 publice spargi?

Sed quod narras nescio quibus authoribus (nam 'aiunt' dicis) me mox triduo posteaquam Hebraissare coeperam, multa damnasce in Capnione, multa in Capitone, miror si quisquam tam perfrictae frontis sit vt id, pene omnibus quibuscum cotidie versor notum mendacium, tibi potuerit referre. Ego Capnionem Capitonemue damnum? Quid omnium magis alienum sit a meo iudicio quam vt praeceptores meos in lingua Hebraica, quos nunquam satis veneror, damnum? illum ceu parentem linguae Hebraicae apud Christianos, hunc vt felicissimum Hebraicae grammatices concinnatorem, vtpote qui rudimenta tam

205 generose tradiderit ac tam scite redegerit in ordinem vt nihil mihi desyderetur. Horum alteri, si consummate doctum requiro, plusculum forte tribuerim quam cuiquam alteri: alterius ingenii felicitatem saepe admiror, qui cum optimis literis, id est sacris, trium linguarum peritiam non vulgarem coniunxerit.

210 Sed facile agis quod semper soles agere. Haec fabula tibi perpetuo tractatur, vt mihi inuidiam facias apud omnes doctos viros. Bis iam depinxisti me tanquam trium linguarum hostem, quum nihil minus sim: nunc obliuiscis procacitatem in doctissimos viros, quum nihil sit minus verum. Testes adhibeo conuictores meos. Ecquid his rationi-

215 bus videri vis me docere Christiani hominis officium, qui nec sycophantiis parcas quo meum nomen doctis viris odiosum efficias? Vbi hoc exemplum grauitatis aut Christiani pectoris, bone Erasme? Ego si quid tibi certo obiecturus sum, nisi non dubia pertulero eorum quae dicturus sum testimonia, succubui. Literas tuas et chartulas

220 quibus respondisti et alia forte quaedam non ancipitis fidei argumenta producam. Indiciis et coniecturis non cupio plus credi (si quae allaturus sum) quam ipsa per se nomina merentur. Nec sycophantiis acturus sum tecum, nec incertis fabulis.

204. grammatices] Cf. Ep. 459 introd.  
211. Bis] Lee (*Annotationes*, f<sup>o</sup>. CC v<sup>o</sup>) refers for this to the *Dialogus trilinguorum* (l. 505n), where he is twice introduced unmistakably among the

enemies of the Muses (ff. a<sup>8</sup>, b<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>) as Phthonides: 'pallidus, macilentus' (cf. Ep. 906. 44<sup>8</sup>), 'risum habens sardonium' (cf. l. 341), 'λεῖος ὡς περ ἐχίνος', 'caudam longam trahit' (cf. l. 350n).

ERA. *Et fieri poterat ut summus Pontifex, admiratus istud ingenium pene diuinum, tibi tradita virgula totius orbis censuram tibi fuerit mandaturus; nec iam ullus liber aut aederetur aut legeretur, nisi Leei suffragio probatus, totius rei literariae Aristarchi.* 225

Edo. Sic tibi placet (quod consuesti) ridere me. Ego qui conscius sum mihi quam nihil sum, me hoc honore non dignor, ut sim a consiliis Pontifici. Scio quam sit mihi curta suppellex. At quis nescit te ipsum has tibi partes vel tua sponte iam olim praesumpsisse, ut totius rei literariae sis Aristarchus, qui nec veteribus nec neotericis parcas; qui censuram in omnes veluti cum imperio ac cathedratus agas; qui damnes etiam ea quae vix vnquam gustasti; qui veterum dogmata conuellas, qui nec Ecclesiastica decreta patiaris esse intemperate; qui haereticorum deliriis in specie non mihi tantum videaris patrocinari; qui quasi ius tibi in theologiam vendices; qui praeter te omnes contemnas: id quod mihi exploratum est de quibusdam in theologia, ni fallor, doctioribus te ipso. Ego sic insanio ut ambiam hunc locum, quando tu sic praecoccupas? Semper colui doctos. Nullum vel triuiale opus cuiuslibet authoris vnquam spreui. Nec tuum certe sperno, etiam si aliquoties dissentio. Studium tuum in hac re nunquam improbaui. Tantum in te desydero plusculum diligentiae ac modestiae, et forte in quibusdam locis iudicii. Satis fuisset non facere quam tumultuarie ac praecipitanter dormitanterque facere. Opus orbi scribebatur, et opus, ni par esse posses, periculosum: ut impium prope fuerit non omnibus oculis vigilasse, nec tuis solum, sed et alienis. 230 235 240 245

ERA. *Nunc plerique dicunt te hoc consilio premere praeclaras istas Annotationes, ut me fatis functo tum demum aedas; ἐπιμνην victurus, id est ingloriam victoriam reportaturus, quum nemo sit qui contra certet.* 250

Edo. Nihil mihi cum vmbra tua, quae, cum Deus volet et saluti tuae hora sit commoda, per me quiescet in pace. Certe ego mortem tuam non optarim; quin vero Deum superosque obtestor ut bonis literis multos annos supersis: si tamen is esse velis quem expetunt tum haec aetas, tum praeter Christianum officium duplex hic qui in te est ordo. 255

ERAS. *Alii praedicant interim vndique captare te quid quisque calumnietur, nec tuum opus aliud futurum quam aliorum sycophantiarum rhapsodiam, in qua minima portio sit tui Martis.* 260

Edo. Si quis in meis Annotationibus suas plumas agnoscet, licet repetat. Ego ne vnum quidem locum didici ab vilo theologorum. Si secus sit, sim apud istos mendax. Nec puto tam felices esse nostras Annotationes ut certare de his quisquam volet.

ERA. *Ita periculum est ne fiat, quum tibi speraris optimam laudem, minus ex tuo libro referas gloriae quam Latomus rettulit ex suo illo frigido Dialogo, in quo ferunt totam theologorum cohortem desudasse.* 265

225. tibi ante fuerit add. a. 226. Lei E. 249. dicunt a: dictitant E.  
250. ἐπιμνην E. 251. quum a: cum E. 259. alienarum E: aliarum a.  
265. quum a: ut cum E.

230. suppellex] Cf. Pers. 4. 52. selves from seculars by the duplicated title 'Canonici regulares'. Cf. II. 65, 6;  
245. tumultuarie] Cf. I. p. 3. 6-11. Epp. 447. 189-90, 718. 4-5, 838. 1; and  
256. duplex . . . ordo] The Austin the Colloquy, Peregrinatio (LB. I. 776v).

Edo. Sic mihi aequa doctorum virorum iudicia contingant, vt laudem ex hac re non spero: nisi forte eatenus quatenus prodesse  
 270 volui. Iam tu vrges vt experiar aleam. Scio quibusdam probata iri nostra, contra quibusdam tua. Forte neuter satis opimam laudem referet ex hoc certamine. Mihi minus infelicitur cadet sors quod propiciam aleam non expectem: quanquam hoc meis rationibus nonnihil prodesse debet apud aequos rerum existimatores, quod  
 275 inuitus trahor in harenam.

ERAS. *Nec dubito quin tibi valde nunc arrideant quae scribis; sed caue putes itidem omnibus arrisura, quum clarae luci sese commiserint.*

Edo. Mihi fausta erit alea si posthac arridebunt: arridebunt autem si doctis arriserint. Adhuc certe non arident. Stultum fuerit  
 280 praeiudicare tibi sententiam, si orbi scribas.

ERAS. *Quod iuuenis gloriae fame stimularis, ignoscendum arbitror; at quod ista via grassaris ad gloriam, qui non solum theologus ac vir bonus verum etiam sanctulus haberi vis, nulla non improbabat posteritas, etiam si non desunt fortasse qui nunc applaudant.*

Edo. Gloriam quidem fame quam non stimulo, Erasmus idoneus  
 285 testis est, qui gloriam mihi immortalem non rogatus obtulerit, nec acceperim, imo ne gratias quidem egerim. Vtinam sim vir bonus! Sanctulum nescio cur dicas, nisi id te forte male habeat quod officia quae vocant horaria, cotidie persoluo: reliquum ferme diem domi  
 290 mihi viuo et literis. Nulla prebeo foras indicia sanctitatis, nec sancti nomen vnquam ambiui. Mihi sane satis sit donec viuam, si Christianus sim. Atque vtinam certe sim! Nam multa quae in me non agnosco, complectitur veri Christiani nomen. Et tamen conabimur esse aliquando quod semper esse debemus.

ERAS. *Atque hanc fabulam iam ferme biennium agis; atque ita dulcescit actio vt etiam immoriturus videaris.*

Edo. Quin vero Erasmus egit: nam Leeus nunquam egit quicquam nisi prouocatus ab Erasmo. Vtinam licuisset tibi oculis in praecordia  
 300 mea penetrare! vt videre posses quam grauatum, quoties tu pungeres, reliquerim praescripta studia mea, vt tuis votis responderem. Quum ego altum quiescerem, beatum me putans quod fruerer meo dulci ocio ac, vt mihi videbatur, securo, in nec opinantem, sed quae pacis sunt magis cogitantem, subitaneum ex tua pharetra missum fuerat telum, et id quidem iam quater; quod non me solum sed et meos  
 305 commoueret, et vniuersum tumultum pareret, vt iam diu Erasmo praecone nullus sit sermo habitus apud Louanios et fere apud meos Anglos nisi de Leeo. Vtinam non tibi dulcior sit haec actio quam mihi! Sic nunquam res eo tumultus processisset. Nec sum in hac fabula immoriturus. Nam postquam nunc votis tuis satisfactum  
 310 est, vt ignorantia nostra orbi prodatur, forte posthac narraturus sis fabulam surdo. Si per te licuisset, iam aliquid forte essem in Graecis et Hebraicis literis. Infelix prorsus ego cui talis obuenit

277. quum a: cum E.

sese E: lese a.

281. fame E: fama a.

285. fame scripsi: fama a.

295. atque ita a: et adeo E.

296. vt etiam

a: vt E.

310. posthac scripsi: postq̄ hac a: posthuc a corrig.

304. quater] In ll. 504-7 Lee mentions five places in which he considered that Erasmus had attacked him.

See also two passages in the new edition of the *Colloquiorum Formulas* (ll. 334, 367nn).

ocasio qua toties diuellerer a dulcissimo ocio ad odiosissimam palestram, nunquam antea doctus certare, et quidem certaturus tecum vno omnium pugnacissimo ac callidissimo bellatore.

315

ERAS. *Nec tamen ita tibi sum infensus ut cupiam quenpiam amicum tibi vel pilo minus amicum esse mea causa; tantum âbest ut grauius aliquod malum optem accidere. Sed res nusquam gentium sparsa non est.*

EDO. Mirum vero id quo pacto audeas dicere, qui nullis non modis totum doctorum orbem prouocas in meum caput, et aliquot amicos in Anglia contra me commouisti. Imo iam zizaniam seminas inter me et optimos ac doctissimos quosdam viros: qui tamen pro sua prudentia absurdescent, spero, ad hanc tuam incantationem. Et quod grauius malum cuiquam optes accidere quam ut nomen eius macules apud omnes? id quod de me nullis non modis studes efficere. Sed quod hic ais, non dissimile illi est quod quodam loco de te ipso tam sancte profiteris, putare te neminem esse qui vel tua legerit vel tecum aliquam egerit consuetudinem, quin perspectissimum habeat te nihil aequè detestari quam exempla libelli famosi aut violentiae. Id scilicet probe testantur duae illae virulentissimae ac sycophantisissimae criminationes quas euomis in me in Colloquiis Familiaribus; quae adolescens aedidisti, sed senex haud ita multo pridem plusquam iuueniliter insano hoc auctario et pene solo nobilitasti. Ascribam ipsa Colloquia:

‘AVGVSTI. Quid si vnam aut alteram vmbram adduxero?’

335

CHRISTI. Licet, modo ne nigras vmbras adduxeris.

AVGVSTI. Quid si N. adduxero?

CHRIST. Scotistam illum?

AVG. Imo Scotum, si lubet.

CHR. Age: admittetur, modo domi relinquat gryphos sophisticos, matheologias, sycophantias, supercilium, virulentias, risum sardonium, glorias Thrasonicas, philautiam.

AVG. Citius caudam reliquerit.

Orbis agnoscat ex his verbis suum theologum, suum censorem, suum monachum, modestum suum; simplicem illum simulque illum Erasmus pudorem, grauitatem, verecundiam, honestatem. Quid est, si hic libellus famosus non est?

Sed ‘Vbi sonat hic nomen tuum?’ inquis. Hic satis est vnde facile sit augurari quem perstringas. ‘Quid tibi hic cum caudis,

316. ita a: ob ista facta adeo E. quēpiam amicum a: quenquam E. 318. non sparsa E. 341. mateologias Coll. Form. Coll. Form.: sardonum a.

327. profiteris] Ep. 1053. 150-3; cf. Ep. 967. 77, 8.

331. sycophantisissimae] This form is perhaps another example of the inadvertent substitution of s for c which occurs not infrequently at this period in both France and England. Cf. Ep. 673. 6n. In Pynson's volume of Longland's sermons (l. 150n) the form *trisesimus* occurs in the head-lines more than 80 times, more often, indeed, than *tricesimus*.

334. Colloquia] The passage to which Lee here objects, had been added in

Martens' edition of the *Colloquiorum Formulae* (c. Nov. 1519: see p. 120), f°. d² v°. Lee was quite likely correct in his conjecture that he was the person intended.

In Erasmus' next revision of the *Coll. Form.*, Basle, Froben, March 1522, the whole of this passage and most of the next (ll. 368-73) were expunged. The speakers are Erasmus' Paris friends, Augustine Vincent (Ep. 131) and Christian Northoff (Ep. 54), for whose use the *Coll. Form.* were first written (cf. Ep. 130. 92n).

350 bone vir?' Num te pudet tam puerilis ac ridiculi scommatis in gentem Anglicam non male de te meritam? quum etiam probe scias rem secus habere. Si haec tua modestia est, vtere ea erga alios: ego talem modestiam non opto. Mihi paulo satius fuerit aliorum improbitate lacessi quam tali modestia demulceri. Non potuisset  
355 ipsa procacitas procaciora dixisse. Quod si vellem pari modestia tecum certare, quum non desit occasio, minus forte deesset materia.

Sed non imitabor te. Nihil acturus sum extra causam, quum non sit mihi tecum de conuitiis certamen, sed de sacris. Nec tamen destituor viribus quibus virulentias tuas tuorumque superem. Nam  
360 prorsus contemniam: nec est cur pili faciam quod iam prope vulgo iactata sit prouerbii loco Erasmica modestia in rabulam qui furis quempiam ac dicacitate lacessit. Quin et fide passim carent criminationes tuae, quod omnibus sit exploratum odium parum vera loqui. Et tamen sunt qui te honestius excusant quod rethoricaris.

365 Iam puderet proferre alteram criminationem, quod tam spurca sit tanque foeteat podicem olens, nisi quod haec alterum specimen praebeat Erasmi pudoris. Haec igitur est huiusmodi:

'(AVG.) Quid emolumenti afferunt literae inanes?

CHR. Podici tergend[o] [sunt] vtilis, scombris obuoluendis idoneae etc.

370 AVG. Equidem noui quendam cuius lingua malim ad hoc abuti.

CHRIST. At ego noui [quendam] cuius lingua nihilo tutius sit abstergi quam aconiti foliis.

AVG. Iste igitur dignus est qui aconitum edat ardeleo.'

Iam rogo te, Erasme, heccine sunt verba te digna? qui videri vis  
375 solus theologus ac censor orbis. Quid potuit dici spurcius, odiosius, virulentius? Aut quis rabula, quis scurra, quis mimus, quis latrinarius, tam foeda expurgasset in quemquam? Vt caetera omittam quae non tam contemptim haberi oportuit, vel huius sacerdotii ratio fuerat habenda tibi, quo ne me christum domini ipse etiam christus domini  
380 tam sordide foedares.

Sed me magis miseret tui quam vt lubeat quicquam grauius in te retorquere, quando tu teipsum vel indice prodis, fingis pingisque tuis ipsius coloribus. Absit vero a me id quod semper abhorruit a meis moribus, vt quenquam publicitus traducam. Nam quod toties  
385 virulentiae me reum facis, id certe facis nimium suspicionibus

377. expurcasset a. Haud secus, in Annot. BE<sup>4</sup>, expurcatum.

350. scommatis] Medieval tradition in France asserted that Englishmen were tailed (coué): see O. H. Prior's edition of Caxton's *Mirror of the World* (EETS. cx, 1913, pp. xviii, xix), translated from the *Image du Monde*. The story is in the original, but is omitted by Caxton for the credit of his nation. Lee in his *Annotaciones* (f<sup>o</sup>. CCv<sup>o</sup>) speaks of the jest as 'vulgatum sed ridiculum'. Its character can be gauged from Erasmus' reference to this point in the *Apologia qua respondet* (ff. F<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, F<sup>3</sup>; Jortin ii. 520). He asserts there that it must have been inserted in the *Coll. Form.* by someone else. The jest

is repeated in (Hutten's?) *Hochstratus ouans* (cf. Ep. 1083. 23n), § 82: cf. also BRE. 162. For an investigation of the sources of the legend, which is traced back to xii<sup>c</sup>, see G. Neilson, *Caudatus Anglicus*, 1896: reprinted from *Proc. of Glasgow Archaeological Soc.*, 21 March 1895.

367. huiusmodi] This extract, like the preceding (l. 334n), is taken mainly from Martens' second edition of the *Coll. Formulae*, ff. b<sup>4</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, c: where the words *scombris obuoluendis* and ll. 370-3 appear for the first time. In March 1522 (cf. l. 334n) they were expunged.

373. ardeleo] Cf. ll. 414-15.

indulgens, nullo certo argumento nec testimonio. Imo nec vnum testem proferre potes qui vnquam audiuerit me, extra argumentum huius disputationis de Nouo Testamento tuo et defensionem meam contra calumnias, in te quicquam temere effutientem. Christus retrudens calumniam respondit daemonium se non habere. Et 390 Paulus Petro restitit secundum faciem quia non recte ambulabat. Et cur non mihi liceat his exemplis hinc calumnias depellere, hinc fratrem errantem ingenue monere? Haec faciens si te offendi, nulla mea culpa est, sed tua, qui quod aequum est non patiaris in te fieri, quum nunquam cesses quae iniquissima sunt facere. Quod si quid 395 paulo amplius iusto excussit mihi calor, dum me purgo, non id tam graue erat vt non nisi impudentissimis ac mendacissimis criminationibus in publicum efflatis potuerit vindicari. Vnum illud quod memini te mecum expostulasse, quod in literis ad amicum te faciam calumniatorem literarum sacrarum, nec admodum inficior nec plane 400 certus sum an sic scripserim. Forte paulo liberius effutiui quippiam ad amicum quendam non verum sed fucatum, nec meum, vt sero nimis sensi, sed tuum, imo mei apud te proditorem. Is quum vtrunque nimium officiosus mihi proderet quae partim ex te, partim ex tuis audisset, mihi non satis grata, quum non admodum vacaret 405 rescribere, et tamen vrgeret vt responderem, nescio si quid feruidius in illo aestu emurmuraui.

Verum esto, ita sit: vel si tale quid etiam ad alios amicos scripsi, postquam tu me iam traduxeras non paucis in locis, non est adhuc hoc tam capitale, quando id iam negotii agitur, vt hoc probem. Quod 410 ni probauero, cecidi a causa. Nec extra causam est, si hoc dixi. Sed rogo te, sum ego tibi circumforaneus, leuis, inconstans, per momenta in noua mutatus, nullis non negotiis illectus, et errabundus Vlysses? vt me ardelionem voces, sed elemento primo a fine mutato, quo ad nostrum nomen magis alludas. Risi certe humanitatem tuam quum 415 primum hoc legerem, qui me omnibus ornamentis tuis decores, vt nihil prope tibi reliqui facias. Possem, si vellem, hoc in te aptius retorquere; sed non faciam, nec admodum opus fuerit. Nam Erasmus probe notus est. Porro illud quam sapit modestiam tuam, quod me in epistolis ad amicos quodam loco virulentam bestiolam, 420 alicubi portentum verius quam hominem, alicubi insignem sycophantam vocas? At illud quam nihil ad rem pertinet, nisi vt pus nusquam non excrees, quod me homuncionem, pallidum, macilentum, o quam inoffenso stomacho, nominas! Si mihi etiam liceat paululum ineptire, proceritate tecum certo, quin verius te despecto. Crassior 425 aliquanto me es. Palloris et maciei pene aequa sorte sumus, nisi quid plus tu tum pertinaciori studio tum aetate non paulo grandiore contraxeris.

Verum succurrit mihi quid tibi blandiatur. Sunt qui te nuncupent

389. Christus] John 8. 49.

391. Paulus] Gal. 2. 11.

403. proditorem] Evidently Lypsius; cf. Epp. 912 introd., 922. 30-4, 960. 1-6, 1074. 105-8, and 11. 76-8 *supra*. From the *Apol. qua respondet*, f<sup>o</sup>. C<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, Jortin ii. 507, it is clear that the traitor was an Austin canon; cf. also *ibid.* ff. B<sup>2</sup>

v<sup>o</sup>, E<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, pp. 501, 517.

414. ardelionem] Cf. l. 373.

420. in epistolis] Cf. Epp. 906. 444, 448, 455, 999. 315-21.

425. proceritate] These lines contribute something to our knowledge of Erasmus' personal appearance; cf. iv. 529 seq. and Ep. 999. 34n.

430 magnum Erasmus: feliciter fruire hoc titulo. Sunt et qui maximum: et his accedo, vt, si ego tibi homuncio sim, tu mihi sis Atlas qui coelum creditur sustinere, quum non sustineat. Sed hoc quantum spirat Christianum pectus tuum et illam Erasmicam charitatem, quod quodam loco in Farragine Epistolarum nuper Basileae emissa  
 435 ad reuerendum Roffensem primum scribis, 'videri tibi me natum esse ad sycophantias': deinde sic, 'Ego si mihi conscius essem minimae portiunculae tot sycophantiarum, non auderem ad Christi mensam accedere'! 'Sycophantiae', 'sycophantiarum', 'sycophantias' mire tibi placent, vt nihil tibi sit magis in vsu. Cur tibi excidit quod  
 440 alibi iactitas, 'ex tuis scriptis neminem vel pilo factum esse nigriorem'? Hic ego numquid per te saltem voto factus sum nigrior, quando famam meam denigrare summa vi conaris? Nam quid magis impium queas impingere quam quod sordidus adhuc et tot sycophantiarum mihi conscius audeam accedere ad Christi mensam, vt reus sim  
 445 corporis et sanguinis Domini? Certe si non sum factus nigrior, non id tuae modestiae sed lectorum prudentiae fuerit ascribendum, qui nihil tibi credant tali auctori. Sed o homo, tu quis es qui iudicas alienum seruum domino suo stantem aut cadentem? Noli iudicare vt non iudicaris.

450 Hic ego si vellem, possem te remordere: sed reprimo me. Nam nec quae dixi plane dixissem, nisi vt modestiae tuae quam tantopere ostentas veluti simulachrum deliniarem, quo ne ex nudis verbis gloriam reportes, quum facta nequaquam respondeant. Sed quod rem nusquam gentium sparsam non esse scribis, id tuis et tuorum literis  
 455 factum est, non meis. Ego tantum ad aliquot amicos in Anglia de hoc tumultu scripsi, et eos quidem communes ac paucos. Tu vt vbiuis gentium amicos habes, ita vbiuis sparsisti rumorem, nec satis vere.

ERAS. *Et nosti impotentes Germanorum animos ingenique violentiam. At in his plurimi sunt qui mihi plus fauent quam velim. Literis meis*  
 460 *stilum quorundam cohibui, et cohibebo, quod quidem erit in me. Sed audio quosdam minari atrociora. Quod genus si quid accideret (quod Deus auertat), nec ego possum tuo mederi malo, et, vt est nunc prona hominum suspitio, inuidia facti in meum quoque caput recideret. Vt spero nihil tale futurum, ita metuo ne quid accadat. Si nihil eueniet,*  
 465 *amice timui: sin eueniet aliquid, amice praemonui, vt si videtur aliquo consilio occurras malo, quod tuae prudentiae videbitur esse commodissimum.*

Ed. Non facile adducor vt credam hanc rem cordi esse militibus Germanis: illis nihil cum balneo. At eruditos Germaniae, quorum

458. Ep. 998. 59. sic enim . . . 62. conciliarint om. a. Et nosti impotentes Germanorum a: Nec ignoras huius gentis E. 459. his plurimi a: Germania complures E. plus fauent a: impensius student etiam E. Ep. 998. 64. Nondum . . . 66. lacessiti om. a. Literis meis stilum quorundam a: Equidem multorum stilum partim oratione, partim epistolis E. 460. et cohibebo, quod quidem a: cohibiturus etiam, quantum E. 461. minari atrociora a: his atrociora minari E. quod ante Deus a: id quod E. 462. possum a: possem E. Ep. 998. 71. Ita . . . 74. factum om. a. 463. Vt a: Iam vt E. 464. tale a: huiusmodi E. ita a: ita contra E. eueniet a: est periculi E. 465. eueniet aliquid, amice a: est, amicus E. vt a: quo possis E. 466. occurras malo a: occurrere E.

435. scribis] Ep. 936. 32-5.

440. iactitas] Ep. 950. 11-12; cf. Ep.

1007. 81n.

448. Noli iudicare] Cf. Matt. 7. 1.



ex literis, quarum hodie principes sunt, metior probitatem, nihil minus cogitare possum quam ad turpe scelus praecipites fore. Nollem ego sic notare meae Angliae viros doctos vt tu notas Germanos. Imo quicquid dicas, persuadeo mihi eruditos Germaniae homines esse, qui nihil affectibus decernant, qui in causa rei literariae sententiam gladiis non pronuncient. Si eo ventum est vt ferro res decernatur, solus sedeat per me licet Erasmus in sua cathedra, impune quiduis praescribat. Ego pugnare gladiis non didici. Et tamen vtinam dignus sim qui gladiis occumbam in tam pia causa! Si minantur acriora stilo, quis eos in me conceitavit, nisi tu ipse qui nihil non dicis vnde me ledas? Quis tam ferus est vt seuiat sua sponte, nulla ratione prouocatus? imo quid tam graue vnde irritari potuerint? Quin etiam si vera essent quae contra me non minus falso quam virulente torques in hac epistola, num tantum sceleris hic est vt non nisi gladio vindicari possit? Plane si verum sit quod oblique veluti sub aliena persona mihi minaris, grauiora de me effutisti quam scribis. Nam haec leuiora sunt quam vt aliquem bene sane stomachum ad fustes commouere possint. 485

Et vbi nunc Christianum pectus tuum, quod nunquam spirat nisi charitates, modestias, facilitates et simplicitates? Tantumne tibi places his vocabulis? Siccine summam statuis Christianismi, vt si verbis queas adumbrare, nihil non audendum sit sceleris, vt et tutus sit qui crimen molitur, si in aliorum qui forte nihil conscii sunt, caput possit reicere? Quin vero, age aliquando, aut exhibe te eum virum quem toties ostentis, aut exue personam, vt orbis cognoscat te qualis sis. Disputationem de literis sacris, qui alicubi videri vis patronus pacis, misces cum fustibus et gladiis? De me nihili homine vt nihil sit iacturae, praecogita tamen tecum quid Ecclesia Dei passura sit, si in eam te authore hoc exemplum irrepserit, vt de sacris literis dissidium quoties occurreret, ad sicariorum examen res reuocetur. Et certo crede fore vt posteritas habitura sit Erasmi nomen tanquam pestilentiam, luem aliquando et execrationem: siquidem posteritati plus obfuturus es, etiam si moriar, quam mihi. 500

Nec vero sic fide fucis tuis, si quicquam mali hac de causa mihi acciderit, vt etiam si sacra omnia prophanaque iures, ab huius sceleris infamia queas elabi. Si quis mihi insidiatur, Erasmus plane author est. Stilum vt cohibueris, docent Apologia ad dominum Iacobum Latomum et Dialogus Triling(u)um, et infamatoriae secedulae valuis 505

505. Latomum a: *correx.*

504. Apologia] See Ep. 934. 3n. Ep. 993. 34-40 and n. shows that Lee had good reason for considering that a passage in § 120 was directed against himself.

505. Dialogus] *Eruditi adolescentis Chonradi Nastadiensis Germani dialogus sane quam festiuis bilinguium ac trilinguium, siue de funere Calliopes. Sub scuto Basiliensi venale comperies.* s. l. et a. As the scutum Basiliense was the sign of Resch's shop in Paris (cf. Renouard, *Basilius*, i. 41-2, ii. 254) the book was without doubt printed for him. But the date is not so clear. Pace mentions a Louvain report that he had

brought the first copies with him from Germany, when he met Lee at Antwerp in July 1519 (cf. Ep. 1001. 53n); but declares that he had only seen the work in England, presumably after his return (Erv. p. 87). Lee (*Annotationes*, f. CC v<sup>o</sup>) found it in circulation at Louvain when he returned from his interview with Pace; therefore c. Aug. 1519. By the end of Sept. it had been sent from Basle to Beatus Rhenanus at Schlettstadt (BRE. 128, 132), and by 15 Oct. to Adelman at Augsburg, who on 1 Nov. agreed with Pirckheimer in attributing it to Erasmus (Heumann p. 177=HE. 143). But there is no-

templorum Louanii affixe, ac demum Epistolae ex officina Frobeniana nuper emissae, et epistola ad Lupsetum. Ego non tam stupidus sum vt hos tuos fucos non persentiam. Omnia agis, et nihil vis videri agere. Hostis es, et tamen amici personam induis. Sic fabulam agis  
 510 quasi spectatores haberes lapides, et te solum putas posse praestigiis vti quae nemo praeter te sapiat. Vtinam vere is esses quem vis

508. fuccos a.

thing to show whether it was in print as yet or in ms.: certainly it is short enough to invite copying by hand. Indication of date is given, however, with some probability, by a ms. inscription, 'Oct. 1519', on the title-page of the copy from which Haupt reprinted the dialogue in his *Wilhelm u. Conrad Nesen*, 1843, pp. 77 seq.; and the copy sent by Conrad Grebel to Vadianus, 6 Oct. 1519, from Melun, s. of Paris (VE. 170) was very likely in Resch's edition. Besides the first edition (12330 aa. 55), the British Museum has a later one (12314 aa. 57) with the year-date 1520, and on the title-page, 'exactissime ad autoris archetypum recognitus': which Proctor (11980) ascribes to Laz. Schürer at Schlettstadt. Van Iseghem mentions a copy of another edition (no. 128), which he believed to be by Martens, at Louvain. Copies of the *Dialogus* were sold by Jo. Dorne in Oxford, 25 Aug. and 13 Sept. 1520: see nos. 1134 and 1274 in his *Day-book*, ed. F. Madan, OHS. v, 1885, pp. 117, 121. In the *Eccius delolatus* attributed to Pirckheimer, 1520, the pseudonyms of the characters in the dialogue are interpreted, Phthonides being identified with Lee (cf. I. 211n); see *Hutteni Op.*, ed. Böcking, iv. 535.

Steitz, in *Archiv f. Frankfurts Gesch.*, x. f. vi (1877), pp. 74-8, follows Simler's edition of Gesner, 1583, p. 170, in ascribing the dialogue to Wm. Nesen (Ep. 329 introd.); with the suggestion that he used his brother's name because Conrad, being unknown in Louvain, would be safe from any disagreeable consequences. Having come recently from Paris (Ep. 994. 9n) Wm. Nesen would probably have connexions with Resch. But though Pace (Eev. p. 88) judged the work too puerile to be by Erasmus, and though in style and construction it is not really like the Colloquies, there is nevertheless some ground for the suspicions of Lee and Adelman; which were shared by Zwingli also (Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 113). The dialogue represents Erasmus' point of view (cf. Epp. 761. 63, 794. 75) and makes fun of his oppo-

nents. In the *Apol. qua respondet* (f<sup>o</sup>. D v<sup>o</sup>; Jortin ii. 510) Erasmus uses much equivocation, but makes no definite denial of authorship; so, too, in defending himself to Bucer in 1532 (cf. Ep. 495 introd.), 'De dialogo trilingui, vt largiamur quod tu supicari videris, non illic ad Euan-gelii persuasionem adhibetur fucus: tametsi quid fuci est vbi nullum apponitur nomen?' But a letter from Boniface Amerbach to Zasius (Basle MS. C.VI.<sup>a</sup>. 73. 380 (c. Sept. 1519, just when this dialogue was beginning to be circulated)) seems almost conclusive: 'Adiecimus hiis in Erasmo-mastygas dialogum. Subodoraberis auctorem. Non enim Lucianus festi-(ui)us lusisset'. I cannot think of any possible author, familiar also to Zasius, for whom Boniface was likely to be so discreetly reticent, other than the master to whom he was so devoted (cf. Ep. 1020), the translator of Lucian's dialogues. But the truth is perhaps to be found, as with Lystrius' scholia on the *Moria* (see Ep. 495 introd.) and Faber's *Consilium* (Ep. 1149), in joint authorship; that Nesen composed and Erasmus polished, as Zwingli indeed seems to suggest (Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 113). Cf. also a note on Erasmus' letter to Goclenius of 6 Feb. 1522.

L. Geiger, *Viert. f. Kult. u. Litt. d. Renaissance*, i (1886), pp. 247-50, ascribes the *Dialogus* to Erasmus; and mentions a copy in his own possession which he believes to have been presented by Erasmus to Adelman, with an autograph inscription by Adelman declaring that Erasmus was the author. O. Clemen in *Arch. f. Reformationsgesch.* i, 1904, pp. 355-64, maintains the authorship of Conr. Nesen.

505. infamatoriae] Cf. Eev. p. 88. In his *Annotationes* (f<sup>o</sup>. CC<sup>2</sup>) Lee describes these as printed. For other occasions on which this method was used see Epp. 1077. 3, 1168.

506. Epistolae] the *Farrago* (E). Besides Ep. 998, addressed in no friendly spirit to Lee, it contains damaging references to him in Epp. 906. 448-66, 936. 31-5, 993. 17-43, 999. 315-21.

507. ad Lupsetum] Ep. 1053.

videri! Sic nullum mihi tecum dissidium foret. Sic felicius ac pacatius haberent res Ecclesiae. Nam si pergis vt cepisti, vt in literario campo si quisquam tecum non eat, tales concitaturus sis tumultus, aut alii itidem facturi sint tuo exemplo, vtinam non satis recte praesagiam fore aliquando vt his factionibus Ecclesia sancta misere afflicteretur! Ego si multis annis minor natu exhortatione vellem apud te vti, forte contemneres. Paulus te doceat quiduis magis sustinere quam vt Ecclesia Dei per te scandalum patiatur: quem si sequeris magistrum, tum tibi bene consulturus es, tum Ecclesiae. Ego vero tam iuratus, vt forte tu putas, hostis sedulo Deum precabor vt bonae mentis et pacis spiritu te inspiret, quo teipsum possis cognoscere et captiuare intellectum tuum in obsequium Christi, in Ecclesiae aedificationem, non in destructionem; quo sic veram illam ac solidam gloriam tum a Deo tum ab hominibus nancisci queas.

Iam quia non libet tam bonum ocium tam male perdere in hoc genere certandi, quod quum neutri nostrum futurum sit honorificum, tum pio lectori ingratum, quaedam capita epistolae ad Lupsetum, qua voluisti animos omnium ante libri nostri aeditionem praeoccupare, nec citatis huc, quod in priore epistola fecimus, verbis tuis, confutabimus. Et quoniam vehementer laboras vt lectori persuadeatur te nihil impedisse vt liber noster aederetur, cogis nos quod saepe diximus, iterum ab ouo, quod aiunt, repetere, et apertius cumulatiusque explicare.

Primum igitur id prorsus affirmo, obstitisse te quo minus liber noster aederetur. Indicia haec sunt. Vesperi pridie quam typographus iam habens characteres primae formae paratos ad praelum, indicauit mihi non ausum se progredi, quod opus contra te foret, famulus tuus a quodam meo visus est ingredi domum typographi. Deinde, quum mane a sociis illius sciscitarer quidnam illic vesperi ageret famulus Erasmi, alter respondit intellexisse a magistro eum illic fuisse et secum collocutum, sed quid habuisset colloqui ignorare se. Ego statim accurro ad typographum. Percontor illum: nam certe non-nihil doli suspicabar esse in foribus, et res nostra lente processerat. Ille non tantum contentus inficiari famulum tuum apud se fuisse, etiam iusiurandum addidit. Iam mihi suspecta erat hominis fides. Tacitus tamen mecum rem considerabam, et praesagiebam quod euenit. Vix altera hora peragitur, quum ille prorsus recusaret operam. Postea voluit nouasse pactum, sed satis inique: nam qui antea, quum opus ambiret, spopondit daturum se mihi triginta exemplaria, iam pacisci contendit vt ducenta ab eo meo impendio sumerem. Et huic etiam conditioni accessissem, nisi mihi iam dubia hominis fides fuisset. Nam crede non latuisse me quid ipse moliretis, vt quaterniones statim a praelo per typographum tibi proderentur,

537. praelium a: *correci*.551. pacisci *scripsi*: pascisti a: pacisti a *corrig*.

518. Paulus] Cf. 1 Cor. 9. 12.

528. epistolae] Ep. 1053.

536. typographus] Thibault; cf. Ep. 1053. 117n. Lee's letter to Louvain (*Annot.* f<sup>o</sup>. CC r<sup>o</sup> and v<sup>o</sup>) shows that these negotiations with him and Hillen

(l. 584) preceded the arrival of the letters from Fisher, Colet, Pace, and More (cf. l. 603n and p. 110), and Lee's meeting with Pace at Antwerp in July (Ep. 1001. 53n): they must therefore be dated in April or May 1519. See also l. 112n.

555 vt tibi liberum esset, si res admodum vrgeret, sistere cursum in medio impetu; aut si forte opus procedere pateris, tantum intermissionis impetraturus esses, quo respondere interea potuisses, vt simul in publicum aederetur cum meo opere etiam tua responsio.

Ipse fassus es mihi subridens, etiamsi perrexisset typographus, 560 fuisse tamen rem protrahendam in tertium mensem, quum is mecum transegisset vt in tertiam ebdomadam prostaret. Vnde non obscurum est te dolum struxisse mihi. Nec etiam desunt qui putant allatam ad te primam chartulam furtim excusam. Cuius rei duo mihi fidem faciunt: alterum quod typographus, postquam retrocessit 565 a pacto, monitus a me vt characteres a retinaculis in cellulas suas statim meo quodam spectante distribueret (nempe et has technas ipse tum praesensi), noluerit id facere, quum alioqui nulla esset idonea causa cur facere recusaret, nisi vt quaternionem furtim excusum tibi proderet; alterum quod e tuis quidam primi illius quaternionis quan- 570 dam annotationem audiente quodam meo recitauerit. Quin et typographus ipse hanc praetexit excusationem, e sociis quendam voluisse tibi chartulas statim a praelo prodidisse, et propterea descivisse se a pactione, ne alieno scelere hac labe spargeretur. Et tamen quicquid ille nunc mentiatur, certum est seipsum concinnasse hunc dolum, sed 575 abs te pellectum.

Huc accedit quod, quum postea in quodam nostro colloquio in templo diui Petri Louanii negassem fuisse me traditurum typographo librum, nisi ipse monuisses id tibi gratissimum fore, plane inficiabar is te vnquam id dixisse. Sed nisi premi posset rumor, dicebas maluisse 580 te aedi quam premi librum. At iam adest quiddam certius indicio. Possem nominare cui dixisti iam poenitere te quod aeditionem libri impedisses. At nihil minus credo quam voluisse illum quicquam fingere contra te: nam ex his est qui te observant.

Postquam hic iam reiecisset rem, Hillenium postea tento; et is 585 prope ambiens rem, diem dicit Mercurii futurum ad auspiciu operis. Vix iam praeterierat horula, quum alia esset sententia, dubio procul abs te et tuis aut pecunia corruptus aut minis deteritus. Et tamen rethoriaris indigne tulisse te quod res ad nihilum reciderit, et mox accito typographo egisse vt pactionem instauraret, sed me mutata 590 sententia meme iam subduxisse. Ecquid non pudet impudentis mendacii? Ego post reiectum opus Sabbato hora decima antemeridiana mansi Antuerpiae Sabbatum totum et Dominicum totum, vsque ad Lune septimam antemeridianam. Nec tamen interea quisquam ad me accessit. Imo ne te rediens fallerem, 595 diligenter observans quid ego agerem, proximo curru secutus es currum meum a Mechlinia vsque Louanium; nec sic contentus, quo certior esses me esse in curru, descendisti et inspexisti in meum

580. indicio *scripsi*, cf. l. 134: iudicio a.

584. Hillemum a: *correx.*

581. cui dixisti] Possibly Nic. of Hertogenbosch (Ep. 616. 14n); who took part in these negotiations (*Apol. qua respondet* f<sup>o</sup>. B<sup>3</sup>; Jortin ii. 502).

584. hic] The first printer; cf. ll. 112, 536.

585. Mercurii] Perhaps 1 June, or 27

April; see l. 593n.

593. Lune] From the dates of Erasmus' movements in the spring of 1519, it seems that 6 June is the only Monday on which he could have returned from Antwerp to Louvain; unless perhaps 2 May (cf. Ep. 965 introd.).

currum, meis videntibus et id mihi postea referentibus, quum ego alio tum intentus essem. Hoc scit monoculus ille tuus Petrus, gloriae tuae preco, qui te tunc comitatus est. Ego mutata sententia subduxi me? Imo vehementer mihi doluit quod re infecta redissem domum. Nam rumor iam sparsus erat quod aeditionem libri molirer, ita vt puderet repulsae. Quod si Mori literae iam noua cogitantem non me praeuertissent, non sic cessassem. Et nunquid ipse fassus es mihi, postquam intellexisses etiam Hillenium mutasse sententiam, 605 dixisse te: 'Iam res salua est. Alii non sunt hic typographi praeter hos duos qui habent characteres Graecos.'

Sed et iam secundo quis in causa erat quominus successit res apud Hillenium? Sic tractasti rem vt proditis tibi in dies singulos singulis chartulis potuisses ex arbitrio tuo opus, quum velles, reicere e prelo, 610 vt ego sic ex te penderem, tuo nutu oleum perditurus et impensam. Porro quod Hillenio dubitanti quo animo esses laturus, si librum meum excuderet, dicis te respondisse 'vt maturaret; nam id tibi vehementer probari', scio quibus affirmasti respondisse 'nec inhibere velle te quominus faciat, nec item hortari vt faciat'. Haec responsio erat 615 ancipitis animi, et in eam partem magis propensi vt ne faceret. At quo animum tuum hunc esse amplius testareris, statim ad illum mittis Paraphrasim in Epistolas ad Timotheum et Titum, quum alioqui scires me iam transegisse cum illo; id quod hic confiteris. Itaque parum tecum constas, imo te ipsum palam redarguis. Si tam cordi 620 fuisset tibi aeditio libri mei, nihil debuisses intermiscere quo interturbaretur negocium.

Sed quis tam lapis est vt non perspiciat quibus artibus aggressus es hanc rem? Postquam statim a pacto Antuuerpam venisses, typographus qui in omnem horam antea paratus erat pro meo 625 libro, distulit rem ad duodecimum diem ante natalem Dominicum, hoc est in quadragesimum prope diem, post eum qui praestitutus erat. Quis hic non videt, praesertim successum rei spectans, tantum temporis in rem tuam fuisse prorogatum, tum vt Paraphrases absolueres, tum vt concinnares ac emitteres hanc tuam epistolam, 630 quo fucis istis ac mendaciis omnium animos praeoccupares. Nempe scibas id tua plurimum interesse, quod primis quaerimoniis plus aequo plerumque soleat deferri. Et tamen non omisi ad diem destinatum fratrem meum mittere Antuuerpam. Quem vt primum vidit Hillenius, dixit Paraphrases tuas habere se in manibus. Postea 635 tamen vbi, vt consentaneum est, tuos consulisset (nam tu iam Louanii eras, concinnans forte hanc epistolam), illum ipsum diem designauit ad auspiciu operis, quo primum haec epistola ad Lupsetum

605, 609. Hillemum a: *correcti*.

599. Petrus] Meghen: see Ep. 231. 4n.  
603. Mori literae] of 1 May 1519 (EAE. ff. B<sup>4</sup>-F; Evv. pp. 56-75; Jortin ii. 646-58), replying to two from Lee dated 10 and 20 April. In Evv. the date of More's letter is altered to 20 May (?2<sup>o</sup>).

608. secundo] From ll. 626-8 this second proposal of Lee to Hillen must have been made late in Oct. or early in Nov. 1519; for the date fixed for the

beginning of the printing, nearly 40 days (l. 627) before 14 Dec., was c. 6 Nov.

618. Paraphrasim] Ep. 1043.

624. a pacto] Lee's agreement with Hillen; cf. l. 608n.

venisses] See Ep. 1038 introd.

626. duodecimum] 14 Dec.

630. epistolam] Ep. 1053.

633. diem destinatum] c. 6 Nov.

637. diem] 14 Dec.; cf. l. 626.

apud typographum Theodericum Louaniensem e prelo mittebatur ac  
 640 prostabat. Vt vel caeco appareat non alio consilio procrastinatum  
 esse, nisi vt priusquam meus liber sub prelo esset, tu iam omnium  
 oculos noua hac fabula perstringeres, quam ceu oraculum obtruderis  
 ignaro adhuc rerum lectori; simulque videri posses me vrgere ad  
 promulgandum opus, quasi inde cupias fidem esse factam lectori non  
 645 te impedisse euulgationem operis, quod tam impense ambis vt  
 euulgetur.

His praestigiis et tam fluenti calamo fisus, nihil non polliceris tibi  
 posse te persuadere, sed stupidis forte et his qui in rem ipsam non satis  
 penetrent. Mihi nunquam persuadebis, etiam si tibi stupidus sum.  
 650 Nam quasi quouis trahere posses me in tuam sententiam, sic rethori-  
 caris, nimirum ipse sibi satis conscius rem longe secus habere, quum  
 non sim mihi conscius. Quin vero tu tibi conscius es rem longe secus  
 habere quam dicis. Et qui etiam tibi a secretis sunt, sibi conscii sunt,  
 apud sese taciti, mendacii, nihil dubita, te redarguentes. Nec desunt  
 655 qui arbitrantur non alio tendere quod per tuos quosdam superiore  
 estate a Germania et Lutecia prohibitus sum, si vellem saluti meae  
 consultum, quam vt ne his locis liber meus excuderetur: nam hic  
 certo scibas omnes typographorum officinas per te mihi esse praeclusas.

Hoc est principale caput illius epistolae, quod videor mihi absci-  
 660 disse. Iam ad reliqua. Nunquam mihi vel verbum fecisti de  
 Theoderico, quum alioqui nulla spes esset vt is tibi tam iuratus satis  
 ex fide ageret meum negocium. Nec vnquam dixi trecenta loca mihi  
 notata quae nemo posset diluere. Dixi forte quaedam esse quibus  
 non satis esset procliu bene respondere. Quum conditiones narras  
 665 abs te mihi propositas, quaedam immisces nunquam mihi audita.  
 Quod omnium aequissimum erat taces, videlicet quod domini Ioannis  
 Atensis censurae vtriusque nostrum consensu res permittebatur; et  
 illud item, quod hanc censuram subterfugeris. Sed et de ocio ad  
 quod me reieceras, ne verbum quidem facis. Nam haec contra te  
 670 faciunt, vt latius est videre ex nostra Apologia. Et vt summatim  
 dicam, haec sic vt tu dicis esse gesta Leeus inficias it.

Ad aeditionem prouocatum me abs te non nego. Et tamen homo  
 versipellis alio videbaris niti. Nam si per te licuisset, orbis iam diu  
 habuisset librum. Quod dicis ab his iactatum qui mihi fauent, sic  
 675 excusum iri librum vt inter tibi maleuolentium manus volitans post  
 annum demum abs te deprehenderetur, an quisquam tam insanus est  
 vt credat tibi haec dicenti? Quis typographus non omnibus et auide  
 communicat libros a se emissos? Et mihi plane decretum fuerat—  
 quod sunt qui testari possunt—librum statim ad te mittere, postquam  
 680 ad meas manus excusus peruenisset. Sed de mittendo libro Coloniam  
 nihil prorsus erat cogitatum. Non suscepi negocium inimico animo.  
 Nihil vnquam sincerius egi, et id quidem vsque hunc diem. Caete-  
 rum quod a te abalienatus sum, id tuo vitio factum est, non meo.  
 Nunquam tamen fui hostis, nec adhuc sum.

685 Illud non memini dixisse me tibi, quum primum Nouum Testa-  
 mentum tuum in manus susceperem, praeteritis praefationibus ad  
 rem properasse me. Et illud item me dixisse prorsus inficior, me

661. Theoderico] Martens: cf. Ep. 1053. 115.

662. trecenta loca] Cf. Ep. 1053. 78-9.

671. inficias it] Cf. Ep. 1053. 111.

674. dicis] Ep. 1053. 124-6.

686. praeteritis] Cf. Ep. 1053. 257.

multa reseculisse vt iam a posteriore Noui Testamenti aeditione super uacanea: quam nec tum in illo proximo colloquio videram, aut, si videram, non contuleram adhuc cum meis Annotationibus. Nec est quod obicias mihi *σφάλμα μνημικόν*, quod vtrumque dixerim, et retexuisse me opus et etiam nunquam futurum vt librum euulgarem? Etenim alterum feci in Martio, quum te consentiente librum ad reuerendum Roffensem essem missurus: et hoc quidem tempore secunda aeditio tua nondum prostabat. Porro alterum dixi postea in Iulio, vbi multorum amicorum literas ad concordiam nos hortantes acceperissem. Hoc volui dare voluntatibus amicorum. Et plane tum habebam in animo quod dixi, modo reuerendus dominus Roffensis censuram dignaretur suscipere, nec tu amplius pungeres ad aedendum.

Nihil hic fuisse factum nisi simplicissimo animo, Deus scit; qui et scit quantum abhorruerim ab hoc certamine, quam et dulce mihi fuerit illud meum ocium cum literis Graecis et Hebraicis. Quod tu toties interturbasti, nulla prorsus a me iniuria lacessitus; sed (quod vero simile est) aut opimam tibi laudem aut grande mihi malum pollicitus ex hac pugna, aut etiam forte aliud in pectore habens, aliud in ore. Nam et rumoribus fuerat satisfaciendum, qui tua culpa sparsi sunt, non mea. Ego tantum partes meas tutatus sum contra calumnias. Tu nunquam cessasti apud pueros, apud laicos, apud essedarios—nam et in essedo intellexi te quaedam effutisse: vt in hoc Dodonaem es verius sis quam ego, qui vbique ac perpetuo tinueris, nec vnquam quieueris ab illo die quo primum te hortante hanc operam ingressus sum; nimirum quiduis aequiore animo ferens quam amicum monitorem, praesertim qui idem sit ingenuus ac ex animo moneat, qui mos est synceriter amicorum.

Sed quod tam sitientem gloriae facis me vt vel scelere vel impudentia velim eam mihi parare (nam me Herostrato similem facis et nescio cui Ortwino Gratia), non videris mihi tecum satis constare, qui me simul et gloriae cupidum facias et prorsus insanum. Plane plusquam insanirem, si tam paratam habens gloriam ex tuo pollicito, et tam leui opera, vt in tuis erratis caecutirem adblandirerque, alia via quaererem cum laboriosa ac ancipiti, tum etiam multis nominibus periculosa. Tua illa iam praesens mihi erat, si sic vellem, vt iam omnium ore cantarer 'Leeus Erasmi ac Musarum omniumque bonarum literarum amicus'. Ex dubio hoc certamine si quae expectetur, serius tamen veniet, nec satis grata quod cum multis molestiis ac periculis sit coniuncta, nec satis solida quod semper erit multorum Erasmeorum latratui obnoxia. Sed ea est tua modestia vt semper mihi tribuas quod tibi peculiare est; qui vt gloriam tibi parias, velut censoria virgula de omnibus sententiam fers, antiquitati non cedis; imo qui videri vis plus vnus videre quam viderint omnes illi Ecclesiae sanctae sapientissimi heroes. Ego vni tantum tibi et tot modis vrgenti, etiam si paulo liberius forte quam tu velles, nihil tamen plus iusto aliquoties obstrepo.

Sed quod factum meum incendiarii exemplo nobilitas, viderit aequus quiuis vter nostrum incendiarium magis referat, egone qui

688. reseculisse] Cf. Ep. 1053. 44-7.

691. obicias] Ep. 1053. 57.

710. Dodonaem] Cf. Epp. 1030. 14n,  
1053. 334-5.

713. monitorem] But cf. Ep. 1076.  
6n.

715. facis] Ep. 1053. 201 seq.

722. Tua illa] sc. gloria.

pio zelo coner liberare sacram lectionem et Ecclesiastica dogmata a calumniis (vtinam quam velim tam par esse queam!), an tu qui tot calumniis impetas; qui foedata ab haereticis exemplaria in orbem cures propagari, vnde periculum sit et veram ac germanam lectionem  
 740 aliquoties contaminari: qui etiam non semel patrocinium videris suscipere haereticorum, vt, si quis alter, tu maxime ignem suscitare videaris, non facticiae dee templo, exemplo Herostrati, sed Ecclesiae Iesu Christi quam redemit sanguine suo, exemplo forte Arrhii et aliarum pestium; et talem ignem qui vix restingui queat si, qua  
 745 coepisti, perges.

Argumentum abs te susceptum nunquam improbaui. Nec vnquam arrogau mihi vt possem Graece aut Latine soluere, quod aiunt, corrigiam calciamenti tui. Nec certe cupiam par esse tibi, nisi et alia accedant quae desunt tibi. Ego quantum calamo possum, iam primum  
 750 exerior, et sentio me nihil posse. Et tamen vtcunque balbutiendum est, quando tu sic pungis. Plus tibi permittis in Nouo quam ego mihi in Veteri Testamento. Nam in Nouo sic notas quae tibi displicent, vt doceas; ego tantum labilis memoriae meae subsidiarium compingo volumen, adhuc reptans, non gradiens. Nam non pro-  
 755 cliue fuerit progredi inoffense in Biblia Hebraica, nisi primum Hebraicorum vocabulorum radices collegeris. Haec mihi summa laboris est, vt memoriam iuuem, non vt doceam. Certe si per hos tumultus lieuisset, iam rem vteumque perduxissemus ad calcem.

Illud vero quam praeferat simplex, modestum ac Christianum pectus  
 760 tuum, quod zizaniam moliaris seminare inter fratres, quando scribis me in odium tui amicissimum factum his de quibus antea pessime et loquebar et sentiebam. Nihil dubito prudentiores esse quos innuis quam vt tibi tali auctori credant. Veneratus sum semper hunc ordinem. Arctae in nos amicitiae nullum hactenus erat argumentum.  
 765 Praeter vnum et alterum forte vix nominatim adhuc salutare possum; nec mihi vlla vnquam cum his fuit consuetudo. Nunquam eorum quenquam instigau contra te—sim apud eos mendax si vnquam feci; nec vnquam de eis minus quam par erat honorifice aut locutus sum aut sensi.

Calumniaris quod sparso rumore quod mortuus esses Basileae, ego tum demum faustam occasionem, vt videbar, nactus, totam hanc regionem et meam Angliam sexcentis illis locis impleuerim. Ille rumor ad aures meas nunquam increbuit. Postquam iam redisses ex Basilea, ac nescio quo morbo laborans decubares in domo Theoderici Alustensis, memini semel mihi nuntiatum a Matthaeo Adriano  
 775 Hebraeo desperatum prope esse de tua salute. Nunquam bene valeam nisi statim illi responderim vehementer dolere me si id verum sit: nam facturas bonas literas magnam in tua morte iacturam.

Impudens essem si iactitassem sexcenta loca mihi collecta, quando  
 780 liber apud Atensem erat vno aut altero prope mense; vt tibi mearum Annotationum copiam faceret si velles. Itaque praeter notam quam

738. ab haereticis] In the introd. to his second *Responsio* against Lee (LB. ix. 123,4) Erasmus rehearses specimens of the heretical opinions with which he was charged.

747. corrigiam] Cf. John i. 27.

752. in Veteri] Cf. Ep. 1053. 278n.

760. scribis] Ep. 1053. 327-8.

764. ordinem] The Dominicans; cf. Ep. 1006. 4n.

770. Calumniaris] Ep. 1053. 338-41.

774. decubares] Cf. Ep. 867. 193-249.



incurrissem vani hominis apud Atensem, tui ipsius oculi vanitatem meam redarguissent. Si tota haec regio et mea Anglia exemplaribus repleta sit, alterum sequi necesse est: aut te nec hic nec in Anglia amicos habere, me vero magno numero fidos Achates; aut te simul-<sup>785</sup> lasse tantum cupere librum habere, nec cupisse tamen, at me viam fecisse quo haberes, qui tam late sparserim. Nam qui posset fieri ut tuas ac tuorum manus tamdiu euaderent, si tam late propagata fuissent? Hic nemo cui vel cor sit tibi credat: unde et metiri est qualis sis et in reliquis.

Et eiusdem farinae est quod dicis me solis his negasse quos scirem tibi certos esse amicos, et percontanti tibi cur illi cuidam non facerem copiam mei libri, respondisse me eum tibi synceriter amicum esse. Louanii praeter Atensem ex theologis vidit nemo; qui tum erat amicus tibi, nec adhuc hostem credo. Notarii qui descripserant<sup>795</sup> exemplaria vtri nostrum melius velint, mihi incertum est, nisi quod vnum ex his sciam meas tibi Annotationes prodidisse. In Anglia viderunt tres amici tui, reuerendus Roffensis, Morus et Latimerus; et qui inimicus sit tibi, quod sciam, nemo prorsus vidit. Nec praeter hos in Anglia conscius sum mihi ex omni sorte quattuor vidisse.<sup>800</sup> Sed quod dicis me respondisse 'propterea non ostendisse me illi cuidam librum, quod synceriter fuerit tibi amicus', sic respondisse me plane inficior. Mirum vero cur non nomines illum quendam. Sed haec, ut cetera, quo fidem captes a lectore: sed quem spero toties deprehensus non amplius falles.

Sic iam praeterquam expectaram, duabus his epistolis coactus sum respondere. Nam quum putassem nostram Apologiam ad omnes prorsus diluendas calumnias iustam satis ac plenam satisfactionem complecti, noua contra nos et specie certiora quippe multis tuis phaleris instructa ingerunt hae duae epistolae; quae consilium non<sup>810</sup> videbatur praeterire, ne videremur agnoscere. Quod si plus satis quibusdam respondi, nimium occasionem indulgens, ad id extimulauit me eadem res repetita his duabus epistolis. Et hortante loco, quae antea non memineram, et tamen ad rem videbantur pertinere, memoriae succurrebant. Porro si toties et etiam acerbe stimulatus<sup>815</sup> paulo vehementius videbor retorsisse telum, veniam mereor quod prouocatus id fecerim: nec tam mea causa quam Ecclesiae, cuius zelus interdum nonnihil mihi excussit. Deus scit me non multum dedisse affectui, etiam si non potuerim vbique mihi imperare qualem tu forte cuperes temperantiam. Simpliciter ac aperte dixi quod sensi.<sup>820</sup> Non sum vsus fuco, nec odio vnquam habui, a consilio. Et tamen ut ingenuum videbatur reiicere crimina quae non agnosco, ita graue erat ac permolestum tecum digladiari, homine tam vbique celebrato et mihi aliquandiu habito amico, imo tot communibus amicis non vulgariter amico. Sed praestare non debeo quod vitare non possum.<sup>825</sup> Mihi prorsus decretum erat silere et ocio meo frui, si per te licuisset: nam nihil mihi vnquam contigit molestius quam hoc certamen.

Vale Louanii. Calen. Februa. An. M.D.xx.

791. dicis] Ep. 1053. 359-60.

797. prodidisse] Cf. Ep. 998. 17n.

801. illi cuidam] More; cf. Ep. 1053.

360-2.

803. non nomines] More's name is

lacking in the editions which Lee had seen; but is given in H.

807. Apologiam] See Ep. 1037.

818. zelus] Cf. Ps. 68. 10 (69. 9), John 2. 17.

## 1062. TO LORENZO CAMPEGIO.

Paraphrasis ad Ephesios p. 3.  
Lond. xxix. 74: LB. vii. 967.

Louvain.  
5 February 1518.

[The preface to the Paraphrase on Ephesians (cf. Ep. 996. 6on); see also l. 175n. As Erasmus was at Louvain, it is probable that, like the earlier Paraphrases (Epp. 710, 916, 956: but cf. Ep. 1043), this too made its first appearance from Martens' press. No copy seems to be known: but Martens' editions were perhaps small—of Corinthians (Ep. 916) only three copies are known to me, of Peter and Jude (Ep. 1112) two, of Hebrews (Ep. 1181) one, of James (Ep. 1171) only a trace—, and thus this may have disappeared. If there was a Louvain edition, it cannot be dated later than Feb. 1520; for on 1 March 1520 Boniface Amerbach writes to Zasius, 'Scito omnes in totum Paulum Paraphrases ab Erasmo absolutas: tibi communicaturus sum posteaquam excusae fuerint' (Basle MS. C. VI. 73. 286). Froben's first issue of this composition (α) is dated in the same month as Boniface's letter; but Erasmus seems to have been quickly dissatisfied with his preface, for in Froben's next edition, March 1521 (β), he materially transformed it, and made considerable additions, some of which closely resemble passages in Ep. 1167—a letter which he wrote to Campegio just about the time when he must have been revising this preface for β. Of the later Froben editions enumerated on p. 123, the folio of 1532 (ε) shows some marks of revision; and the octavo of 1523 (γ), the folio of 1523-4 (δ), the octavo of 1534 (ζ), and the folios of 1540-1 (η) have a few, probably inadvertent, variants.

The texts of α and β for this preface are so diverse that it is not possible to fuse them satisfactorily. I have therefore adopted the text of β in all points, and have recorded the variants of α in the critical notes. A few lapses in Lond., which LB. corrects, are disregarded here.

Erasmus used the opportunity offered, to address to Campegio an appeal on behalf of good learning such as he had already sent to the Pope and the Abp. of Mainz (Epp. 1007, 1033) and quite recently to Wolsey (Ep. 1060): continuing to connect the two Cardinals together in his mind, as he had done during Campegio's residence in England (cf. Epp. 968. 12, 969. 9, 970. 15-18). Ep. 1183. 19 mentions a reply from Campegio, which is not, however, extant.]

REVERENDISSIMO IN CHRISTO PATRI AC DOMINO D. LAVRENTIO  
CAMPEGIO, S. R. S. TT. S. THOMAE IN PARIONE CARDINALI,  
ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS S. D.

QVOTIES inconstantiam rerum humanarum intueor, Laurenti, cardinalicii ordinis non infimum decus, videor mihi prorsus Euripum quendam videre aut si quid Euripo instabilius: adeo vicibus irrequietis sursum deorsum voluntur ac reuoluuntur, nec possunt  
5 eodem in statu diu consistere. Cum ad summa ventum est, recurritur ad relictā, donec rursus eo veniatur vt a fastigio iam intolerabili cursum deflectere cogamur: porro si quis mari conetur obsistere aut huius cursum alio deriuare, nunquam id fecerit sine graui discrimine

TTT. CAMPEGIO *om.* α. S. R. S. β: S. R. E. ε: S. E. R. α. β: PARIONE α.  
1. Laurenti . . . 2. decus β: reuerendissime pater α. 3. quendam β: quempiam α. aut . . . instabilius *om.* α. 4. sursum deorsum β: susque deque α. ac reuoluuntur *om.* α. 7. cursum deflectere cogamur β: cogamur cursum reflectere α. 8. discrimine rerum, ingentique β: rerum discrimine ac α.

Tit. R. S.] Romanae Sedis: in α, Ecclesiae Romanae.

rerum ingentique tumultu. Sic olim Romanorum monarchiam excepit democratia aut certe oligarchia; quae et ipsa tandem eo 10 licentiae processit vt tribunis plebis ac dictatoribus foret opus, mox etiam imperatoribus: quorum potestas in immensum euecta fecit vt rursus pristini reipublicae status desiderarentur. Sed infinitum fuerit ad hunc modum conferre singula rerum genera, surgentium vicissim ac cadentium, florentium, iacentium, ac denuo refflorescen- 15 tium, nouaque subinde specie repullulantium. Illud magis mirum, sacris etiam studiis, quae maxime decebat sibi constare, suas esse vices aestuarias.

Olim credebatur philosophia Christiana, non disputabatur; et pia simplicitas hominum sacrorum voluminum oraculis erat contenta: 20 nec egebat variis praescriptis vltro prompta charitas, omnia credens, nusquam haerens. Mox theologiae patrocinium capessebant humanis instructi disciplinis, sed ferme his quas hodie rhetoricas vulgus appellat. Paulatim magis ac magis adhiberi coepit philosophia, primum Platonica, mox Aristotelica; coeptum quaeri de multis 25 quae vel ad mores vel ad coelestium rerum speculationem pertinere videbantur. Quae res primum visa est propemodum necessaria: at sensim eo succreuit vt plerique, neglecta linguarum ac politioris literaturae peritia, imo neglectis diuinis voluminibus, in curiosis, superuacaneis et immodicis quaestiunculis velut ad Sireneos scopulos 30 consenescerent. Iam ars esse coepit theologia potius quam sapientia; theatra verius quam ad veram pietatem accommoda. Hanc praeter ambitionem auaritiamque viciarunt et aliae pestes, adulatio, contentio ac superstitio.

Quibus rebus vbi tandem eo ventum est vt Christus ille purus 35 propemodum esset obrutus humanis argutationibus, ac limpidissimi quondam Euangelicae doctrinae fontes, Philistaeorum scrobe oppleti, diuinaeque Scripturae certissima regula, nunc huc nunc illuc detorta, nostris seruiret affectibus magis quam gloriae Christi, quidam pia certe mente conati sunt orbem ad pristinam studiorum simplicitatem 40 reuocare atque a lacunis iam fere turbidis ad viuas illas ac purissimas scatebras reducere. Eam ad rem conficiendam linguarum ac bonarum, vt vocant, literarum cognitio visa est in primis conducere, quarum neglectu videmur huc prolapsi.

Atque hic protinus ingens tumultus in ipso rerum confinio, dum 45

10. aut certe oligarchia *om. a.* 11. tribunis plebis ac *om. a.* 12. im-  
peratoribus  $\beta$ : regibus *a.* 13. pristini . . . desiderarentur  $\beta$ : democratia  
desideraretur *a.* 14. surgentium . . . 16. Illud *om. a.* 17. sacris . . . con-  
stare  $\beta$ : et studiis *a.* 19. philosophia  $\beta$ : doctrina *a.* 20. sacrorum  
voluminum oraculis  $\beta$ : sacris voluminibus *a.* 21. Nec egebat . . . 27. videban-  
tur  $\beta$ : Mox adhibitis disciplinis humanis quaeri coeptum de multis, multa in  
controuersiam rapi *a.* 28. neglecta . . . 29. voluminibus  $\beta$ : neglectis diuinis  
libris *a.* 30. superuacaneis et immodicis  $\beta$ : ac superuacaneis *a.* 31. Iam  
ars . . . 44. prolapsi  $\beta$  (33. auaritiamque  $\epsilon$ : auariciam  $\beta$ ): Vbi ventum esset eo vt  
Christus ille coelestis hominum argutiis pene esset obrutus, quidam conati sunt  
ad pristinam studiorum orbem simplicitatem reuocare, et a lacunis iam nimium  
turbidis ad fontes purissimos retrahere. Ad eam rem videbatur peritia lingua-  
rum ac bonarum, vt vocant, literarum cognitio cum primis conducere *a.*

10. democratia] For Erasmus' in-  
terest in this cf. Ep. 1001. 82.

37. Philistaeorum] Cf. Ep. 858. 182.  
41. lacunis] Cf. Ep. 1002. 15n.

altera pars nimium mordicus tenet ea quibus assuevit, altera violentius irrupit, hosti quam hospiti similior. Ita vtriusque malo peccatur vtrique. Sic olim Euangelicae doctrinae mustum auersabantur Iudaei, veteri vino Mosaicae legis assueti, et contumeliam  
 50 interpretabantur quo prior illa lex et perficiebatur et ornabatur: ac nouitatem habebant inuisam, cum potius ad priscam vetustatem reuocarentur. Porro sic fit vt beneficium vertatur in dispendium, cum et medicus inclementer atque incommode admouet remedium, et aegrotus saluti consulentem pro hoste ducit. Conueniebat magis  
 55 vt qui profitentur has literas, quae vulgo laborant inuidia nouitatis, cum sint antiquissimae, ciuilitate irreperant potius quam hostiliter irrumperent; neque statim veluti sexagenarios de ponte depellerent, sed paulatim coalescerent noui hospites cum veteribus colonis. Neque enim in hoc adhibentur literae politiores, vt aboleantur disciplinae, quae cum maximo generis humani bono traduntur in publicis  
 60 scholis; sed vt purgatiores sint magisque sobriae quam hactenus fuerint apud quosdam. Sit sane regina theologia, sed nulla regina tam potens quae pedissequarum recuset officium. Ab aliis admoneri se patitur, ab aliis comi; et ad suam gloriam pertinere credit, si  
 65 famulas habeat quam honestissimas.

Quod si qui bonarum literarum praesidio veterem eruditionem student ornare, comiter et placide suum adhiberent officium, et ii qui in pristinis studiis consenuerunt, nec sibi nec iunioribus inuiderent, sed novos aduenas in ciuitatis suae consortium humaniter  
 70 recipere; futurum esset vt vtrique res alteri sit tum ornamento tum vsui futura, nimirum duplicato lucro mutua commutatione bonorum. Nunc dum nos inuicem luto conspergimus, imo dum inuicem nos lapidamus, perit vtrisque suus fructus, et vtraque pars magno cum malo discedit. In libellis, quibus alteros alteri lacerant,  
 75 plus est conuiciorum quam argumentorum. In scholasticis diatribis plus est dentis quam eruditionis, plus conuicii quam iudicii, plus studiorum quam libertatis. In sacris concionibus Euangelica doctrina, quam oportebat esse purissimam, humanis affectibus vitatur. Peccant qui odiose vociferantur in hactenus recepta studia, licet  
 80 infantia: sed grauius peccant qui consensu suggestu, vnde solet audiri tuba Euangelica Christi gloriam personans, seditiose clamitant, 'Arcete liberos vestros a Graecis literis, hinc nascuntur haereses. Ne tangite libros illius et illius',—neque enim a nominibus temperant—'qui corrigit Precationem Dominicam, qui castigat canticum

46. nimium *om. a.* violentius . . . 58. colonis *β* (51. potius *add. e.* 57. velut *71*): mauult a fastigio semel depellere quam paulatim deducere *a.* 59. in hoc adhibentur *β*: ita sunt adhibendae *a.* aboleantur . . . 61. magisque *β*: aboleantur scholastica disciplina, sed vt purgatiores sint ac magis *a.* 62. Sit sane . . . 72. bonorum *β* (67. ii *β*: hi *δ*): Quod si qui in illis consenuerunt, eas ciuilitate amplectantur, atque harum professores illis sese vicissim accommodent, futurum est vt vtrique res alteri sit tum vsui tum ornamento *a.* 75. scholasticis *om. a.* 76. plus studiorum quam libertatis *om. a.* 79. in hactenus . . . 80. grauius *β*: scholasticas et infantes literas nihil habere bonae rei, sed e diuerso *a.* 80. suggesto *ε*: cf. *Epp.* 1164. 25, 1167. 34, 1196 bis. 81. *β*: euangelica tuba *a.* seditiose *om. a.* 82. Arcete . . . 83. temperant *β*: Ne sinite liberos vestros discere Graecas literas: ex his nascuntur haereses et Antichristi. Est quidam *a.* 84. qui castigat . . . 85. emendat *β*: ac Magnificat, vt vocant, qui castigat *a.*

57. irrumperent] Cf. *Ep.* 1167. 14.  
 de ponte] See *Adag.* 437; citing

*Ov. F.* 5. 634 and other sources.  
 84. Precationem] Cf. *Ep.* 948. 108, 114.

Magnificat, qui emendat Euangelium sancti Ioannis. Adeste prae-85  
fecti, succurrite ciues. Tantam pestem arcete rebus humanis'.

Quae quum dicuntur apud imperitam multitudinem, quid fingi  
possit seditiosius? si apud eruditos et cordatos viros dicantur, quid  
insanius? Et tamen qui haec publice faciunt, haberi volunt Chri-  
stianae religionis columna. Nec interea perpendunt, quod Christi 90  
doctrinam profitentes, dum incessunt famam benemerentium, aut  
certe studentium benemereri, ex diametro dissident ab eo quod  
profitentur. Praeterea non cogitant interim operae suae fructum  
magna ex parte perire, cum ipsis tum populo, dum hisce rebus sibi  
fidem abrogant apud auditores. Quis enim credat odium et simul- 95  
tatem prae se ferenti? E diuerso lucubrationes eorum qui suis  
vigiliis et studiis et verae pietati pro sua virili consulere student,  
minore cum fructu leguntur: nisi parui referre putamus, integro  
animo librum sumas in manum an inimica persuasionem aut certe  
imaginationem occupato. Postremo pro semine Euangelico pessima 100  
zizania seritur dissidiorum atque odii; quae vbi semel occupauit  
hominum animos, haud facile reuellitur.

Nec facile quis credat e quantulis scintillis paulatim gliscentibus  
quam ingens incendium saepe nasci soleat. Nihil est autem in  
rebus humanis tam florens quod non vertat in perniciem discordia. 105  
At eam nusquam magis vitatam oportuit quam in studiis, praesertim  
sacris; quorum autoritate praecipue tumultus humanarum cupidita-  
tum sedari par erat. Quid enim aliud quam pacem docet, qui  
Christum docet? Quod si contigerit salem esse insulsum, quid  
superit quo condiantur insulsa? Si lucem Euangelicae philosophiae 110  
cupiditates obscurant humanae, quid erit quod discutiat animi nostri  
caliginem? Quis autem nescit bonam religionis nostrae partem  
pendere a studiorum ratione? At nunc hanc quoque vitae nostrae  
paradisum sic suo veneno vitiauit veterator ille serpens, ut mihi  
non paulo praestabilius videatur quemuis hortulum colere quam 115  
litteras, videlicet cepis et caulibus plus allaturis fructus cultori suo  
quam ad lucernam vigilatis noctibus.

Sed iam dudum obmurmurat mihi tuus animus, Quorsum tandem

85. Adeste . . . 86. humanis β: Succurrite ciues, adeste praefecti α. 87.  
quum dicuntur β: si dicantur α. quid fingi possit β: nihil α. 88. erudi-  
tos et β: doctos ac α. dicantur quid β: nihil α. 89. qui haec β: haec  
qui α. 90. interea β: interim α. Christi doctrinam profitentes om. α.  
91. aut certe studentium benemereri om. α. 92. ab eo . . . 95. auditores β: a  
doctrina Christi quam profitentur, et bonam fructus partem perdunt, sibi quoque  
fidem abrogantes apud populum α. 95. et similitatem om. α. 96. E  
diuerso . . . 100. Postremo β: atque α. 100. pessima zizania seritur β: pessimam  
serunt zizaniā α. 102. animos, haud β: studia, non α. 103. Nec facile  
. . . 104. soleat om. α. 104. autem om. α. 106. . At eam β: , quam α. vita-  
tam β: seruata α. 107. quorum . . . 118. Sed β: vnde pendet bona pars  
Christianae reipublicae. At nunc videmus rem propemodum in rabiem exisse,  
ut si ad hunc pergatur modum, praestabilius videatur ortulum coluisse quam  
litteras. Scio α. 118. tuus animus . . . 119. Videlicet β: T. R. D. Quid haec  
ad me? aut quid ad paraphrasim? Nimirum α.

85. Magnificat] Cf. Ep. 948. 97, 108,

found in all the authorized editions.

115. Euangelium] Cf. Ep. 1072 introd.

115. hortulum] The unaspirated  
form is found in α. Cf. Ep. 270. 16n,

109. insulsum] Cf. Mark 9. 50.

where the aspirate is not inserted un-  
til N.

113. hanc] This unusual gender is

haec tam multa? Videlicet vt tuo tuique similium admonitu Leo  
 120 noster P. M. circulum immortalis suae gloriae, quem feliciter orsus  
 est, absoluat. Iampridem rem diuinam praestitit orbi Christiano,  
 qui reges ac populos impiis bellis inter se tumultuantes in concordiam  
 redegerit; fortasse non minus insigne beneficium praestaturus, si  
 studiis quoque suam restituat tranquillitatem. Res enim tam amaris  
 125 odiis, tam virulentis linguis, tam cruentis conflictationibus agitur,  
 vt mihi nondum liqueat maiore malo constiterit humano generi  
 ille tumultus armorum an haec dissidia studiorum. Quod serenissi-  
 mus Angliae Rex Henricus, eius nominis octauus, vna cum Achate  
 suo R. D. Thoma cardinale Eboracensi, nec dubito quin te quoque  
 130 consultore, praestitit suae Britanniae, id Leo praestare debet orbi  
 terrarum cui praesidet, Christi vicibus fungens, cui nulla res magis  
 cordi fuit quam concordia. Non opinor cuiquam veterum regum aut  
 imperatorum titulum speciosiore erectum fuisse quam hunc nostro  
 Leoni positum, vt ferunt, 'Leoni x ob pacem orbi Christiano  
 135 restitutam'.

Quid quod haec res non solum generali quadam ratione ad illum  
 pertinet, ad quem pertinet quicquid ad religionis ac pietatis negotium  
 pertinet? sed peculiariter etiam illius refert, ne quiduis quibuslibet  
 liceat in linguas ac bonas literas, quibus ipse suo grauissimo iudicio  
 140 tantum tribuit vt tantis impendiis suis conducat vndique qui Romae  
 profiteantur; sic existimans, Vrbi tot ornamentis inclytae non me-  
 diocre decus hinc etiam accessurum. Nimirum perspicit pectus  
 illius oculatissimum linguarum cognitionem non solum ad disciplina-  
 rum professionem esse necessariam, verum etiam ad Christianae  
 145 ditionis pomeria vel propaganda vel stabilienda. Quod enim vnquam  
 regnum aut coaluit aut diuturnum fuit absque linguarum commu-

119. Leo . . . 120. gloriae β: S. D. N. Leo x pulcherrimam laudem a. 120.  
 quem γ: quam αβδ. 121. Iampridem om. a. Christiano om. a. 123. insigne  
 beneficium om. a. 124. Res . . . 127. ille β: Nam mihi sane nondum liquet vtra  
 res maiore malo constiterit humano generi, illene a. 128. αβδ: Heinri-  
 cus γ. eius nominis om. a. 129. D. Thoma om. a. nec . . . 130. con-  
 sultore β (consulto ζ): om. a. 130. debet . . . 134. Leoni x β (133. hunc β: hic  
 est ε. 134. positum β: positus ε): potest orbi. Quod si fecerit, tum demum  
 plenam laudem habebit longe pulcherrimus ille titulus, Leoni PP. x a. 136.  
 Quid . . . 152. gloria om. a.

122. in concordiam] By the Treaty of  
 London for universal peace, 2 Oct.  
 1518: see Brewer ii. 4469.

124. studiis quoque] Erasmus had  
 directly invoked Leo's protection in  
 Ep. 1007.

Res enim] With this and the next  
 paragraph, which appears first in β,  
 cf. Ep. 1167. 16-25.

128. Angliae Rex] For the recent  
 progress made at Oxford and Cam-  
 bridge in the study of the classical  
 languages see Epp. 229 introd., 456.  
 228 seq., 457. 55-9, 965, 967. 26n, 990;  
 and, for Henry's sympathy with it,  
 Ep. 948. 183-219.

130. consultore] Cf. Epp. 961 introd.,  
 990. 11.

134. Leoni] A colossal statue of Leo  
 by Domenico Ami had recently been  
 erected in Rome on the Capitol: see  
 Pastor viii. 352-3, citing Rodocanachi,  
*Capitole*, 1905, pp. 167, 8. The inscrip-  
 tion is given by W. Roscoe, *Life of Leo*  
*X*, ch. 14 fin., and by V. Forcella,  
*Iscrizioni delle Chiese . . . di Roma*, i. 1869,  
 p. 32: it does not contain the words  
 here tentatively reported by Erasmus.  
 Since 1876 the statue has been placed  
 in S. Maria in Aracoeli.

140. conducat] For Leo's patron-  
 age of learning, and especially the  
 foundation of the College of Greek, in  
 1513, with John Lascaris (Ep. 269.  
 51n) at its head, see Creighton v.  
 173-4, Pastor viii. 259-78.

nium glutino? Iam ipse iudica quantopere illius intersit, si Nouum Testamentum, quod illius hortatu suscepi, quod eiusdem hortatu denuo recognoui, quod Christo et ipsi dicaui, licebit cuius rabulae indocto apud indoctos traducere. Me sane mei nominis iactura 150 leuiter commouet, modo Christo suus constet fructus, Leoni sua gloria.

Quod si ratio sarciendae concordiae quaeritur, ita rem confici facillime posse arbitror, si per illius oraculum aedicatur vt suam quisque professionem ornet efferatque citra contumeliam alienae, vt 155 vtrunque coherceatur linguae calamique rabies, potissimum ab his quos magis decet haec moderatio. Quod si quid dissentietur—vt est frequenter, quemadmodum in palatis, ita et in ingeniis quoque dissensio—, omnis contentio intra ciuilem conflictum consistat, in rabiem ne exeat. Porro si quid ad fidei synceritatem magnopere 160 pertinebit (neque enim huc obtorto collo pertrahenda sunt omnia), primum res agatur per eos qui vere norunt fidei mysteria; deinde qui non sint tales vt sub praetextu fidei suum agant negocium; postremo vt res moderatis iudiciis, non seditiosis clamoribus agatur. Neque enim omnibus fortasse libet quorumlibet arbitrio Christianos 165 esse.

Haec non dubitabam quin tibi facile persuasurus essem, cuius eruditus candor et eruditio candida non sum nescius quam abhorreat ab omni virulentia. Nec difficile T. R. D. persuadebit S. D. N. Leoni, siue quod is te ob eximias dotes tuas optimo iure facit 170 maximi, siue quod ipse suoapte ingenio ad pacem et concordiam mire propensus est. Huius opellae quam petimus, si parum iustum videtur praemium quod omnibus seculis tota literatorum cohors Laurentii Campegii nomen laudibus vehet, en addo et ipse meo nomine quaecunque auctarium, Paraphrasin in quinque Paulinas 175 Epistolas, quas ex omnibus illius germanis reliquas hoc impetu proximo absolui. Neque enim ordine labor hic mihi peractus est, nec eodem tempore, nec eodem impetu. Ita factum vt alias partes aliis dedicarim. Mihi bona spes est hoc certe victurum opus, vt pote quod probatur et ab iis qui velut ex professo nostra omnia 180 solent arrodere. Simul autem visum est fidem meam R. T. D. ob-

153. Quod si . . . 154. oraculum  $\beta$ : Porro ratio concordiae sic facile constabit, si per illius oraculum minus licebit sycophantis quibusdam et omnibus  $\alpha$ . 155. ornet efferatque  $\beta$ : efferat atque ornet  $\alpha$ . vt vtrunque . . . 157. moderatio  $\alpha$ . 157. dissentietur . . . 166. esse  $\beta$  (159. dissensio  $\epsilon$ : dissensio  $\beta$ ): dissenserint inter sese, vt fit, ingenia, intra ciuilem conflictum consistat contentio  $\alpha$ . 167. tibi  $\beta$ : et tibi  $\alpha$ . 168. et eruditio candida  $\alpha$ . 169.  $\beta$ : ab omni virulentia abhorreat  $\alpha$ . T.  $\beta$ : tua  $\alpha$ . 171. maximi  $\alpha\beta$ : plurimi  $\epsilon$ . 172. opellae quam petimus  $\beta$ : operae  $\alpha$ . 173.  $\beta$ : praemium videtur  $\alpha$ . omnibus . . . literatorum  $\beta$ : vniuersa literaria  $\alpha$ . 174. Laurentii Campegii  $\beta$  ( $\beta\delta$ : Compegii  $\gamma$ ): tuum  $\alpha$ . en addo et ipse  $\beta$ : addo et  $\alpha$ . 176. quas ex . . . 182.

147. Nouum Testamentum] Cf. Epp. 384, 446. 53 seq., 864.

175. quinque] Besides Eph. the volume contained also Phil., Col., and Thess., without prefaces.

180. iis qui] A note, 'Tum dormiebat Bedda', added in the margin of  $\epsilon$  (1532) at this point, show that

Erasmus was not now thinking of him: their open conflicts did not begin until 1525. Probably he had his opponents among the friars, Egmondanus (Ep. 878. 13n) and Vincent Theodorici (Ep. 1196), in his mind: cf. Epp. 1153, 1164, 1167. 39-44, 1182. For the position cf. Ep. 1060. 53-4.

strictam aliqua saltem ex parte liberare. Neque enim excidit et quantum debeam inauditae tuae humanitati, et quid illi per literas sim pollicitus. Hunc igitur arrabonem boni consules, donec corra-  
185 sero vnde summam quoque resoluam.

Brugis a coena hac oratione, memini, dimisit me R. T. D., quaecunque aula habitura esset L. Campegium, confiderem illic esse amicum ex animo bene volentem Erasmo. At ego vicissim, quaecunque tellus habitura est Erasmum, illic R. T. D. credat esse man-  
190 cipium sibi deditissimum. Bene valeat E. R. T. D.

Louanii. Nonis februarii. Anno. M.D.XIX.

### 1063. TO BEATUS RHENANUS.

Basle MS. Ki. Ar. 18<sup>a</sup>. 176.

Louvain.  
5 February 1520.

[A copy, perhaps only of an extract, in Beatus' handwriting: possibly made to be sent from Schlettstadt, where Beatus was at this time, to Basle with BRE. 156, to Boniface Amerbach, 5 March 1520. For the circumstances see Ep. 1044. 49n. The date is confirmed by the death of Briard of Ath on 8 Jan. 1520.

A packet of Erasmus' letters sent to Basle shortly before this time, had been lost through the carelessness of the messenger, perhaps Livinus Algoet (Ep. 1091): see Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 118.]

ERASMVS ROT. BEAT. RHENANO SVO S. D.

Hic adhuc sic conspirant vt nunquam odiosius. Et tamen Dorpius constantissime se gerit: ita vt confidam fore perpetuo sui similem. Extimulabis igitur Zasium, Bonifacium et alios, si poteris, vt illi scribant amanter et honorifice. Saluta Sapidum, Volzium et Vuim-  
5 phelingium. Atensem periisse opinor te scire. Bene vale, mi Beate. Louanii. Nonis Febr. An. M.D.XX.

### 1064. TO JOHN OECOLAMPADIUS.

Nuremberg MS.

Heumann p. 189.

(Louvain.)  
(c. 5 February 1520.)

[An epitome given in a letter from Bernard Adelman to Pirckheimer, Augsburg, 4 March 1520. From subsequent letters of Adelman, 28 April and 13 May, Heumann pp. 192 (HE. 159) and 197, there is no difficulty in identifying

liberare β (181 βδ: R. D. T. γ): quam vno et hoc proximo impetu absolui, simul vt meam fidem aliqua ex parte liberem α. 183. per literas om. α. 184. Hunc igitur β: Sed hunc interim α. 186. Brugis . . . 190. deditissimum om. α. 190. E. R. T. D. β: R. T. D. ε: R. T. D., cui quam commendatissimus esse cupio α. 191. Nonis februarii β: Non. Februar. α.

1062. 183. per literas] Cf. Ep. 996. 59-60.

186. Brugis] Cf. Ep. 1025. 4n.

1063. 1. conspirant] sc. theologi: in spite of the reconciliation in the autumn (Ep. 1016. 15n). Cf. Ep. 1053. 34n.

3. Extimulabis] This sentence is quoted by Beatus in BRE. 156.

4. Sapidum] See Ep. 323.

Volzium] See Ep. 368.

Vuimphelingium] See Ep. 224.

5. Atensem] See Ep. 670.



'noster theologus' with Oecolampadius, who was at this time preacher in the Cathedral at Augsburg. The date may be assigned approximately from Ep. 1063; which must have been delivered about the same time, since an extract from it is communicated by Beatus Rhenanus in a letter dated 5 March 1520 (BRE. 156).

Dr. E. Reicke in 1911 very kindly collated Heumann's text for me with the original in the Nuremberg Town-library, and sent me some corrections.]

*Erasmus scripsit nuper nostro theologo se Paraphrasim in omnes Epistolas germanas Pauli absoluisse, Atensem ac Coletum obiisse, Dorpium ex animo sibi esse reconciliatum, Hochstradium bis apud eum Louanii fuisse, ac culpam, quod contrarius sibi fuerit, in Atensem reiecis- 5 sitissent, iam dudum a factione ista monachorum ac scholasticorum lapidatus fuisset. Conqueritur maxime de quodam Carmelitano ac Eduuardo, qui et in sex Positiones Lutheri scripserit.*

#### 1065. TO ANTONY DE LA MARCK.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 567.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xv. 11: LB. 386.

16 February 1520

[This letter is clearly later than Ep. 956; and, as it appeared in F, only 1520 and 1521 are possible. The year-dates added in H have little or no value; but in default of other guidance this one may be accepted. For the circumstances see Ep. 956 introd.]

ERASMVS ROT. CLARISS. IUVENI ANTONIO A MARCA,

ABBATI BELLI LOCI, S. D.

PERSVASERAT mihi ille quem nosti, me initurum haud mediocrem gratiam apud tuam celsitudinem, si eam aliqua parte studiorum dicata prouocassem. Sed, vt video, res in diuersum exiit; hoc ipso videor alienasse quo conabar deuincire. De ingenii tui candore, fide constantiaque non libet suspicari. Nescio vtrum idem ille gratiam 5 officii mei corruperit, qui ad officium instigarat, an opus ipsum tuo iudicio parum arrideat.

De promisso non grauo pudorem tuum. Volens atque vltro pollicebaris mihi nec postulanti nec expectanti; ego vicissim vltro volensque fidem tuam libero. Non expostulabo quod res tentata 10 non successerit ex animi tui sententia, modo id praestes quod praestare tibi in manu est, vt Erasmum tui studiosum redames. Nunc ipsa res me docet bonam felicitatis partem esse nihil magnopere

1064. 4. Louanii scripsi: Louoniae MS.

1064. 1. Paraphrasim] Cf. Epp. 1060.

52, 1062. 175-6.

Atensem] + 8 Jan. 1520.

Coletum] + 16 Sept. 1519.

3. Dorpium] Cf. Ep. 1044.

Hochstradium] See p. 42.

7. Carmelitano] Egmondanus; see Ep. 878. 13n.

8. Eduuardo] Lee.

Positiones] One of the names regularly used by Luther for the

famous 95 Theses posted at Wittenberg on 31 Oct. 1517; also called *Conclusiones* and *Disputationes*. I do not know of any other evidence for an attack on Luther by Lee.

1065. 1. ille quem nosti] Probably Pasch. Berselius; cf. Ep. 956. 4.

3. dicata] See Ep. 956.

8. promisso] Apparently an attempt, which was unsuccessful, to secure some preferment for Erasmus.

mirari. Si anxie pependissem a tuis promissis, iam discruciarer  
 15 frustratus; nunc vt leuiter sperabam, ita minimum sentio doloris  
 adempta spe. Rex ipse mihi longe maiora detulerat quam tu audebas  
 polliceri. Tantum autem abest vt tibi succenseam qui non prae-  
 stiteris quod receperas, vt gratiam etiam habeam quod optaris, quod  
 conatus sis. Bene vale, vir clariss.  
 20 Louanii xiiii. Calendas Martii M.D.XIX.

1011, 1015 1066<sub>1073</sub> To WILLIAM BUDAEUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 214<sup>a</sup>.  
 HN: Lond. iii. 70: LB. 387.

Louvain.  
 17 February 1518.

[Ep. 1073. 1, 2 shows that this letter was delivered by two Germans on 25 Feb.; but it had been brought from Louvain by a servant of Erasmus (perhaps Livinus Algoet, Ep. 1091), who also carried back Ep. 1073 (see BE.<sup>4</sup> 67).

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS ORNATISSIMO GVLLIELMO BVDAEO SVO S. D.

CVM multis nominibus mihi displiceat illa bis maledica epistola,  
 vel quod κακῶς ἐλληνίζουσα, vel quod, vt tibi quoque videtur, pro-  
 caciior, tamen hoc certe nomine placet, quod vna duas extuderit  
 a Budaeo non minus eruditas quam copiosas. Ad quas ne respon-  
 5 deam, etiamsi tu non vetuisses, tamen in praesentia sane per studio-  
 rum tumultus verius quam occupationes nequaquam licebat. Adeo  
 vero me non offendit, quod cum in priore epistola, quae tota sic  
 Attice loquitur vt non Lutetiae sed Athenis nata videri queat, veluti  
 iusta iam talione repensatis commissis in te meis iusseris posthac  
 10 κύριον εἶναι τὸν τῆς ἀμνηστίας νόμον, rursus alteram adieceris semi-  
 graecam ac semilatinam non paulo superiore iurgiosiore, vt hoc  
 lucri mihi magnopere gratuler. Itaque ius tibi facio vt, si quid  
 etiam posthac tibi venerit in mentem quod putabis expostulandum,  
 tuo arbitratu effundas, incolumi lege quam inter nos sanximus.  
 15 Τί δὲ δεῖ ἐπὶ ἐξομολογεῖν τὰ μὰ ἀμαρτήματα, σοῦ δὲ τὰ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων  
 ἐξομολογήσαντος, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ μὰ. Δέχομαι τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν καὶ ἀπο-  
 λύω τὸν ἀπολύοντα, ἵν' ἐν ἡμῖν γένοιτο τὸ τοῦ Ἰακώβου, "Ἐξομολογεῖσθε  
 ἀλλήλοις τὰ παραπτώματα, καὶ εὐχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων, ὅπως ἰαθῇτε".  
 Θεῶν ἐστίν, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ πώποτε ἀμαρτάνειν. Ingenii, doctrinae  
 20 et vtriusque facundiae laudem quid ni tibi lubens cedam? qui hisce  
 de rebus non soleam cum quoquam in certamen descendere, nedum  
 cum Budaeo, huius aetatis Milone quodam, vt ita dixerim, in palae-  
 stra litteraria. Candoris et humanitatis laudem, in qua certe par

1065, 20. Martii F: Mar. H: Martias N. M.D.XIX. add. H. 1066. tit.  
 ORNATISSIMO om. H. 2. H: procatior F. 10. τὸν F: τῶν H. ἀμνηστίας F.  
 νόμον F Corrig. perperam, quod ex Ep. 1073. 17 liquet.

1065. 16. Rex ipse] when leaving for  
 Spain; cf. Epp. 596 introd., 809. 127, 8.  
 Or perhaps earlier; cf. Ep. 475. 4n.  
 1066. 1. epistola] Ep. 1004.  
 3. duas] Epp. 1011, 1015.  
 5. studiorum tumultus] For Eras-

mus' literary undertakings at this  
 period see Epp. 844. 255n, 1056. 10n,  
 1062, 1072, 1082, 1100, and 11.83-7 infra:  
 perhaps also Epp. 1110, 1112.  
 10. ἀμνηστίας] Cf. Ep. 1011. 37.  
 17. Ἰακώβου] 5. 16.

haberi cupiebam, non perinde volens cedo. Sed tamen hanc quoque violentus extorques, adeo nusquam non inuictus es, ὦ γεννάδας. 25

Ac caetera quidem etiam ἡ ὁμολογῶ ἡ συγχωρῶ σοι ὡς καλῶς καὶ δικαίως λεχθέντα. Τοῦτο μόνον ἐξαίρω ὃ γράφεις ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ περὶ τοῦ Δηλοῖνοῦ, οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅπως περαίνῃ, ὅτι οὐκ "ἡδύναστο φιλοκόλακα ἀποκαλεῖν ἐμέ, μὴ οὐχὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτον ἀποκαλῶν κόλακα". Εὐφῆμα φώνει, Βουδαίε· ἱερὸν γὰρ ἡ φιλία, οὐ θέμις τὰ ἀκίνητα κινεῖν. Οὐχ οὕτως μαίνομαι 30 ὥστε περὶ ἀνδρὸς τοιοῦτου τοιάδε γράψαι μὲ ἢ νοῆσαι. Relegi Graecam illam meam epistolam; nihil illic video unde possit colligi quod ais, certe nulla cogitatio magis abfuit ab animo meo. Quid enim obfuit quo minus et φιλοκόλαξ sim, et tamen neminem habeam 35 κολακεύοντα? Proinde demiror, mi Budae, qui tibi isthuc in animum incidit. Neque si quos habeam, continuo necesse sit illum esse in quem huiusmodi suspicio nullo pacto cadere possit.

At quod in literis ad Tunstallum tuis strophologiam subesse non negas, atque idem in me retorques, quid tu velis agnoscere ipse videris: ego non prius de me fatebor quam quisquam mortalium 40 reperiatur qui vel in liberrimis illis colloquiis, quibus apud congerrones quicquid in buccam venerit effutimus, vel inter pocula, cum frequenter et dicenda et non dicenda prorumpunt, audierit Erasmum secus loquentem de Budaeo quam scripserit; aut si quendam amicum passus sum vnquam, non dicam obtrectantem Budaei 45 gloriae, sed huic aequantem aut praefferentem me, cui non acriter ac serio repugnarem.

Iam vero nescio quanti sit apud te interpret ille nimium ὀξυδερκής Ἰταλιώτης, qui tibi ceu parum oculato commonstravit quaedam non simpliciter a me scripta. Apud me certe talibus officiis nullus inierit 50 gratiam. Quomodo tibi successerit expeditio, quemadmodum vocas, aulica, partim ex tuis ad Lodouicum Viuem literis intellexi, nimirum adeo venustis, adeo doctis, adeo πανταχόθεν felicibus, vt homo vix hostibus inuidere solitus inuiderim homini cum primis amico. Is nunc declamat, sed ita me Deus amet, incredibili felicitate. Dices 55 rem nec hisce regionibus nec hoc seculò natam esse; nec ludicram aut vmbraticam esse pugnam, sed veram ac seriam. Ingenio mihi semper satisfacit, in phrasi desiderabam nescio quid aliquanto mollius. Nunc ita numeros omnes praestat vt non videam his temporibus qui in hac palaestra queat illi palmam praeripere, pace omnium 60 dixerim. Graecam illam tuam epistolam quam polliceris, non desinam efflagitare donec expressero.

Fabulam quam hic sine fine agunt coniurati quidam aduersus trilingue collegium et vniuersas bonas literas, et pudet et piget tibi scribere, mi Budae. Si quid huiusmodi natum fuisset in vrbe 65

25. γεννάδης F.  
63. quam F: qua N.

40. quisquam F: quispiam H.  
65. natum huiusmodi N.

45. sum F: sim H.

27. ὃ γράφεις] Ep. 1015. 103-6.  
32. epistolam] Ep. 1004.  
38. ad Tunstallum] Cf. Ep. 1015. 1-3.  
49. Ἰταλιώτης] Erasmus is here confusing together the two letters mentioned in Ep. 1015. 4, 9nn.  
51. expeditio] Cf. Ep. 1015. 163.

52. literis] BE.<sup>4</sup> 43, 19 Aug. 1519; in which Budaeus expresses his disgust with Court life and his longing to return to the country.

55. declamat] Cf. Ep. 1082. 24-45.  
61. polliceris] Ep. 1015. 162.  
63. Fabulam] See Epp. 1046, 1057.

Roma, qua non alia pluribus abundat ornamentis, tamen et Cardinales et summus ipse Pontifex summis tum fauoribus tum honoribus prosequerentur, et ornatissimae ciuitati non mediocriter decus iudicarent accedere. At isti rem et munificam et ad tam insignem omnium  
 70 vtilitatem, ad tam ingens ornamentum et Principis et totius huius ditionis paratam, sic abominantur, sic horrent, vt olim Romani non aequae formidarint Gallos vrbe iam capta Capitolio insidiantes. Magis autem indigneris si scias huius tam pudendae fabulae tres aut quatuor esse coryphaeos, tam stolidi stupidos vt indignos iudicaturus sis  
 75 quibus caules tuos curandos crederes. Et tamen vincunt impudentia, improbitate et nescio quo nouo syncretismo. Quod si hi sapiunt, insanit Rex vester, qui sua munificentia condecit qui linguarum professione ornent regnum Galliarum; insanit Leo decimus, qui tantis impendiis accersit in urbem suam qui linguas ac politiores  
 80 doceant literas; insanit cum aliis innumeris Angliae Rex, cuius benignitas inuitat harum rerum professores in vtramque suae ditionis Academiam.

Opinor te vidisse Farraginem Epistolarum, sed indiligentissime aeditam. Rursus efflagitant vt exemplar recognitum mittam. Nam  
 85 subito distracta sunt exemplaria, vt saepe maxime vendibilis est liber pessimus. Si quid iudicabis omittendum aut mutandum, admone: nam ad eum laborem nunc cogor accingi.

Iam portum optabam, lassus huiusmodi sycophanticis digladiationibus. Sed audio libro Lutetiae aedito me palam reuocari in  
 90 harenam. Primum illud in votis erat, me accepta rude in ocium secedere, proximum vt mihi contingeret honestus antagonista: nunc is contigit de cuius ingenio non libet meminisse.

Maiorem in modum te rogo vt Deloio et Ruseo multam ex me salutem dicas, et si quid offensi sunt, eos mihi reconcilies: quam  
 95 quam arbitror nihil opus. Bene vale cum tuis omnibus, patrone magne et amice incomparabilis.

Louanii xiii. Cal. Mart. Anno. M.D.XIX.

#### 1067. FROM JAMES WIMPFELING.

Leipzig MS.  
EE. I.

Schlettstadt.  
19 February 1520.

[An original letter, autograph throughout: the earliest in the great collection at Leipzig University Library (MS. 0331<sup>m</sup>), which was first edited by J.F. Burscher in his *Spicilegia*, 1784-1802, and then by Förstemann and Günther,

71. N: abominamur, sic horremus F. 75. caulem tuum curandum H.  
 77. qui ante sua F: dum H. 78. qui F: dum H. 93. FN<sup>s</sup> LB: Ruzaeo  
 N<sup>2</sup>: Ruzaeo Lond. 95. nihil F: nil N.

75. caules] A figure which Erasmus had had in mind in Ep. 1062. 115-16; cf. also Ep. 1060. 13-14.

76. syncretismo] See Ep. 1050. 4n.

77. Rex vester] See *Hist. du Collège de France*, by A. Lefranc, 1893; and cf. Ep. 1080. 3n.

78. Leo] Cf. Ep. 1062. 140n.

80. Angliae Rex] Cf. Ep. 1062. 128n.

83. Farraginem] See Ep. 1040 introd.

84. recognitum] See Ep. 1206 introd.

89. libro] Lee's *Annotationes*, which appeared just about this time; see Ep. 1037 introd.

1904 (EE). The manuscript date may be accepted, in the absence of any reason to doubt it. This letter is alluded to in Ep. 1075.

The last trace before this of Wimpfeling's correspondence with Erasmus is in 1517 (Ep. 612. 10n). He then considered himself very old, but even now he was scarcely 70 (cf. Ep. 1025. 16n). Since 1515 he had been living in his native Schlettstadt; the years had done little to cool his impulsive temperament, which was still unable to brook gainsaying (cf. l. 3n.)

S. D. P. Opto Herasmmum meum fore longeuum, vt nouos indies fetus pariat et veteres, vti solet, augeat; quibus meipsum soler in aduersis, que ab eis quibus semper bene volui, perpressus sum. Sed hec est mundi huius remuneratio: cuius pertesus sum, sperans me propediem ex his procellis ad portum quietis Iesu duce emersurum. 5 Tu vale foelicissime, vnicum solatium meum; sepe enim me in Enchiridio tuo et Compendio iucunditate afficis.

Ex Schlettstadio. Esto mihi An xx.

Tibi deditissimus Iacobus Vimphelingus Sletst.

Domino Desiderio Herasmo Roterodamo, summo theologie Chri- 10 stiane professori, preceptor omnium obseruandissimo.

### 1068. To JOHN FISHER.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 494.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xii. 24: LB. 389.

21 February 1549.

[Between the publication of Fisher's second attack on Faber Stapulensis (l. 5n) and the appearance of Lee's book (Ep. 1037 introd.).

In l. 3 Erasmus speaks of three letters recently received from Fisher, all perhaps subsequent to Ep. 1030. None of these has survived; but some extracts are preserved in the *Apologia qua respondet*.

1. [F. C 1<sup>o</sup> and v<sup>o</sup>; Jortin ii. 504,5] 'Antequam de Parisiensi aeditione rescissem, redditae sunt mihi litterae a R. patre Episcopo Roffensi, quibus aperit vir optimus prudens quidem et amicum consilium, atque etiam salutiferum, si in tempore fuisset datum. Et quod ad me sane pertinebat, in tempore datum erat: nisi litterae illius diutius hesissent in manibus negociatorum. Iderat huiusmodi: "Ne periret fructus mei laboris, quo de Christiana Ecclesia optime" vt aiebat ille "meritus essem: sibi videri consultum vt Leus persuasus ab amicis mihi faceret copiam sui libri. Deinde res ita temperaretur per aliquos idoneos vt et eius Annotationes exirent citra mei nominis iniuriam, et ego vicissim ita temperarem responsionem vt ne quid lederem famam Lei. Nam rumorem esse tam late sparsum, ipsa etiam re, vt fit, atrociolem, vt expediret magis euulgari quam premi quae scripserat Leus".

The date of the arrival of this at Louvain is given a few lines below as after the publication of Ep. 1053, which took place (c. 14 Dec. 1519):

'Sed paucis ante diebus quam haec reddita est epistola, mea iam ad Thomam Lupsetum exierat in vulgus, et ante hanc aeditam Leus suum librum miserat

#### 2. pariat MS.

3. perpressus sum] e.g. from Sapidus (Ep. 323), whom he had reproved in Jan., threatening him with 'delationem ad inquisitores haereticae prauitatis' for the freedom with which, in Beatus' words, he 'veram doctrinam depredicat in conciliabulis, ...

in foro, in templo'... 'Nam non potest pati Vuimphelingius vt quisquam contra ceremonias loquatur' (Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 114 = BRE. 144).

5. portum quietis] Cf. Ep. 1075. 11.

7. Compendio] The *Ratio Verae Theologiae*; see Ep. 745.

Lutetiam.' Cf. f<sup>o</sup>. D v<sup>o</sup>, p. 510: 'Leo dixi me non editurum fuisse epistolam ad Lupsetum, si Roffensis epistola fuisset in tempore reddita'.

2. [f<sup>o</sup>. C<sup>4</sup>, p. 508] 'D. R. Roffensis suis ad me litteris non diffitetur librum apud multos haberi'.

3. [f<sup>o</sup>. B<sup>4</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, p. 504] 'Amicus quidam scripserat ex Anglia de rumore formidabili vndiquaque sparso, non sine periculo meae opinionis apud multos, qui crederent Annotationes Lei longe quam essent *δεινότερας*'.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS R. P. D. IOANNI EPISCOPO ROFFENSI S. D.

Si tua R. D. suspicatur me quicquam offendi, vel quod responderis  
Fabro, vel quod non miseris librum Lei, nondum nouit Erasmus.  
Et tamen hac de re iam ternis literis nescio quid significas; quod,  
mihi crede, nihil est. De animo in me tuo non magis addubito quam  
5 de meo ipsius. In priore libelli tui aeditione, crebrius et, vt videba-  
tur multis, aculeatius iocabaris in ecclesiam Fabri. In posteriore vt  
stilus est cultior, ita minus est stomachi. Tantum demirabar te tam  
anxie laborare vt hoc negocium pertraheres ad causam fidei; sua re  
valde grauat Faber: quem subleuari malim, praesertim cum ille  
10 te et suspiciat et veneretur.

De Nouo Testamento iubeo te bono esse animo. De rumore sparso  
apud monachos et indoctos mirum non est, cum Leus velut ad hoc  
natus nihil aliud agat. Et agit per monachos. Nouit optimos huius  
rei satellites. Sed vbi prodierit ille iam diu iactatus liber, parturie-  
15 rint montes, nascetur ridiculus mus. Non adeo delirat mundus vt  
ad Lei iudicium sit tumultuaturus. Tantum prodeat liber; quod  
arbitror breui futurum. Cum Leo mihi concordia fuerit, si aediderit  
suum librum, quem iampridem parturit. Nam ille nunquam erit sui  
dissimilis. An illi displicueris nescio, mihi certe nulla in re non  
20 magnopere placuisti. Videre mihi prorsus ignorare Leum, si illius  
vel ira vel amore tantillum commoueris. Me non offendes, etiamsi  
libris aeditis a me dissentias. Quare te rogo vt si quid huiusmodi  
suspicatus es hactenus, suspicionem omnem penitus ex animo eiicias,  
et Erasmus tibi persuadeas eum semper erga te fore quem esse decet  
25 memorem clientulum erga patronum optime meritum.

Bene vale Louanii .ix. Cal. Martias. M.D.XIX.

TIT. R. P. D. om. H.

I. R. D. F: pietas H.

14. parturient H.

1. suspicatur] From Erasmus' remarks about Faber in Ep. 1030. 1-8.

2. librum Lei] A ms. copy of Lee's criticisms on Erasmus; cf. Ep. 1026. 14n.

5. priore . . . aeditione] Renouard, *Badius*, ii. 443-4, shows that there are two issues of Fisher's *De vnica Magdalena*, 22 Feb. 1519 (Ep. 936. 7n); but they are of the same date and identical in matter, with only trifling differences in arrangement. So that in using *prior*, Erasmus apparently meant to distinguish that book from Fisher's second reply to Faber, the *Confutatio*

(Ep. 1030. 3n): which was perhaps issued with the *De vnica Magdalena* prefixed. Cf. Ep. 1016. 17-21.

6. aculeatius] Erasmus had already made this criticism to Fisher: Ep. 936. 9-18. See also Ep. 1016. 19-20. in ecclesiam Fabri] See ff. 50, 51 of the *De vnica Magdalena*.

In posteriore] See l. 5n.

11. De Nouo Testamento] Fisher had perhaps expressed a fear that Erasmus might already be contemplating a new edition. Cf. Ep. 1056 10n.

14. parturierint] Cf. Hor. A. P. 139.

## 1069. To MARTIN LYPSIUS.

Rotterdam MS., Erasmus III. 102, p. 44.  
Horawitz v. 8.

(Louvain.)  
(c. 22 February 1520.)

[Shortly before Ep. 1070. Precise dates may be conjectured; for it appears that Erasmus had now seen Lee's book, but had not yet made up his mind to reply. On 21 Feb. the book had not reached him (Ep. 1068. 16-18): by the end of the month the statement that he had replied in three days (Ep. 1072. 4-5) was in print.]

D. ERAS. ROTE. D. MARTI. LYPS. BRVX. S.

(M)I Martine, nihil est quod apud me quidem metuas a Leeo, ne ab N. quidem. Parum mihi tribuis si iudicas plus esse fructus ex meis scriptis quam ex Leei; qui nec omnibus scripsit nec vtilitati publicae, sed suae gloriae. Nec spectabis, opinor, Erasmus cum Leeo congrredientem: non deerunt alii qui cum illo congrudiantur. 5 Bene vale.

## 1070. To MARTIN LYPSIUS.

Rotterdam MS., Erasmus III. 102, p. 45 (a).  
F. p. 596: HN: Lond. xvi. 9: LB. 485.

(Louvain.)  
(c. February 1520.)

[This letter may be dated near Epp. 1079, 1081, in which there is mention of Charles' expected return from Spain: also not long after the appearance of Lee's *Annotationes* (p. 109). It may be conjectured that Erasmus, wanting a change, was preparing to go and stay with Gilles at Antwerp (cf. Ep. 1077. 17-20), and that while there, he gave the *Apologia qua respondet* to Hillen to print (p. 110).]

ERAS. MARTI. LYPS. BRVX., CANONICO APVD MARTINENSES  
LOVANII, S. D.

Non queror quod mihi parum tribuas; sed hoc nomine parum tribuis, quod Leeicis annotationibus meas praeferas: quasi vero ille scripserit annotationes. De Lutero mouent stultam ac perniciosam tragoediam. Id postea sentient, non quod Lutero, sed quod Christianae faueam tranquillitati. Vtunque scripsit Lutherus, certe hic 5 tumultus nulli cordato placet. Sortem tuam merito ferres grauiter, nisi cuique mortalium vbique satis esset quod ferat. Commode

1070. TIT. LYPS. om. F.	CANONICO . . . LOVANII add. F: om. H.	1. F: queror
a. 2. Leeicis F.	quasi . . . 3. annotationes add. F.	5. Vtunque
. . . 6. placet add. F.		

1069. 2. N.] Perhaps Egmondanus; see Ep. 878. 13n.

5. non deerunt alii] Cf. Ep. 998. 66n.

1070. 1. parum tribuas] Cf. Ep. 1069. 2.

6 Sortem tuam] It appears that Lypsius was dissatisfied with his position at Val St. Martin, and wished to change to another house: cf. Ep. 1075 introd.

ferendo facillime lenies necessitatem, quae vitari non potest: nam  
seruitutem mutare, fortasse duriore, non est consilii.  
10 Non desero vos, sed fatigatus studiorum immodicis laboribus ob-  
ambulabo, at non procul a Louanio, ne me conficiat quadragesima.  
Spero Regis aduentum his pudendis tumultibus finem impositurum.  
Roga nostrum Lutzenburgum vt cras ad prandium veniat familiariter,  
et tu vna cum illo, si possis: nam velle sat scio. Bene vale, charis-  
15 sime Martine. E museo nostro. ANNO M.D.XIX.

## 1071. TO NICHOLAS OF LUXEMBURG.

Rotterdam MS., Erasmus III. 102, p. 45.  
Horawitz v. 9.

(Louvain.)  
(February 1520?)

[Lypsius' letter-book does not seem to be arranged chronologically; and thus affords no indication of date. The letter may be placed at this point for no other reason than to bring it into connexion with Ep. 1070; which mentions a similar occasion—the only other trace that I can find of Nicholas of Luxemburg. The Cardinal in question is perhaps Croy (Ep. 647 introd.): for whose communications with, if not presence at, Louvain about this time see de Jongh pp. 19\*, 20\*. Cf. also Ep. 1082. 57.]

DES. ERAS. ROTE. NICOLAO LVTZENBURGO, MARTINENSIVM  
SCHOLASTICORVM PRAECEPTORI VIGILANTISSIMO.

(H)VMANISSIME Nicolae, num erat tibi aditus ad me aperiendus  
misso vino? Tuus conspectus fuisset multo gratior; nam vini nobis  
est affatim. Rogarem te cras ad prandium, sed hodie promisi Cardi-  
nali. Si voles coenare, venies gratus conuiua. Si mauis colloqui  
5 tantum, fac hodie te videamus. Bene vale.

## 1072. TO THE READER.

Apologia de In principio erat sermo.

(Louvain.)  
(February fin. 1520.)

[Erasmus had been attacked for his alteration of *verbum* (John 1. 1) into *sermo* in the second edition of the New Testament (cf. Ep. 384. 46n): by Standish (Ep. 608. 14n) in London, and Egmondanus (Ep. 878. 13n) in Brussels. He defended himself with an *Apologia palam refellens quorundam seditiosos clamores apud populum ac magnates, quibus vt impie factum iactitant, quod in Euangelio Ioannis verterit, In principio erat sermo*, Louvain, Th. Martens, Feb. 1520. Of this the only copy as yet known is in the Royal Library at the Hague; but in the library of Queen's College, Oxford, is a contemporary reprint, *s. a. et l.*

The date of this preface can be fixed very closely; since on 21 Feb. Erasmus had not seen Lee's book (Ep. 1068. 14-18), and by the end of the month this *Apologia* was out.

The first draft of it was short, filling only a few quarto pages. But later on,

1070. 11. at a: verum F.

15. E museo . . . M.D.XIX add. F.

1070. 10. studiorum] Cf. Ep. 1066. 5n. 1520.

11. quadragesima] 22 Feb-7 April

13. Lutzenburgum] See Ep. 1071.



in connexion with Froben's edition of *Eev.*, Aug. 1520 (p. 210), which was attached to the *Responsiones* against Lee, May 1520 (Ep. 1100), Erasmus considerably enlarged the *Apologia*; at the same time altering the title slightly and withdrawing this preface.]

## ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS LECTORI S.

PRODIIT repente liber Eduardi Lei. Qualis sit, ipse, quando in me scriptus est, nihil pronuncio: prudens lector ex re iudicabit. Illud interim ab omnibus impetratum velim, vt tantisper suspendant sententiam donec mea prodeat responsio. Apologiis illius hoc triduo respondi; rem difficillimam conatus, vt conuiciis absque conuicio responderem. Nunc ad Annotationes illius accingor. Ei rei dabuntur dies decem ad summum, cum ille plusquam biennium insumpserit: licet olim patrono plures soleant infundi clepsydrae quam actori.

Vale, lector, et alteram aurem mihi seruato integram.

<sup>1066</sup>1073. FROM WILLIAM BUDAEUS.

Epistolae Budaei, 1520, f. 128 v<sup>o</sup> (a).

Marly.

F. p. 215<sup>a</sup>: HN: Lond. iii. 71: LB. 390.

26 February (1520).

Budaei Epistolae, 1531, f. 63 v<sup>o</sup> (β).

[Like Epp. 1011, 1015 this is printed first by Budaeus. Here too it is noticeable that F adheres closely to the text of a. For β see Ep. 403 introd. Erasmus' servant, who carried this letter back (see Ep. 1066 introd.), had not reached Louvain by 7 March: when Vives wrote to Budaeus, 'Erasmus resalutat te; non scribit, quoniam tuae nunc sunt scribendi vices' (Goldast, *Phil. ep. centuria*, 1610, p. 222).]

## GVLIELMVS BVDAEVS ERASMO S.

HERI circiter tertiam vigiliam noctis venerunt huc Germani duo, literasque tuas mihi reddiderunt ad lectum iam iam ituro. Lucubraueram ad horam vsque nonam, quod ieiuniis tantum soleo: nam post cibum nihil lego, nisi summa coactus necessitate. Nec tamen statam horam dormiendi habeo: quare matutino saepe obdormisco, vt qui annis iam quatuordecim noctes treis, vt opinor, vacuas capitis dolore non habuerim, tantum abest vt summo illo bono fruar voluptua-

1073. 1. tertiam α: secundam β.  
voluptariorum H.

5. statam α: statim β.

7. αβ:

1072. 4. Apologiis] Ep. 1061, to which Erasmus replied with the *Apologia qua respondet*: see p. 110.

7. dies decem] The *Responsiones* to Lee's notes cost Erasmus much longer than this: see p. 110.

1073. 1. tertiam vigiliam] This lasted from midnight to the middle point between then and sunrise. The meaning here is probably 'about midnight'. The variant in β is perhaps nearer to the facts.

Germani] I cannot identify.

3. ieiuniis] Lent began on 22 Feb.

6. capitis dolore] For this illness, from which Budaeus suffered for many years, see L. Delaruelle, *Budé*, pp. 84, 85; also BE.<sup>4</sup> 1, 2, 52 and Ep. 435. 123-6. In BE.<sup>4</sup> 11 M. Delaruelle points out that Budaeus' calculations about this often vary: for example, in BE.<sup>4</sup> 52, written three weeks earlier than this letter, it is said to have been going on for fifteen years.

riorum philosophorum, doloris vacuitate. Mane igitur haec ad te scripsi, ne tabellarium morarer: quando ita orabat me Beraldus, qui

10 ei comitem cum epistolio dedit.

Πρώτον μὲν οὖν, ὃ ἄνερ προσφιλέστατε, τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσῃν εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ σοι, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρά σου· ἔπειθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῆς τε ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστήσαι τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῖν. Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τὴν εὐνοίαν ἴσῃν  
15 ἀλλήλοις ἀποδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ἀμνηστία τῇ τεθείσῃ, ὡς προήρηται καὶ βεβούληται ἡμῶν ἑκάτερος, οὕτως ἐναπομένειν. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω πεπαρω-  
δήσθω εὐφημίας δῆθεν ἕνεκα. Ἔστω δὲ ὁ ἀμνηστίας νόμος πάντῃ πάντως κύριος, ὡς δὴ ἐκκλησία τρίτῃ κείμενος. Hac certe lege stare mihi certum est tanquam trinundino perlata.

20 Itaque obiectis non respondebo—quoniam hanc excetram alia ratione ineluctabilem esse inter nos satis conuenit—nisi hoc inficiabor, quod tu de strophologia inquis me non negare. Quem locum epistolae meae vide etiam atque etiam vt satis intellexeris. Deinde quod testificaris te nihil vnquam oblocutum, per me licet vt verum sit, nec  
25 necesse habeo vicissim itidem contestari: cum id satis superioribus epistolis actum sit, si semel agi potuit. Quod si qui tuorum mihi obtrectauerunt, vt eos fecisse literatis testimoniis credidi, non tam improbus sum vt etiam si id causa tua instituerunt, tu illorum prae-  
stare debeas aut stultitiam aut studium inconsultum. Atque vt  
30 stomachum antehac aloe fortasse immodice temperata perpurgauī, sic etiam aureis aceto posthac eluere statui, ne quemuis obtrectationis aut querimoniae nuncium non excussum admittant. Saepe enim in fraudem nimia simplicitate incidi. Id quod tibi accidisse credo de epistolis tuis, quas tu maledicas appellas, ego immodice salsas: quae  
35 tamen a te aceto postea et tunc etiam tinctae, multum remiserunt muriae et salsuginis.

Quod mihi et ingenii et doctrinae palma cedis et laude, non accipio quod das. Non id agebatur nostra illa controuersia: quam ita ipsam decisam esse volo, nihil vt inde mihi accessisse videatur, ne non  
40 gratuita sit. Et alioqui nunquam ea de re contendere litigiose in animum inducam, cuius acerba odiosaque disceptatio est tranquillitatisque interpellatrix. Iudicium autem fere posthumum esse solet, duntaxat incorruptum: quanquam satis compertum habeo eam tibi suspicionem praecordiis aliquando haesisse, ὅς γε, ὃ γῆ καὶ θεοί, οὐκ  
45 ὠκνησας εἰπεῖν ποτέ, "Τί δὲ βούληται ὁ Βουδαῖος; Ἐξέστην τε ἤδη αὐτῷ, καὶ νῦν δὴ παραχωρῶ τῶν πρωτείων τῶν κατὰ τὴν παιδείαν. Ἀρά γε καὶ

15. β: προήρηται α: προείρηται H.

18. H: ἐκκλησία α.

36. muriae F

Corrig.: iniuriae α.

45. βούληται α N<sup>3</sup>: βούλεται N<sup>2</sup> β.

ἐξέστην β.

46:

αβ: πρωτείων F.

12. εὐνοίαν] In letters of this time to Vives Budaeus writes with great admiration of Erasmus: BE.<sup>1</sup> ff. 26 v<sup>o</sup>, 83 = BE.<sup>4</sup> 51, 66.

19. trinundino] Cf. Rutil. ap. Macr. S. 1. 16. 34 'quas trinundino die proposita, a singulis atque vniuersis facile noscebantur': on three market-days.

20. alia ratione] A note is added in β: 'sc. quam finem rescribendi

faciendo'.

22. inquis] Ep. 1066. 38-9.

24. testificaris] Ep. 1066. 40 seq.

31. aureis] i.e. aures.

34. maledicas] Ep. 1066. 1.

36. muriae] Cf. Hor. S. 2. 8. 53.

37. cedis] Ep. 1066. 19-20.

45. εἰπεῖν ποτέ] I do not know where: presumably in writing to one of Budaeus' friends.

παρασιτεῖν οἱ οὗτος ἐμὲ ἀξιοῖ;'' Egon' eo insolentiae venerim vt aliquid eiuscemodi animo agitauerim? egone, si antistiti quidem tuo esse mihi contigisset fortunarumque auctori? Tu ista inconsulte rumigerulis credidisti. Quibus iam certe suspitiunculis abstergendos 50 vtrunque animos nobis esse censeo.

Verum mira sunt illa quae scribis de illis eruditionis ingenuae hostibus. Profecto tui me iam coepit miserescere, cui in eam arenam descendere nunc necesse sit, aut patrociniū deserendum instituti honestissimi vltimaeque voluntatis illius antistitis, qui legatum me- 55 morabile vberimumque reliquit ad studia alenda hominum ingenio praedictorum. Hic aequioribus omnino vtimur sacrae philosophiae defensoribus. Quare si istinc paululum concederes, vt statuisse te rumor est, tuarum rerum iactura istiusque prouinciae commodorum ingens, vt opinor, compendium laboris molestiaeque factitares. Hac 60 in vrbe omnino, si non ample, certe honorifice et commode cum viris existimatissimis agitur primariaeque commendationis in literarum lautiorum professione.

Tu rationum tuarum summam melius nouisti, quas etiam, vt arbitror, cum amicis iuratoriis subducis: ego cum scribendi argu- 65 mentum requirerem, haec epistolae addidi. Nam de aulica expeditione mea non est quod fabulam mox a me expectes: nunc etiam in seriis occupatus, huiuscemodi nugis non vacas, et me hilaritas cum ocio deficit. Nam his diebus literas Roma, Venetiis, ex aula aliundeque simul accepi: quibus cum respondere coepissem, tuae 70 superuenerunt. Est et alia commentatio, quae sibi quadragenarii ieiunii magnam partem vendicabit, si auspicari vacabit. Huc tanquam in securitatis domicilium me transtuleram; sed curae et negotia vmbra sequaciora me comitantur quoquo gentium locorumque. Haec ad te tantum scribere licuit ante sacrum matutinum, quoniam dies festus erat. Vale. Ex Marliano nostro, Quinto Calend. Martias.

Viuem tuum verbis meis salutabis, cui non fuit ocium vt scriberem; et alioqui nihil erat quod scriberem, nisi si mactum esse iuberem ea ingenii industriaeque claritate quam tu testificare. Scripsi ei ad Calend. Februarias, aut postridie Calend. Ἐρωσο, ὃ ἐπανορθωτὰ καὶ 80 ἀρμοστὰ τῶν καλῶν συγγραμμάτων, καὶ διατέλει τοῦτο ποιῶν καὶ εὐτυχῶν.

52. scribis] Ep. 1066. 63, 88-90.

55. antistitis] Jerome Busleiden.

58. istinc] For Erasmus' thoughts of leaving Louvain see Epp. 1078. 63n, 1079. 8n.

69. literas] On 21 Feb. Budaeus had received a packet containing letters from Sadoletto at Rome, from Bembo and Longolius at Venice, and from Eicholtz (Ep. 866) at Cologne; which he answered 22-24 Feb. with BE.<sup>4</sup> 55-8. See also BE.<sup>4</sup> 54, 59, 60.

71. commentatio] M. Delaruelle

identifies this composition, which is alluded to also in BE.<sup>4</sup> 43, 48, 50, 60, 61, 62, 82, 83, with Budaeus' *De contemptu rerum fortuitarum*, which was printed by Badius, s.a.; but with the mark which is first found in July 1520 (Renouard, *Badius*, i, p. 44), and therefore presumably about that time. Cf. Ep. 1184.

quadragenarii] Cf. Ep. 1070. 11n.

76. dies festus] 26 Feb. 1520 was the first Sunday in Lent.

80. postridie Calend.] BE.<sup>4</sup> 52.

## 1074. TO WOLFGANG FABRICIUS CAPITO.

Basle MS. Ki. Ar. 25 a 99.  
Hess ii. 545.

(Louvain.)  
(February fin. 1520.)

[An original letter, among Capito's papers in the Church Archives at Basle, now in the University Library: autograph throughout, and very rapidly written. It fills completely two folios of thin writing paper; a third, or perhaps more, with the signature and address have been lost.

An approximate date can be assigned: for Erasmus evidently is writing just after the appearance of Lee's book, which he had not seen by 21 Feb. (Ep. 1068), but which must have reached Louvain by the end of the month (cf. Epp. 1037 introd., 1069, 1072). Capito's reply is perhaps Ep. 1083, rather than his letter of c. 14 March (Ep. 1083. 1): for the passages which he cites from Erasmus in Ep. 1083, may quite well have been on the missing page of this letter.

For a letter of Erasmus to Capito in the autumn of 1519 see Ep. 1029. 19n.]

TANDEM erupit Britannica vipera. Prodiit Eduardus Leus, laudate insule dedecus eternum. Iam sesquiannus est quod iactauit suas 'sacras Annotationes'. Totus orbis expectabat rem eruditam. Et ecce prodit libellus vndique scatens, imo insaniens, rixis et conuiciis muliebribus: que si detrahas operi, dii boni, quam nihil est, quam friget id quod superest! Describerem tibi portentum, sed illud vereor, ne posteritas creditura non sit talem bestiam humana spetie natam fuisse vnquam. Nulla meretrix impudentior, nullus leno in mentiendo perditior. Contemnit et suam et alienam conscientiam. 10 Atque hic tantum dicas illi esse ingenium; et tamen non tantum habet ingenii vt mendacia sua connectat. Totus pugnat secum, insanit in gloriolas, atque has venatur miseris modis. Vult videri theologus, vult videri trium linguarum peritus, vult videri religiosus, et ob id versatur apud Cartusienses, apud Minoritas, apud 15 alios probate religionis monachos. Donat nonnunquam aliquid, emens etiam quod gratis oblatum debebat recusari.

Is cum male sensisset de Erasmo, antequam vidisset Erasmus, iam tunc inuidens illius apud suos glorie—nam antequam vidisset Nouum Testamentum aut Grece sciret, dixit cuidam se non dubitare 20 quin in multis posset carpere Nouum Testamentum Erasmi—, commigrauit Louanium. Eodem cum venisset et Erasmus, insinuauit se in illius familiaritatem. Ille, vt est facillimis moribus, oblitus veteris obrectationis, recepit hominem in familiarem consuetudinem. Ceperat tunc discere rudimenta Grece lingue, iam tum parans se ad desti- 25 natum calumniandi negocium. Qua in re Erasmus illi fuit auxilio, nihil etiam suspicans mali. Aliquanto post admissus vsque ad secreta cubiculi, videt illum adornare posteriorem editionem Noui Testamenti. Iam enim opus erat propemodum absolutum priusquam Leo ostenderet.

30 Leus timens ne non caperet gloriolam quam venabatur fucus ex

1. laudate insule] This eulogistic description may be contrasted with Ep. 899. 14, 15.

2. sesquiannus] An under-estimate: see p. 109, and cf. Ep. 998. 54.

20. commigrauit] Probably from

England.

21. Erasmus] In July 1517.

22. veteris] Evidently, before meeting Lee, Erasmus had already heard of his hostility.

24. Grece] Cf. Ep. 607. 15.

alieno opere, incipit et ipse legere Nouum Testamentum prioris editionis; iam enim propemodum didicerat legere Grece. Aliquanto post fretus Erasmi candore fatetur se quoque nonnulla annotasse. Erasmus rogat vt communicet. Mittit dimidiatam pagellam, nec addit alteram nisi illa remissa. Mittit autem diuerso ordine, nunc 35 ex Mattheo, nunc Marco, nunc ex Epistolis Pauli; fortasse timens ne describeret. Vbi vidit Erasmum non magni facere—nam ipse iam totum opus semel atque iterum recognouerat, ac fere omnia mutarat que deprehendit Leus; nam ex illius annotationibus vix due aut tres profuerunt, et hactenus duntaxat profuerunt vt locum diligentius 40 relegeret conferretque—, deinde male habuit hominem gloriosulum quod Erasmus illi non per omnia assentiretur, cepitque suos venenatos aculeos paulatim aspergere. Vbi Erasmus asscripsisset illius chartis 'Memento quod hominem mones, sed homo', offensus stultulus desiit mittere. Erasmus ea re neglecta, imo propemodum 45 gaudens quod esset ab illo liberatus—nam olfecerat fucum illum insidiari sue glorie, nec illa que scribebat scribere sibi, ni dimidium totius operis illi furcifero cederet—repetit Basileam, ab(s)oluit opus. Vix abfuerat triduum, Leus spargit per Angliam, per Louanium, quo non?, se habere trecenta loca nota(ta) aduersus Erasmum. Applau- 50 dunt Angli quidam. Erasmus reuersus, vbi rem cognouit, expostulat cum homine. Respondet ille meracissimas nugas, quemadmodum potes ex ipsius epistola coniicere.

Tandem Leus prouocat ad iudicem Atensem. Atensis, vbi sensit ingenium hominis videtque rem exituram in tragoediam, recusat 55 arbitrium. Interim Leus minatur editionem operis, nec facit copiam Erasmo, imo nec voce voluit vnquam proferre vel vnica annotationiculam, sepe ab illo prouocatus. Interim nusquam non iactitat suum librum suasque 'sacras Annotationes': sic enim ait vocatas a quodam Abbate. Scribit sexcentas epistolas mendaciis differtas, 60 que non minus habet in promptu quam aranea filum. Nusquam non spargit virus in Erasmum; nihil enim illa lingua pestilentius. Curat describenda exemplaria. Ea circumfert per monasteria, per cubicula, nulli non ostentans quem putaret parum amicum Erasmo. Mittit in Angliam; sed mire, interim cauens ne possit in meas manus 65 venire. In hoc erat totus.

Tandem docti quidam amici videre librum apud Anglos. Nulli non displicuit, vel quod virulentus, vel quod ineptus et indoctus. Scribunt acerrime ad illum; territant minis, vt premat insulsum opus toti Britannie dedecori futurum. Iubent vt cum Erasmo redeat 70 in gratiam. Venit huc Ricardus Paceus, tum orator Regis Anglorum apud Electores imperiales. Is presens tum egit quod ante per litteras egerat. Agitur de pace, his legibus vt Leus premeret librum, cum

49. tridu/uū MS.

44. sed homo] Cf. *Apol. qua respondet*,

f. A<sup>4</sup>, Jortin ii. 498; and Ep. 1039. 113.

48. repetit Basileam] In May 1518.

51. reuersus] In Sept. 1518.

53. epistola] Ep. 1061.

60. Abbate] Either Wincheombe or

Southwark (Ep. 1061. 150, 152nn); cf.

Epp. 1097. 23, 1113. 7. In Epp. 1126.

11-12, 1139. 95, as here, Erasmus speaks

of only one: remembering perhaps at intervals that the latter was a Prior.

67. apud Anglos] Cf. Ep. 1026. 14n.

71. Paceus] In July 1519; cf. Ep.

1001. 53n.

72. presens] Pace, writing to Lee, 21

March (1520), describes this interview:

Eev. pp. 86-7.

73. his legibus] Cf. Ep. 1090. 8.

Erasmus maxime cuperet edi. Tandem cum non esse(t) finis iactandi  
 75 atque obtrectandi, Erasmus prouocat eum ad operis editionem. Ille  
 fingit se velle edere, cum tamen non haberet in animo. Nam conscius  
 sibi volebat frui hac vsura glorie, vt vide(re)tur opus premere in  
 gratiam Erasmi et amicorum communium, et interim orbis suspensus  
 expectaret ex montibus parturientibus proditurum ridiculum murem.  
 80 Mox conuicio cuiusdam acerbioris prouocatus coepit insanire, pre-  
 sertim addentibus animos Anglis quibusdam ac fratribus haud sane  
 in rem ipsius instigantibus hominem. Antwerpie non ausus est  
 edere, timens ne responsio prius esset parata quam ipsius opus abso-  
 lutum. Hic vide prestigium hominis. Spargit de industria rumorem  
 85 opus excudi Bonnae vltra Coloniam. Eo mittit Erasmus et sumptu  
 sex florenorum discit esse somnium. Id finxerat vt auocaret eum  
 a suspicione; et interea liber excudebatur apud Gourmontium, quo  
 fratrem suum emiserat. Tandem prodiit opus declarans quale sit  
 portentum; et tamen miser, cum natus sit ad maledicendum, in  
 90 nouis Annotationibus et in posteriore Apologia rhetorculum vnum  
 atque alterum conduxit, et tamen ipse sibi vindicat [sibi] nitorem  
 quendam ac mundiciem, vt vocat, Erasmicam. Gloriosulus nebulo!  
 Iam mihi vide quot techn(is) conatur aliquid laudis ad se pelli-  
 cere! Mendacium mendacio ceu linum lino connectit. Aduersus  
 95 su(i) ipsius et multorum conscientiam mentitur, Erasmum non sus-  
 cepturum fuisse castigationem Noui Testam(enti) nisi hic fatuelus  
 monuisset; cum ille id pollicitus esset etiam in priore editione, et  
 statim reuersus a Basilea post primum editum opus id ageret toto  
 studio, primum Antwerpie, mox Bruxelle, deinde Brugis multis  
 100 testibus, antequam Leum vnquam vidisset. Nec pudet homuncionem  
 quauis muliere vaniorem ob suas gloriolas tam impudenter mentiri.  
 Audet dicere quod Erasmus habuerit totum opus illius, antequam  
 iret Basileam iterum editurus; cum Erasmus nunquam sciret esse  
 descriptum ab eo a quo fingit illi factam copiam, nisi nuper ex ipso  
 105 Leo, cum iam Lei opus esset in manibus typographi. Nec metu-  
 it conscientiam illius qui opus hoc primus omnium descripsit; quem  
 proditorem vocat quod Erasmo vnum aut alterum ipsius ad se episto-  
 lium ostenderit. Affingit impudens Erasmum quibusdam Anglis  
 ostendisse librum Lei in cubiculo suo. O perfrictam et plusquam  
 110 meretriciam frontem! Sensit Erasmum omnibus viis venari librum,  
 et ille e diuerso totus erat in celando, et tamen mentitur opus apud  
 illum fuisse. Nunc quicquid recte mutatum est, hoc fingit ipso  
 monitore mutatum. Mira autem inconstantia in mentiendo! Nunc  
 scribit ideo se nolle communicare suum librum Erasmo, ne ille  
 115 ederet incastigatum, nunc ait illi semper fuisse exemplar. Nunc  
 optat illi longeuam vitam, vt possit prodesse Ecclesiae, nunc ait illius

91. sibi seposui, in initio versus. 93. technis, etc. His tribus versibus desunt  
 fines, charta lacerata. 106. quem . . . 110. frontem add. Erasmus postea in margine.

79. montibus] Cf. Hor. A. P. 139.  
 85. Bonnae] Cf. Ep. 1053. 122n.  
 88. fratrem] See Ep. 1053. 130n.  
 90. Apologia] Ep. 1061.  
 97. pollicitus] Cf. Ep. 1006. 208n.  
 99. Antwerpie] In 1516-17.

Bruxelle] Oct. 1516 to Feb. 1517.  
 Brugis] In June 1517; cf. Epp. 596  
 introd., 597. 16n.  
 103. Basileam] In May 1518.  
 107. proditorem] Lypsius: cf. Ep.  
 1061. 403n.

libros esse pestem Ecclesie. Negat se sparsisse rumorem de libro, et tamen fatetur sexies fuisse descriptum Louanii. Fatetur in Anglia lectum a multis. Fingit se dixisse quod non dixit. Negat se dixisse quod dixit.

Idem facit de Erasmo. Mira facilitas, mira impudentia! Promiserat trecentas annotationes, profert sexcenta conuicia. In re friget et ineptus est, in maledictis feruet, imo furit, nec vnquam satisfacit animo suo rabioso. Et tamen hic ipse liber non est totus illius Marte conscriptus. In postrema inuectiua adhibuit conductum rhetoricum, item in nouis Annotationibus; nam que ipsius sunt, satis se produnt elegantia Leica et frigore. Subest venenum, sed promere non potest nisi aliena lingua. Et postea iactat se triobolaris nebulo, quasi mundus sit crediturus hominem loqui. Tanta cum autoritate monet, tanto supercilio censet, tanta austeritate verberat. Ita se venditat cornicula plumis alienis, ita fingit omnium leuissimus histrio. Nec cogitat quanto cum risu lecturi sunt hec Angli docti grauesque, qui norunt homuncionis ingenium, qui norunt Erasmus quam sit alienus a fucis, quam non soleat se vestire plumis alienis, imo potius suis alios conuestire. Nullus Orestes scribere posset insanius; et tamen gaudet stultulus ille quod vteunque sibi famam nactus est. Ignosci poterat quod percitus immodica ira effutiuit. . . .

## 1075. TO PAUL VOLZ.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 499.  
HN: Lond. xii. 33: LB. 490.

(Louvain.)  
(c. March) 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

[An approximate month-date may be assigned from the reference in l. 10 to Ep. 1067, which must have reached Erasmus in March: so that the year-date added in H can be accommodated.

It appears that Volz was wishing to leave his monastery, perhaps for some such retirement as Christopher of Utenheim had formerly contemplated (cf. Ep. 598 introd.): see also Ep. 1070. 6n. Or he may already have been drawing towards the Reformers, with whom he later threw in his lot: see Ep. 368 introd.]

ERASMVS ROT. INTEGERRIMO ABBATI PAVLO VOLTZIO S. D.

DIFFICILE mihi sit tibi dare consilium in ea re in qua nescio qua parte pedem tuum torqueat calceus. Si quod vitae genus nosti quod eam praebeat tranquillitatem quam animus tuus, vt auguror, humanorum tumultuum pertesus suspirat, indica mihi, iungam me tibi. Iamdudum enim satur sum omnium, quae video geri veluti fato quodam. Sed vereor ne in omne vitae genus sequantur nos molestiae. Quare si durare potes in isto vitae genere, malim te tranquillitatem istam ab animo petere potius quam aliunde. Si non potes, precor vt Christus Opt. Max. velit esse faustum ac felix

1075. TIT. INTEGERRIMO ABBATI *om. H.*

1074. 125. postrema inuectiua] Ep. longing for retirement is expressed in 1061: cf. l. 90 *supra*. two letters of this period to Oecolampadius, Epp. 1102, 1158.

1075. 4. iungam me tibi] A similar

10 quicquid agis. Molitur et Oecolampadius fugam. Et Vuinphelingus portum suum spectat, vt scribit. Ego solus relinquo in his fluctibus. Coletus praecessit.

Christus addidit mihi Satanam eximium, qui rebus omnibus omissis totus in hoc est, vt orbem in me concitet, natus ad seditionem. Et tamen mihi interim laborandum est ne vapulet. Mi  
15 Volzi, nunquam eram crediturus tantum veneni esse in pectoribus humanis. Et tamen sacrificat frequenter. Minatur exitium omnibus qui audeant bene loqui de Erasmo; etiamsi de ipso nihil loquantur mali. Bene vale, R. P. et amice in Christo charissime. Anno M.D.XIX.

## 1076. TO HENRY GRUNTGEN.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 538.  
HN: Lond. xiv. 9: LB. 497.

Louvain.  
7 March 1520.

[I cannot confirm the year-date; but as this is in the new portion of F, either 1520 or 1521 is probable.]

H. Gruntgen († 20 Nov. 1547) of Calcar was Dean of Emmerich about 32 years; his predecessor having died 6 Oct. 1515 (van Heussen i. 286). He appears to have suggested some correction in one of the historical works edited by Erasmus, perhaps Suetonius and the *Hist. Aug. Scriptores* (Ep. 586) or Curtius (Ep. 704). I cannot find any correction ascribed to him in the later edition of Suetonius: of Curtius there is no second issue by Erasmus.

A copy of Torquemada's *Summa de Ecclesia*, Rome, E. Silber, 27 April 1489, presented by Gruingius, while Dean, to the Observant Franciscans without the walls of Emmerich, is in the Bodleian.]

ERASMVS D. HENRICO GRVINGIO, DECANO EMBRICENSI, S. D.

BREVIS epistola tua paucis me non pauca docuit: in primis virum esse te melioris literaturae non vulgariter peritum, deinde singulari modestia atque humanitate praeditum, postremo bene volentem Erasmo, quem admoneas tam amice, neque male de ipso sentientem,  
5 qui tam simpliciter admoneas; nimirum intelligens eum multum abesse ab ingenio vulgarium hominum, quos offendere solet officium, quo vix aliud praestari potest amicus. Quare posthac nomen tuum mihi scribetur inter selectos amicos.

De loco mutato plane tuae subscribo sententiae, et primo quoque  
10 tempore sartietur, non sine honorifica tui mentione. Res agebatur tumultu. Nec vacabat in tam vasto mari historiarum excutere singula. Debeo tibi, vir optime; plus etiam debiturus, si quod facis, facias frequenter. Bene vale.

Louanii Nonis Martiis. Anno M.D.XX.

1075. 16. Voltzi Lond. 19. R. P. F: pater H. Anno M.D.XIX add. H.  
1076. TIT. D. F: ROTERODAMVS H. 11. tumultu F: per tumultum H.

1075. 10. Oecolampadius] This information had probably been communicated in a reply to Ep. 1064; cf. Ep. 1139. 112-13. For his flight from the world see Ep. 1095. 173n.

Vuinphelingus] Ep. 1067. 5.

12. Coletus] † 16 Sept. 1519.

13. Satanam] Lee.

15. ne vapulet] For Erasmus' attempts to restrain his friends at first see Ep. 993. 52n.

1076. 1. epistola] Not extant.

6. officium] For Erasmus' readiness to welcome friendly criticism see Epp. 180. 12-17, 182. 55-61, 1140. 7-8; and cf. Ep. 1061. 712-14.



## 1077. FROM PASCHASIUS BERSELIUS.

Breslau MS. Rehd. 254. 26.

EE.<sup>2</sup> 3.

Louvain.

8 March (1520).

[An original letter, autograph throughout, but without year-date: evidently 1520, for Lee's book has appeared, and Erasmus' replies are expected; cf. Ep. 1037 introd. His visit to Antwerp was no doubt in connexion with these, for he corrected all the proofs himself (1, p. 22. 22). For Berselius see Ep. 674 introd.]

From comparison with Ep. 1076 Erasmus' departure to Antwerp may be dated 7 or 8 March: his return to Louvain was between 15 and 19 March (Epp. 1081, 1085.)

## D. ERASMO SVVS BERSELIVS SALVTEM.

Est hic epistola in Leum studiosis missa ex Gandauo. Curaui diligenter Theodrici formis excuderetur. Eam legunt multi magna cum voluptate. Affiximus in Lei dedecus plusquam decem locis. Ea mellis loco omnibus habetur, Leo et caudatis suis visa est pus atque venenum. Tragediam audies breui non illepidam. Tu interim quod 5 facis, facias diligenter. Omnes responsionem tuam expectamus. Theodrici praela conquiescunt; faceres illi rem gratam, si tuis Apologiis strepere illa iuberet. Dabis illas huic puero, si videatur commodum; absoluentur paucis diebus. Nihil enim magis Theodricus desyderat aut cupit quam aliquid excudere quo Leus inuidia vel 10 furore potius contabescat et rumpatur. Tu bene vale, mi Erasme, et si quid me facere voles, fac sciam. Curabo id probe et diligenter. Da veniam quoque quod tam negligenter scripserim tam non negligendo domino et patrono meo obseruandissimo. Iterum atque iterum vale. 15

Louanii. viii idus martias.

Si non est tibi molestum, dic Petro Egidio meis verbis salutem non vulgarem.

Domino Erasmo Roterodamo, viro vndecunque doctissimo.

Antuerpiae. 20

## 1078. FROM HERMANN, COUNT OF NEUENAUH.

Epistolae eruditorum virorum p. 27 (a).

Jortin ii. 372.

Cologne.

14 March 1520.

[The first letter in Evv; see p. 210. The year-date needs no confirmation.]

1. epistola in Leum] This ephemeral composition, probably because printed by Martens, was not included in EAE or Evv, and seems to have perished. It was perhaps the work of Ant. Clava or Robt. de Keyser.

2. Theodrici] Martens.

3. Affiximus] Probably on the church doors, as on the previous occasion of

which Lee complains in Ep. 1061. 505-6. In the preceding year an offensive paper had been fastened up on Lee's door; cf. *Apologia qua respondet*, f<sup>o</sup>. B<sup>3</sup>, Jortin ii. 502.

4. caudatis] Cf. Ep. 1061. 35on.

pus] Cf. Hor. S. i. 7. 1.

6. responsionem] The *Apologia qua respondet*: see p. 110.

DOCTISSIMO ERASMO ROTERODAMO THEOLOGO HERMANNVS  
NVENARIVS COMES S. D.

PRODIT tandem larvatus iste Leus, non leo, sed asinus ille Cumanus, cuius rugitus toto biennio studiosis hominibus magnum minabatur periculum. Sed nunc demum minus nobis ineussit terroris illius ferox conspectus quam qui de illo sonitus ferebatur.  
5<sup>o</sup> Ὁ γὰρ Λεῖος οὗτος, ὃν ἡμεῖς ὡς ἄγριόν τε καὶ μάλα θυμολέον(τα) ἐφοβήσαμεν, οὐδ' ὄνυχας οὐδὲ κράτος ἔχει, μόνον δὲ καὶ τῷ στόματι ἀμέτριος ὢν, ἀναθλος καὶ πᾶν γελοῖος πρὸς τὴν μάχην εἰσεπήδησεν. Haec sunt illae Adnotationes coelum atque terram, si diis placet, obturbaturae? hic ille triumphus de quo tantam tragoediam praeluserunt apud nos atrati  
10 quidam? Quod si sic triumphatur Leo ac suis plausoribus, nihil aliud his optamus quam perpetuo vt agant triumphos.

Cum primum huc perlata sunt exemplaria Leicarum Adnotationum, coepimus conferre loca Gerardus noster et ego, anxii interim ne id esset Leus quod dicebatur. Sed vidimus statim rem in tuto esse:  
15 nihil enim nisi meram invidiam et odii fraterni seminaria continet haec seditiosa charta. Caecus ira odioque non intelligit quid loquatur, sed fundit sine mente sonum. Apologiam illius ideo nolui perlegere, quod videbatur mihi Christianas aures ferre vix posse tam contentiosam obiurgationem, quae parum contineret eruditionis,  
20 multo minus vtilitatis, prorsus vero nihil charitatis. Nunquam mihi sic displicuerunt sophistica haec ingenia, etsi displicuerint semper illa, quod ad excitandas in religione Christiana turbas seditionesque et ad publicam pacem pervertendam nata. Si hoc est sacras profiteri literas, quem non pudeat Christianum dici? Si his artibus ornatur theologiae  
25 studium, quid non esse malim quam theologus? Est enim temperantiae quaedam ratio, quam ne vulgus quidem mortalium facile transgreditur; sed haec adeo nihil obtinet loci apud quosdam qui se theologiae ornant ἐπιθέτω, vt incidere in latrones quam in horum manus praestare videatur. Expertus haec Capnion noster vix etiamnum  
30 respirat. Hoc ego malum sensi; eadem te sors manet, o Erasme. Me nihil aequè pudet quam non tacuisse; requiro nunc meam modestiam: sed quis non aliquando limitem excedat temperantiae, nimirum tantopere prouocatus? Tu vero germanum veri theologi animum geres, nec acceptam dissimulabis nec agnitam atrocius  
35 vleisceris iniuriam, vt salua tibi maneat theologiae et grauitatis et

7. γελεῖος α: corr. Jortin.

6. ἀναθλος] Cf. Luc. Calumn. 12.  
12. exemplaria] in print: perhaps about the end of February (see p. 109).  
13. Gerardus] Episcopus (cf. Ep. 1082. 60) of Enschedingen in Luxemburg: perhaps the person who matriculated at Cologne, 27 Oct. 1488. He matriculated with the Count at Bologna in 1509 as his 'famulus' (ANGB. p. 271), and developed into a confidential secretary and chaplain: cf. the *Annales* (ed. J. B. Menckenius in *Script. rer. German.* ii, 1728, p. 602) of Spalatinus, who met him at Cologne on 28 Sept. 1520; and the Count's preface of Dec.

1529 (Ep. 442 introd.), which speaks of their working together at Horace. In 1532, the Count being then dead, Gerardus was a fiscal officer at Trèves, and married (Knod p. 672).

17. sine mente sonum] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10. 640.

28. incidere] Cf. Luke 10. 30, 36.

30. Hoc ego] For Ct. Hermann's part in the Reuchlin controversy see Epp. 808. 5-7, 877. 21-2, 889. 40-42. It began with his preface contributed to the *Defensio Reuchlini* (Epp. 680. 26n, 919. 50n).

eadem te sors] Cf. Ep. 1006. 153n.

modestiae palma. Neque quid egerit ille curandum tibi est, sed quod te deceat, quod bona studia promoueat, quod nos ornet.

Haec, cum mihi monitor esses nuper, tu ipse sentiebas, et erat sane digna te sententia, qua meae modestiae consultum cupiebas: nunc inuicem moneri a me, et quidem tuis verbis, non feres grauate, 40 καίτοι πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ νέον. Augebit fiduciam atque spem .x. Leonis Pont. patrociniū, sub quo quantum incrementi bona studia ceperint, nemo tam stupidus est qui non intelligat. Porro pro Caesare Maximiliano ortum est nobis sydus Carolinum, in quo paternus et auitus adhuc splendor relucet, imo, si dicere licet, in quo parentum radii 45 velut in sole quodam luculentissimo deficiunt. De Germanis nostris polliceor tibi faustissima, tot habet haec natio principes, satrapas, ciues plebeios in bonis artibus versatos et candidos vt alia nulla. Pauci adhuc restant πτωχοὶ κολοιοὶ καὶ μέλανες ἄνδρες; illa filix nullo mansuescit aratro. Sunt qui putent ab iis subornatum esse Leum, 50 quo ad hoc negocium perficiendum velut emissario abuterentur, interim ipsi in suis culinis satis tuti. Quod hominum genus quo pacto nobis exemplum patientiae exhibeat Christi, satis exploratum tibi credo; nam et ipsos suis coloribus depinxisti. Leus vero hoc nunc agit quod in apologo, ἡ μὲν ὄνος ἐν τοῖς πιθήκοις. Sed caueat sibi 55 ne reliquum fabellae absoluat; priorem enim partem satis infelicitate lusit. Apologiam tuam auide expectamus; fac vt exeat breui, et clamosas istas obtineat ranas. Qua in re si quid est quod ipse tibi praestare queam, non deero; me semper fidum experieris Achatem. Satis felicem me puto si ab hoc hominum genere persecutiones 60 sustineam; εἶναι γὰρ τῆς ἀκακίας ἀκόλουθος ποθῶ.

Aduentum tuum ad proximum ver expectamus. Nulla hic pestilientia grassatur qua abstergeri debeas; tantum huc aduola, et inter nemora Bedburtina miscebis prolixiorē de nostris rebus sermonem. Nam multa adhuc dicenda restant. Vel si libebit inuisere 65 nostrum Principem, accedes mecum, facturus illi proculdubio rem

49. πτωχοὶ κολοιοὶ α: corr. Jortin.

38. nuper] Cf. Ep. 703. 21-4. But there had been a more recent occasion, perhaps as a consequence of Ep. 1006: 'Quum Comes a Noua Aquila me literis consuleret an deberet similitudinem remittere Hochstrato, hoc tum promissa palinodia ambienti, dedi consilium vt animo Christiano remitteret iniuriam. Atque is, quum me virulentissime impetisset Leus, meum mihi consilium ingressit, admonens vt quod ipse meo suasu fecisset in Hochstrato, nunc facerem in Leo', *Spongia*, LB. x. 1639E = HE. 333, § 82. See also Ep. 620. 30n.

49. πτωχοὶ κολοιοὶ] A contemptuous reference to the monks; cf. Ep. 1082. 13, and *Adag.* 621, 'graculus inter Musas'.

μέλανες ἄνδρες] Cf. Plut. *de lib. educ.* 17, and Hor. *S. I.* 4. 85; also l. 9 *supra*. filix] Cf. Pers. 4. 41.

52. culinis] Cf. Ep. 163. 6.

55. in apologo] In *Adag.* 441 Erasmus

explains this as 'vbi quis incidit in homines nasutos et contumeliosos, ipse stolidus, a quibus impune rideatur'.

57. Apologiam] *qua respondet*; see p. 110.

58. clamosas] Cf. Epp. 1082. 24, 31, 1136. 18.

62. Aduentum] For expectations of Erasmus' return to Basle in 1520 see BRE. 162, 166, 176, Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 131, 133, 140, 142: cf. Epp. 1073. 58-9, 1085. 13-14, 1101. 1, 1102. 10, 1119. 22-3. A party of Zwingli's friends, including the Administrator of Einsiedeln (cf. Ep. 1120. 12n), was prepared to gather at Basle to greet him (Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 146).

pestilientia] Cf. Ep. 867. 62n.

64. Bedburtina] See Ep. 867. 74.

66. Principem] Hermann of Wied: see Ep. 829. 15n. It was not till 1528 that Ct. Hermann succeeded in persuading Erasmus to write to the Abp.: Lond. xxiv. 1, LB. 945.

gratissimam. Fauent tibi in illius aula primarii, ipse quoque Princeps de te honorificentissime sentit, ac itidem factitant illius germani fratres. Breuiter nobilitas Germaniae ad mentem redit, 70 incipit nunc odisse barbariem, amplecti candorem. Meus frater cum tota familia et cognatione te observant. Vale feliciter.  
Coloniae. xiiii. Martii. Anno. M.D.xx.

## 1079. TO SYLVESTER GIGLI.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 500.  
HN: Lond. xii. 34: LB. 499.

Antwerp.  
15 March 1520.

[Contemporary with Ep. 1080 because of the diploma; with Ep. 1081 because of Charles' expected return from Spain.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS R. P. SILVESTRO, EPISCOPO  
VVINGORNIENSI, S. D.

REVERENDISSIME Praesul, expectabam vt T. R. D. me vocaret ingratissimum, quod pro veteribus tuis in me officiis nullam retulerim gratiam. Nunc, o inauditam humanitatem, etiam pristinis tuis in me meritis sane cumulatissimis nouos adiciis cumulos. Redditem 5 est mihi exemplar diplomatis. Magnopere placuit. Nihil fingi potuit amantius aut magis ex animi mei sententia. Sed hac de re ne quid ad me mittatur amplius, donec scripsero quo velim mitti: nam spero futurum vt ipse Romae sacras istas manus tuas deosculer, idque breui, nisi Caroli nostri reditus adferat nobis noua consilia. 10 Et scio et memini quid debeam celsitudini tuae. Sed si ea nosset quibus rerum procellis obruar, non solum daret veniam verumetiam misereretur nostri. Si vixero adhuc annum, testabor me scire quantopere tibi sim deuinctus. Bene valeat R. T. D.; cui me totum, vt debeo, ita dedo dicoque. Antuuerpiae Id. Mart. An. M.D.xx.

1079. TIT. R. P. om. H. SYLVESTRO H. VVINGORNIENSI HN<sup>3</sup>; VVINGORNIENSI N<sup>1</sup>.  
1. T. R. D. om. H. vocares H. 13. R. T. D. F: tua sublimitas H.

1078. 69. Germaniae] Cf. Ep. 998. 62-5.  
70. frater] Gumpert IV of Neuenahr, 1500-46, who married Amoen, heiress of Hohen-Limburg: see Stokvis iii, pp. 50, 92.

1079. 5. diplomatis] Probably a permission to eat meat in Lent, sent in draft, the original to follow; cf. Ep. 1080. 2-4, and Erasmus' letter to Zasius, (23 March) 1523 (ZE. pp. 301, 2). It was renewed in 1525 by Clement VII (Vischer p. 32).

8. Romae] The same hope is expressed in Epp. 1080. 1. For Erasmus' thoughts of leaving Louvain see Epp.

1073. 58, 1078. 63n.

9. reditus] Charles' return had long been expected (cf. Ep. 1030. 66-7); but though he reached Santiago in March and Corunna before the end of April he did not sail till the middle of May (Brewer iii. 419, 708, 771, 803). After visiting England 26-31 May (ibid. pp. lxvi, lxvii) he landed at Flushing 1 June (Ep. 17 introd.). Cf. also Epp. 1081. 6, 1101. 2-3.

10. quid debeam] See Epp. 447 introd., 521, 567; and cf. Ep. 1080. 9.

12. testabor] For the redemption of this promise see Ep. 1181.

## 1080. To FRANCESCO CHIEREGATO.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 500.  
HN: Lond. xii. 36: LB. 498.

Antwerp.  
15 March 1520.

[The year-date is confirmed by the publication of Lee's *Annotationes* (p. 109), and by Erasmus' reply.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS ORNATISS. DOCTORI FRANCISCO  
GIREGATTO, PROTOGRAPHEI APOSTOLICO, S. D.

HVMANISSIME Chiregatte, si frater esses mihi, quaeso quid posses amantius? Diploma mihi vehementer placet. Sed nunc incertum an hic sim diutius commoraturus; nam vocor in Galliam. Itaque ne quid huc mittatur, nisi literis meis significauero. Et fortassis intra menses paucos adero Romae: interim cura vt te offendamus 5 alacrem. Eduardus Leus emisit in me librum plenum conuiciis, non sine dedecore meo, sed maiore suo. Ei nunc respondeo, sed absque conuiciis. Id in causa fuit vt tibi scriberem tam parce. Bene vale.

Scio quantum debeo reuerendo D. Syluestro, patrono tuo. Non ero ingratus, qua licebit. Rursum vale. 10

Antuuerpiae. Idibus Martiis. Anno M.D.XX.

## 1081. To LORENZO CAMPEGIO.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 500.  
HN: Lond. xii. 35: LB. 500.

Antwerp.  
15 March 1520.

[The year-date is confirmed by the sending of the Paraphrase (l. 1) to Campegio.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS R. D. CARD. LAVRENTIO CAMPEGIO S. D.

REVERENDISSIME D., mitto libellum R. T. D. dictum, quaecunque grati in eam animi documentum. Quid facerem? Non dabatur occasio commodior. Sed in posterum, vt spero, dabitur. Nunc mihi cum monstis compluribus res est, non Herculi, sed semihomuncioni. Spero fore vt ante paucos menses Romam olim adamatam reuisam, 5 nisi si quid noui consilii Caroli nostri ex Hispania reditus adferat. Faxit Deus vt eos incolumes offendam quos maxime cupio. Bene valeat E. R. T. D. Antuuerpiae. Id. Mart. Anno M.D.XX.

1080. TIT. ORNATISS. DOCTORI *om. H.* CHIREGATTO *H.* 8. tam parce *F:*  
parcius *H.* 9. debeam *H.* D. *F:* praesuli *H.* 1081. TIT. R. D. *om. H.*  
1. R. T. D. *F:* tuo nomini *H.* 2. eam *F:* te *HN*<sup>13</sup>: me *N*<sup>2</sup>. 6. si *add. H.*  
8. valeat E. R. T. D. *F:* vale *H.* Idus *H.*

1080. 3. in Galliam] For the continued endeavours to attract Erasmus to Paris see Epp. 489, 522 &c., 810. 360 seq., 896. 90n, 994. 11n; and cf. the reference to the Collège de France in Ep. 1066. 77-8.  
1081. 1. libellum] See Ep. 1062.  
6. reditus] See Ep. 1079. 9n.

## 1082. TO HERMANN, COUNT OF NEUENAUH.

Viuis Declamationes Syllanae, tit. v<sup>o</sup> (a).

Antwerp.

(c. 15 March) 1520.

[A letter which appears at the beginning of Vives' *Declamationes Syllanae quinque*, Antwerp, M. Hillen, April 1520: followed by a dedication from Vives to Prince Ferdinand (cf. Ep. 917 introd.) dated from Louvain. It is noticeable that for a subsequent edition, which I have only seen as reprinted in his *Opera*, Basle, Nic. Episcopius, Aug. 1555, Vives rewrote his dedication; adding the date 1520 and stating that the book was published at the suggestion of Erasmus and other friends.

This letter is to be dated shortly after the appearance of Lee's book (see Ep. 1037 introd.), for Erasmus expects the Count to have seen it: but it neither answers nor is answered by Ep. 1078, in which the Count gives his opinions on Lee and his notes. It would appear, therefore, that the two letters crossed, and that this replies to one which is not extant. A fairly precise month-date may be assigned from the place.

As a result of his new connexion (see Ep. 1053. 133n) Hillen seems to have taken advantage of Erasmus' presence in Antwerp to request a letter of commendation for a friend's book that he was about to print. The repetition of some sentences almost word for word from the praise of Vives in Ep. 917 implies that Erasmus must have had that letter before him in composing this; cf. also Ep. 1066. 52-61.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS CLARISSIMO D. HERMANNO, COMITI

A NOVA AQVILA, CANONICO COLONIENSI, S. D.

MIRVM ni superi omnes te diligunt, ornatissime Comes, cuius stemmatis, cuius opibus istum addiderint animum, vt nihil prius habeas quam vti genus ac fortunam probitatis et litterarum veris aeternisque ornamentis condecores. Sed iterum atque iterum foelix  
5 es, cuius egregiis conatibus sic modis omnibus faueat φέρων ἀνεμός τε καὶ ἰδωρ. O arcem Apollinis domicilium, o nemora Musis dicata! in quibus ad Plinii nepotis exemplum assidue venaris, sed non absque libellis; vt si parum fauerit Delia, tamen fauente Philologia non sine lucro redeas domum. Prorsus inuiderem tibi istam plane deorum  
10 vitam, ni charior esses quam vt quicquam bonae rei tibi possit obtingere, quod non idem aeque meum esse ducam.

Porro quod vicissim scire cupis quid hic rerum agatur, feruet etiamnum ἡ πτωχοτυραννοφιλομονσομαχία. Sexquipedale verbum, inquires: imo perbreue dices, si cum re conferas; nam isti nullum  
15 omnino finem faciunt oblatrandi studiis optimis. Sed tu, inquis, quid interim? Ego vetus ille patronus praecoque pacis ac tranquillitatis nunc πικτεύω, ὑποπιάζων καὶ ὑποπιαζόμενος ἐν τῷ μέρει. Scio iam exclamas, ὦ τρισάθλιον! atqui magis istuc dicas si noris οἷψ με τέρατι συγκαθεῖρξεν ὁ δαίμων. Sed hoc ipse te docebit liber, quo nullus  
20 adhuc exiit multis retro saeculis nec indoctior nec virulentior.

5. φέρων] Hom. *Od.* 3. 300.

6. arcem] Bedburg: see Epp. 867. 74n, 1078. 64.

7. Plinii] *Epist.* 1. 6.

13. πτωχοτυραννοφιλομονσομαχία] For

Erasmus' view of this conflict between the friars (cf. Ep. 998. 59n) and the humanists see Ep. 1033.

19. liber] Lee's *Annotationes*; see Ep. 1037 introd.

Martinus Dorpius, tui nominis cum primis studiosus, vere theologum agit: nam extricatus ab istis factionum tumultibus suauius fruitur optimis studiis.

Lodouicus Viues, dum alii clamant, gnauiter declamat, veteris exempli nouus autor: scis enim hanc eruditionis partem hactenus 25 etiam in Italis fuisse desideratam. Hoc decus Viues noster suae instaurat Hispaniae. Habuit illa quondam cum aliis in rebus, tum in hoc genere praecellentes, cum primis Senecas et Quintilianos, sed habuit Romae. Eam hic laudem suae vindicat Valentiae, ut sit quo praeter nominis consortium Romanae urbis aemula videri queat. Ut 30 facillimum est clamare, ita longe difficillimum arbitror declamare, et ita declamare ut hic declamat, si quid meo iudicio tribuendum putas. Agit enim hoc tanta dexteritate ut, si titulum adimas, putes rem nec huius regionis nec huius esse saeculi, sed e felicissimis illis M. Tullii Seneceque temporibus relictam. Versatur in argumento ficto, sed 35 ita ut rem seriam agi credas. Tractat vtramque partem, sed tam probabiliter ut videatur sibi persuasisse prius quod suadet. Artis obseruantissimus est, sed, quam scis esse bonam partem artis, sic artificium dissimulat ut neget rem adumbratam agi. Nusquam desidet in locis communibus, nusquam a causa digreditur. Credas 40 hominem pro amico de capite periclitante ad clepsydrum dicere. Iam acumen in reperiendis ac tractandis probationibus minus admiror, cum in omni pene philosophiae parte sit diu felicissime versatus: usque adeo valet illi, ubiubi intenderit, ingenium mire versatile.

Cum in subtilibus quidem illis sed infantibus disciplinis versare- 45 tur, nemo disputabat acrius, nemo magis agebat sophistam. Nunc totus in mansuetioribus litteris versatur, et sic versatur ut hoc saeculo vix alium norim quem ausim cum illo committere: siquidem, ut demus esse qui Viuem aequent eloquentiae viribus, non video 50 tamen in quo reperias tantum eloquentiae cum tanta philosophiae cognitione coniunctum. Ingenium felix, sanum ac vegetum; memoria nihil esse potest felicius; studium indefatigabile, etas virens etiamnum. Quibus ex rebus nobis magnum aliquid minimeque vulgare pollicemur. Spero posthac fore complures qui pulcherrimum 55 hoc exemplum sequantur; an assequuturi sint nescio. Si bene cupis reuerendissimo D. Card. Croio,—quod quidem facis, si modo bene vis iis qui ex animo fauent optimis litteris,—nimirum hunc illi gratulaberis studiorum moderatorem.

Gerardum Episcopum meis verbis saluere iubeto; cui precor ut 60 aliquando sit quod audit quotidie.

Antuerpiae. Anno. M.D.XX.

43. penę a. felicissimę a.

21. Dorpius] For his position at this time and the renewal of his relations with Erasmus see Ep. 1044 introd. and 49n.

24. clamant] Cf. Ep. 1078. 58. veteris exempli] Cf. Ep. 917. 25.

30. nominis consortium] For Valentia as the old Latin name of Rome, translated by Evander into Greek, see

Sol. 1. 1; cf. Serv. on *Aen.* 1. 273.

33. tanta dexteritate] Cf. Ep. 917. 26-8.

37. Artis] Cf. Ep. 917. 30, 1.

48. ut hoc saeculo] Cf. Ep. 917. 23, 4.

53. etas virens] Vives was just 28.

57. Card. Croio] See Epp. 647 introd., 1071. 3.

60. Gerardum] Cf. Ep. 1078. 13n.

## 1083. FROM WOLFGANG FABRICIUS CAPITO.

Epistolae aliquot eruditorum, f<sup>o</sup>. F<sup>4</sup> (a).  
Epistolae eruditorum virorum, p. 141 (β).

Basle.  
17 March 1520.

[While Erasmus was completing his reply to Lee, with his *Apologia* and two *Responsiones* (pp. 109, 110), Hillen, who had printed these at Antwerp, published also a pamphlet expressing the views of some of Erasmus' friends: *Epistolae aliquot eruditorum, nunquam antehac excusae, multis nominibus dignae quae legantur a bonis omnibus, quo magis liqueat quanta sit insignis cuiusdam sycophantae virulentia*, s. a. (EAE). This consists of eight letters referring to the controversy: two (this and Ep. 1084) which had recently been received by Erasmus; three addressed by Lupset (cf. Ep. 1053) from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 30 March-1 April 1520, to Lee, Paynell, and Nesen at Louvain, and two letters of More also communicated by Lupset (EAE, f<sup>o</sup>. B<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>; EEV, p. 53); and finally Nesen's reply to Lupset, 20 April (1520), which, as standing second in the book indicates a date of publication early in May 1520. Epp. 1085, 1088 show clearly that Erasmus was cognizant of the undertaking, and, if not actually the promoter, gave it full encouragement, when once he had consented to it; and even without such direct evidence, his complicity might have been inferred from the insertion in each portion of EAE of letters addressed to him. From the facts of composition Steitz is clearly right (*Arch. f. Frankfurts Gesch.*, NF. VI, 1877, pp. 102-3) in supposing that Nesen edited the pamphlet (cf. Ep. 1088, 10). There are two copies of it in the British Museum (1009, c. 32 and G. 1568).

Later in the year Hillen brought out another issue with an *Appendix Epistolarum quibus eruditi viri detestantur Edouardi Lei virulentiam*, on new signatures, a and b. This contains four new letters, one from Listrius to Beatus Rhenanus (BRE. 103), one from Hutten to Lee (HE. 166), and two more addressed to Erasmus (Epp. 1095, 1109); the latest being dated 5 June. For this again Nesen was no doubt responsible. His own copy of it is in the Town Library at Frankfurt on the Main (Steitz, *op. cit.*, p. 103).

Finally in August 1520 an enlarged edition of the collection was printed by Froben with the title, *Epistolae aliquot eruditorum virorum, ex quibus perspicuum quanta sit Eduardi Lei virulentia* (EEV). It contains fourteen new letters: two (Epp. 1078, 1053) prefixed; four inserted in the body of the work—three from More and Pace to Lee, dated in Feb. and March, and one of Marquard of Hattstein (Ep. 1109, 29n) to Colet, from Mainz, 26 April 1520; and at the end eight—two written to Erasmus (Epp. 1089, 1105) and six which evidently were contributed from Schlettstadt and Basle, including BRE. 168, 170—the latest letter being dated in the last days of August. It is noticeable that in this edition the dates of three of the letters in EAE, and of one in the *Appendix*, have suffered change; probably through mere degeneration. A letter which might have been included, is one from Mutianus Rufus to John Lang of Erfurt; written in scathing condemnation of Lee's book, which he had just seen, 24 May 1520 (MRE. 634 = MRE.<sup>2</sup> 590).

This final volume clearly was concocted by Erasmus' friends in England and at Basle, and possibly without his knowledge. For after the attempted reconciliation in the summer of 1520 (Ep. 1037 introd.) he may well have wished the controversy at an end and have done what he could to check it (cf. Ep. 1139, 99-102). Only three letters (Epp. 1078, 1089, 1105) of those added in EEV came from his unprinted correspondence; and these were quite likely contributed by the writers (cf. Ep. 1089 introd.). In November he endeavoured to withdraw the publication altogether (Ep. 1157).

Copies of EAE were sold by John Dorne in Oxford on 25 and 30 Aug. 1520, and of the *Appendix* on 31 Aug. and 9 Sept.: see nos. 1133, 1179, 1180, 1183, 1244 in his *Day-book*, ed. F. Madan, OHS. v, 1885, pp. 117, 118.

This letter, which perhaps answers Ep. 1074, appears in EAE: its year-date needs no confirmation. For Capito's opinion of Lee see also Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 132.]

GVOLPHANGVS CAPITO ERASMO ROTERODAMO S. D.

SCRIPSI proximis litteris, opinor nudius quartus, de libro Eduardi



Lei, quem Conrardus bibliopola Parisiensis, Frobenio affinis, suo illic sumptu excusum huc attulit. Si pateris vt Capito consilium det Erasmo, hoc est sus Mineruae, praestiterit rem totam vt inane fulgur ex vitro, quod aiunt, negligere ridereque secure. Non est enim quod 5 metuas ne liber tam insulsus, ne dicam rabiosus, apud graues et eruditos viros noceat existimationi tuae. Verum hoc ambit gloriosulus, vt tecum videatur fuisse congressus. Si teipsum satis nosti, non dignaberis illum hoc honore. Nemo non perspicit Leum ad tantam impudentiam extimulatum nominis et famae desiderio. Post- 10 quam extorquere non potuit vt sui memoria extaret in Annotationibus tuis, tentauit vel suo periculo noscitari. Dolet ingenio gloriosulo quod quicquid habes eruditionis, ipsi non tuleris acceptum. Famam sitiit misellus, et habebit quod sitiit vsque ad satietatem; nam reddemus illum etiam Erostrato nobiliorem, si quid poterunt stili 15 Germaniae. Mihi blanditur etiam laudatiuncula fucata: adeo nos iudicat ebetes vt non odoremur tales technas. Habeat sibi suas laudes: nemo Germanus feret talem praeconem, a quo laudari turpius sit quam vituperari. Blanditur etiam Hutteno et Capnioni stultulus iste. Nos, credo, pro stipitibus habet, non pro hominibus; 20 at sentiet homines, non fungos. Tractabitur cornicula vt meretur, nec hac poena erimus contenti, vt illi plumas non suas detrahamus. Audio Hutteni stilum esse in opere. Oecolampadius, tametsi mitissimus est ingenio, tamen ad tam insignes sycophantias mirum quam excanduerit, homo vere Christiani pectoris. Eximius Caesarei 25 iuris Professor Zazius non potest satis admirari in homine tam indocto tantum arrogantiae, in sacerdote tantum diabolici veneni.

Quod bis iam admones, faciam quantum potero: nam quod suades vt nihil omnino respondeam, non possum imperare animo meo. Porro quod proximum concedis, vt si quid respondeam, modeste 30 respondeam, facturus sum quatenus illius patitur immodestia: quamquam ille magis eget medico quam redargutore, si satis ex illius scriptis ingenium colligo. Certe genti parceretur, vt iubes, et aequum iubes;

2. Conrardus β. 4. vt α: & β. 11. vt α: vt & β. 15. etiam α: & β. 23. esse α: iam esse β. 28. Quod α: De eo quod β. 31. immodestia α: modestia β. 32. β: medico α.

2. Conrardus] Resch; see Ep. 330. 14n.

4. fulgur] Cf. *Adag.* 1690.

11. sui memoria] For an example of the eulogies given by Erasmus to his patrons and friends see his note on 1 Thess. 2. 7: *Novum Instr.* ii, pp. 553-6.

15. Erostrato] Cf. Epp. 1053. 205n, 1061. 716.

16. laudatiuncula] See Ep. 1061. 200-9.

19. Hutteno] I can find no definite mention of Hutten in Lee's book; so that this passage gives reason for identifying him with the much-lauded 'nobilis quidam et doctus iuuenis' of Ep. 1055 introd.

Capnioni] Cf. Ep. 1061. 200-7.

23. Hutteni stilum] This statement

affords some slight ground for attributing to Hutten the *Hochstratus ouans*, in which Lee is severely handled: see Ep. 1165. 22n. Steitz, *op. cit.*, p. 103n, mentions a printed copy presented by Nesen to Carinus (Epp. 920, 1034) and by Carinus later to Spalatinus: on the title-page of which Spalatinus has written the date 1520.

26. Zazius] For his opinions see Ep. 1084. 74-97, quoting ZE. 22: from which, however, this is not a verbal quotation.

28. admones] First in the letter referred to in Ep. 1029. 19n; and then, perhaps, in the missing portion of Ep. 1074.

33. genti] the English; cf. Epp. 1058. 3, 1088. 4-5, 1129. 17-18.

nihil enim illa commeruit: non magis quam hortulus in quo sub-  
 35 oriatur aconitum, alias optimorum holerum ferax. Iam nunc ad te  
 misissem operis mei gustum, si certus aliquis obtigisset. Non aedam  
 tamen nisi recognitum aut approbatum a Rhenano, ne mihi nouitas  
 inuentionis imponat. Lei libellum nondum perlegi totum: illud  
 40 video, si ademeris calida conuicia et mendaces indices, reliqua esse  
 frigidissima.

Plura scripturus eram, sed vltima nauis iam hinc abit Francor-  
 diam. Properandum erat. Agam amici partes fidelissimi. Res ipsa  
 declarabit breui.

Vale Basileae. xvi. cal. April. An. M.D.XX.

#### 1084. FROM BONIFACE AMERBACH.

Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 329 (a).

EAE f<sup>o</sup>. G (β<sup>1</sup>): EEV p. 89 (β<sup>2</sup>).

Basle.

19 March 1520.

[There are three sources of prime importance: firstly Boniface's autograph rough draft (a); secondly (β<sup>1</sup>) EAE (p. 210); and thirdly EEV (β<sup>2</sup>). The two last, from their close connexion, may be jointly designated as β. The letter from Zasius to Boniface (16 March: Basle MS. G. II. 32. 17; ZE. 22), which is quoted at the end (γ), shows that Boniface sent him a copy of a, and in deference to his criticism omitted the translations of the Greek which are shown in the critical notes. As β represents the letter actually sent and received, I have given preference to its readings; though retaining the spelling of a.

This letter was very likely sent with Ep. 1083. The news which Boniface gives, clearly indicates that he had not written to Erasmus since Ep. 1020.]

MAGNO ERASMO ROTERODAMO BONIFACIUS AMORBACCHIVS S. D.

VIDE nunquid verum sit quod Graeci dicere solent, vnicum saeculi  
 decus Erasme, ὅτι ἡ ἀμαθεία θρασείς, ὀκνηροὺς δὲ τὸ λελογισμένον ἀπεργά-  
 ζεται. Quousque tua humanitate abutor? Scio quantae in maximis  
 verae theologiae studiis sint occupationes tuae. Scio quam haec te  
 5 velut ἀλεξίκακον Herculem continuo implorare soleant, quamque pro  
 illis indefatigabili excubens animo; nec tamen interim meis nugis te  
 molestare cesso. Verum si quid temeritatis ea in re incurro, nemini  
 acceptum referas velim nisi summo meo in te amori, qui cum semper  
 solliciti timoris plenus sit, quo plus scribo, hoc minus mihi ipsi  
 10 satisfacio: quippe vel nolentem trahit vel inuitum cogit, vt animum,  
 studium in te meum nouis subinde, velim nolim, litteris declarem.  
 Qua de causa si forsitan tibi molestior sum quam me deceat et magna

1083. 41. Fräkfördiā β. 1084. TIT. MAGNO add. β<sup>2</sup>. ERASMO . . . S. D. add. β<sup>1</sup>  
 (AMORBACCHIVS β<sup>2</sup>). 2. (hoc est, insecitia temerarios, eruditio vero trepidos  
 facit) post ἀπεργάζεται add. α: om. β. 5. (id est, omnia mala depellentem) post  
 ἀλεξίκακον add. α: om. β. 6. β: meis nugis interim α. 10. animi, β<sup>2</sup>.  
 12. me αβ<sup>2</sup>: om. β<sup>1</sup>.

1083. 36. operis mei] *Epistola W. Fabri-  
 cii Capitonis, qua se purgat de suspitione Leici  
 fauoris*, appended to an edition of Eras-  
 mus' three *Apologiae* against Lee, Mainz,  
 J. Scheffer, June 1520 (BER.<sup>1</sup> i, p. 14).

I have not been able to find a copy.

41. vltima nauis] Carrying books  
 for the Frankfort fair, and therewith  
 letters; cf. Ep. 1084. 45n.

1084. 9. solliciti] Cf. OY. Her. 1. 12.

tua paciantur studia, non grauaberis quicquid id erit in meliorem interpretari partem. Esto tuo fauore sim indignus, habeasque alios amicos eruditionis nomine insignes; quae tamen tua est humanitas, 15 non auersaberis hominem tibi toto pectore addictissimum. Certe ut omnibus eruditione sum inferior, ita studio et amore in te meo nulli, quisquis ille fuerit, cessurus sum vnquam. Quare ne semper longo verborum paratu tibi aequo molestior sim, breuiculo hoc rursus animum meum tibi testatum volo, eum fore quem a tuorum dedi- 20 tissimo expectare et conueniet et par est.

Quod felix faustumque sit, audio Martinum Dorpium resipuisse, nunquam a tuis doctrinis, immo a verae theologiae stare praescriptis. Id cum omnibus apud nos, tum maxime Dn. Vlricho Zasio, maximo iureconsulto, summae voluptati fuit. Gratulatus sum homini per 25 litteras, licet inuitus, nempe alieno stomacho, compellente huc me Zasio et sacramento suo adigente. Cui cum nihil denegare debeam, certe hac in parte morigerari volui, praesertim cum Dorpius tuus factus sit; quo quid poterat nobis euenisse optatius? Felicem te et vere magnum, qui non solum optima studia in integrum restituis, 30 sed in debellandis etiam barbarorum copiis, ex sophistis homines, ex mathaeologis theologos facis.

De rebus nostris quid attinet dicere? Ni fallor, quam misere preteritus annus nos acceperit, tenes. Brunonem fratrem peste iugulatum non sine spirantibus lachrimis amisimus. Cuius obitus 35 quin tibi vulnus inflixerit haud dubito; non enim nobis tam sanguine, quam tibi summa deuotione erat coniunctissimus, qui tua adorare, te complecti solebat religiosissime. Sed mortuus est quem viuum cupiebamus; decessit qui nunc primum litteras adiuuare poterat; obiit non sine summa nostra iactura. Ego Basileae hucusque 40 ob fratris mortem me continui. Vere tamen ineunte ad Auenionam proficiscor, cepta studia prosecuturus, et ordini iuridico, si e re mea videbitur, nomen daturus: tametsi nesciam si quid minus possim quam linguam habere venalem; verum aliud vitae institutum erit. Dn. Vlricho Zasio principum quorundam negociis inuoluto nunc 45 scribere non fuit integrum. Proximo tamen nuncio ad te et ad Dorpium litteras dabit, interim omnia fausta tibi adscribi iussit.

18. ille  $\beta$ : is  $\alpha$ . sum  $\alpha\beta^2$ : sim  $\beta^1$ . 21.  $\beta$ : expectari  $\alpha$ . 22. Marti-  
num Dorpium  $\alpha\beta^2$ : om.  $\beta^1$ . 24. cum  $\alpha$ : tum  $\beta^2$ . Dn.  $\alpha$ : D.  $\beta$ . Vlrico  
 $\beta^2$ . 28.  $\beta$ : morigerare  $\alpha$ . Dorpius  $\alpha\beta^2$ : ille syncere  $\beta^1$ . 29.  $\beta$ : nobis  
poterat  $\alpha$ . 32.  $\alpha\beta^2$ : Mataeologis  $\beta^1$ . 33.  $\beta^1$ : fallar  $\alpha\beta^2$ . 36. tibi  
 $\beta$ : tibi etiam  $\alpha$ . haud  $\beta$ : non  $\alpha$ . 39.  $\beta^1$ : cupieramus  $\alpha\beta^2$ . 41. con-  
tinui  $\beta$ : contineo  $\alpha$ . ineunte  $\beta$ : nunc ineunte  $\alpha$ . 42. et . . . 43. daturus  
add.  $\beta$ . 43. possim  $\alpha\beta^2$ : possem  $\beta^1$ . 45. Dn.  $\alpha\beta^2$ : D.  $\beta^1$ .

22. Dorpium] Cf. Ep. 1044. 16n.

26. litteras] The rough draft is extant at Basle (MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 158: Am. E. 3); dated, like this, 19 March 1520, from the day of dispatch, the two letters being sent by the same messenger.

34. Brunonem] † 21 Oct. 1519; and cf. Ep. 1085. 13n.

41. Auenionam] Cf. Ep. 1020. 54n. In another letter of 19 March (C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 411) he says he will start 'ad kls. Maias'.

45. principum] Cf. ZE. 21, to Boni-

face, 6 March 1520: 'negociorum tamen mole hoc temporis articulo, quo ad nundinas Francofordias literae mittendae sunt, ita premor ut prope deficiam. Sunt enim compluria michi consilia principibus et item Sueviae facienda: quae ita simul me onerant ut cui prius lucernam addidero, non satis integrum sit'. And he entreats Boniface to take care 'ne Francofordienses abeant' (Basle MS. G. II. 32. 16). Cf. Ep. 1083. 41n.

46. ad Dorpium] Cf. ZE. 21, 22.

Sed heus tu, quisnam iste et re et nomine *Λαίος*, qui in tuas in Nouum Testamentum annotationes non tam sinistre quam sophistice  
 50 cauillare pergit? O deploratum ingenium, quam eximium insignis suae stoliditatis specimen prebuit! Caue quicquam me tuis auribus dare putes: ex animo loquor. Quae, malum, impudentia est friuolis nugis vera et inexpugnabilia oppugnare! Vnde homini tantum  
 55 licentiae, ne dicam amentiae! Quam valide pugnat conuiciis, quam pueriliter, imo stulte, rationibus? Siccine a sycophantiae morsu nihil vsquam tutum est. Bene ab Apollonio dictum est, sapienti maius periculum imminere ab inuidia quam vel nauiganti a tempestate vel prelianti ab hostibus. Quanquam quid culex contra elephantum?

60 Sed quid ego ad te haec maioribus occupatissimum? Deus opt. max. te omnibus nobis et bonis studiis longaeuum foueat atque conseruet. Salue et vale feliciter, orbis literati lumen, Erasme, Bonifaciumque te quammaxime amantem, colentem et obseruantem tuo fauore prosequi, quin et redamare non cessa.

65 Basileae. Rauracorum decimoquarto Calen. April. Anno M.D.XX.

Paucis abhinc diebus, cum quedam mihi Zasio scribenda fuerant, inter cetera etiam de nouis Lei annotationibus facta est mentio. Dum haec scribo, is mihi ad omnia respondit, nescio tamen si ad vlla vel verius vel elegantius quam ad istud Lei attentatum facinus.  
 70 Haec, quoniam ad te pertinere videbantur, nolui committere quin his meis subiungerem litteris, quo doctissimi illius viri de Leo iudicium vel eo certius deprehenderes, quod ad alium haec, non ad te, scripsisset. Sed audi.

'De sophista Eduardo Laeo quid scribis? Quam bene maiores  
 75 nostri dicere solebant, in fati aliquando esse vt ad perniciem adcurratur velut ad brabium! Quod nisi esset, non tentassent gigantes oppugnare coelum. Quid enim aliud sophista ille quam coelum, quam omnium diuinarum humanarumque litterarum praesidium oppugnare aggreditur? Tantum laborum heros ille incomparabilis  
 80 exantlat, semper ad nouos labores integer, vt post Hieronymos, post

48. iste β: ille α. (id est, laeus, sinister. Laeus Latine cognomine ille qui contra Erasmum scripsit) post *Λαίος* add. α: om. β. 49. αβ<sup>2</sup>: sinistrae β<sup>1</sup>.  
 50. αβ<sup>2</sup>: cauillari β<sup>1</sup>. 52. impudentia est β: est ista impudentia α. 54. Quam valide . . . 55. rationibus add. β. Siccine β<sup>1</sup>: Sicne αβ<sup>2</sup>. β<sup>1</sup>: sycophante αβ<sup>2</sup>. 58. Quanquam . . . 59. elephantum add. β. 60. ad om. β<sup>2</sup>, in fine lineae. 62. feliciter . . . Erasme β: doctrinarum princeps et monarcha α.  
 65. Basileae . . . M.D.XX β (decimoquarto β<sup>1</sup>: XIII β<sup>2</sup>): Basill. Raurac. α. 67. inter β: in α. nouis β: nouis illis α. 68. vlla β<sup>1</sup>: que αβ<sup>2</sup>. 69. vel verius vel β: verius & α. 70. β<sup>1</sup>: videbatur αβ<sup>2</sup>. 71. his . . . litteris β (his β<sup>1</sup>: hiis β<sup>2</sup>): ad te mitterem α. Leo β<sup>1</sup>: te αβ<sup>2</sup>. 72. alium haec β: alienum α. 73. sed audi . . . 99. monarcha add. β. (74. οἱ ἐν τῷ Λεῷ β<sup>1</sup>: Eduardo β<sup>2</sup> γ. 78. praesidium β: Verum Iouem γ. 79. Tantum . . . 92. Leus β: Nam cui alii nisi Ioui aequipararim Erasmum, siue ille summus deorum nominetur siue a iuuando nomen mutuetur? Cum enim dii sint, testante propheta, et filii excelsi omnes quique optimis literis ad hominum salutem vtuntur, quomodo non Erasmus deorum summus sit? qui (si post Hieronymos et Cyprianos quisquam) fidei causam, theologiae maiestatem vnus egregie, eleganter, docte, fundate, immo diuine adserit, tuetur, profert. Iuuisse autem mortales quis vnquam abhinc quadringentis et amplius annis alius compertus est maiore cum fructu, si ab Erasmo discedas? γ. 80. vt post β<sup>1</sup>: vt nobis post β<sup>2</sup>.

66. scribenda] The letter is not extant. Its date may be conjectured from the arrival of Lee's book in Basle (p. 109).

Cyprianos theologiae maiestatem nobis adferat, applaudentibus diis atque hominibus quotquot aut adest eruditio aut mentis sanitas: et exoritur e suis tenebris iste vermiculus, qui tam eximiam segetem nobis arrodant, ipse nullo litterarum genere conspicuus. Si grammaticam requiras, soloecissat subinde; si rethoricam, balbutit et 85 battalum agit; si dialecticam, pistillum esse iures, aut si quid magis etiam abest ab acumine. Philosophiae nusquam vllum sese exerit specimen. Theologicam suppellectilem his modis tractat, vt ipsa res clamitet ei quod adfert ab aliis suggestum esse. Et huiusmodi nugones audent libros scribere hoc saeculo tam erudito, et audent 90 scribere in Erasmus. Quis enim non ausit posthac, postquam ausus est Leus iste? Veh tibi, sophista infelix, veh matri quae te peperit, veh vtero, veh syderi quod tibi praesidet. Ineptias tuas cum viderint Germani, viri doctissimi, quid credis futurum esse? Quam tu misere tractaberis! Quam tu infame traduceris! Mille modis et te et 95 tua lacerases non erit satis, nisi vsque ad exitiosum interitum concerparis.

Hactenus Zasius noster. Denuo vale bonis auibus, omnis eruditionis princeps et monarcha.

# 1085<sub>1095</sub> TO WILLIBALD PIRCKHEIMER.

Pirckheimeri Opera p. 277.

Louvain.

O<sup>2</sup>. p. 178: Lond. xxx. 34: LB. App. 472.

19 March (1520).

[As in Ep. 407, P produces an anomaly by prefixing the address to the letter, which in this case had not even a formal heading, but only the short greeting common in hastily written notes (cf. Epp. 602, 653, *et saepius*). The absence of heading is the more common when, as in Epp. 640, 642, there is a signature. It may, therefore, be inferred with probability that the editors of P were printing from the originals; which, being mostly brief, were no doubt autograph.

The year-date can be supplied indubitably from the appearance of Lee's book (l. 4); see Ep. 1037 introd.]

S. P., charissime Bilibalde. Adiit me Antwerpiae iuuenis singulari indole, tuae sororis maritus, et mihi tuo nomine salutem dixit, simulque officium suum mihi attulit.

Prodiit tandem liber Eduardi Lei, quo nihil vnquam natum est neque virulentius neque mendacius neque sediciosius, addo neque 5

1084. 83. suis  $\beta^2$ : sui  $\beta^1$ . vermiculus  $\beta^1$ : Gurgulio  $\beta^2$ . 88. ipsa  $\beta^2$ : ipse  $\beta^1$ . 92. iste om  $\beta^2\gamma$ . 95. et te  $\beta$ : te  $\gamma$ . 96. laceras,  $\beta^2$ : lacerari  $\gamma$ . 1085. Pro titulo BILIBALDO SVO ERASMVVS add. O<sup>2</sup>.

1085. 1. Antwerpiae] See p. 203. 2. maritus] Martin Geuder of Heroldsberg, one of the chief magistrates of Nuremberg, who had married, as his second wife, Pirckheimer's sister Juliana: see the preface, 1 Sept. 1521, to Pirckheimer's translation of Plato's *Axiochus*, Nuremberg, F. Peyp, 1523, written from Geuder's country house

at Neuhoof, three hours' ride n. of Nuremberg, whither Pirckheimer had retired because of the plague. The description of Geuder as *iuuenis* is perhaps jesting: for he had sons old enough to be students at Bologna in 1513-15. See P. pp. 36, 233-4, 265, 331, 397-8; Knod pp. 156-7.

But possibly *filiæ* should be read for

stultius neque indoctius: et tamen homo sibi placet, et inuenit quod in(docti) applaudunt. Respondimus ex tempore illius inuectiuis: ad quas si conferantur scripta Hoechstrati et Pefercorni, nihil sunt nisi merum mel. Nos, quod ad rem attinet, satis strenue nos  
 10 gessimus in refellendo. Ceterum quomodo monstrum hoc natum in perniciem bonorum studiorum, sit a vobis expediendum, ex amicorum litteris cognoscetis, quibus hoc negotii dedimus.

Nisi pestis nos deterrebit, fortassis hoc vere toti commigrabimus in Germaniam. Interea cura vt quam optime valeas, amice magne  
 15 et patrone incomparabilis. Louanii 14. Calen. Aprilis.

Erasmus ex animo tuus, raptim.

Clarissimo D. Bilibaldo Pirckheimero, amico incomparabili.

#### 1086. TO MARTIN LYPSIUS.

Rotterdam MS., Erasmus III. 102, p. 47.

(Louvain.)

Horawitz v. 11.

(c. 25 March 1520.)

[Between the *Apologia qua respondet* and the first *Responsio ad Annotationes Lei*, which Hillen printed in (March) and April 1520 (pp. 109, 110). As Erasmus corrected the proofs of these (I, p. 22, 22), it seems clear that when this letter was written, he was about to start for Antwerp to see the first *Responsio* through the press. His visit to Antwerp for the printing of the *Apologia* is to be dated c. 8-15 March (Ep. 1077 introd.). The second *Responsio* was in the press there on 17 April (Ep. 1092); and he was already at Antwerp on 13 April (Ep. 1091). For the printing of the first *Responsio* therefore an intermediate date seems probable: so that the Tuesday fixed for his departure (I. 7) may be taken conjecturally as 27 March. On 9 April Erasmus was at Louvain again (Ep. 1088), and preparing for his third visit to Antwerp on this business; cf. Ep. 1094. 10-11.]

#### DES. ERAS. RO. D. MART. LYPS.

(I) LLE quisquis fuit Carmelita, scurra quouis fuit instructor infacetis facetiis. Mitto ad te libellum Apologiae qua Leeo respondeo. Mox habebis Responsiones ad Annotationes, in quibus apparebit quam non respondeat Leeus suae famae. Si Nazanzenus  
 5 est adhuc apud te, inspicere carmen genealogicon et vide an alieubi

1085. 7. indocti scripsi: in \*\* P.

16. Erasmus... raptim PLB: om. O<sup>2</sup>.

13. toti corr. LB, cf. Ep. 597. 25: toto P.

17. Clarissimo... incomparabili om. O<sup>2</sup>.

*sororis.* A son-in-law of Pirckheimer visited Holland early in 1520 (Heumann p. 48 = HE. 174): probably Jo. Imhof († 1526), who by 1521 was married to Felicitas Pirckheimer (see Zedler xiv. 581).

12. dedimus] Erasmus had consented to—or may even have suggested (cf. Ep. 999. 318-20)—a volume of letters against Lee, such as shortly came into being as EAE (p. 210). Of the letters therein only one, More's to Lee of 1 May 1519, could now have been seen by Erasmus: most were not yet written.

13. pestis] For the ravages of this at Basle in the autumn of 1519 see some

very informing letters from Alb. Burer to Beatus (BRE. 124, 125, 128, 129, 133).

14. Germaniam] Cf. Ep. 1078. 62n.

1086. 4. Nazanzenus] Cf. Ep. 807. 2. Lee (*Annot.* 39 on Erasmus' note on Luke 3.23) had cited Gregory's *De Christi genealogia*, ll. 30-32, to the effect that Joseph had two fathers, as here stated. Erasmus in his first *Responsio*, *Annot.* 39, brushed Gregory's authority aside: no doubt as the result of Lypsius' reply to this question. His original note on Luke 3. 23 stands unchanged in all later editions of his *Annot.* in N. T. The name, as copied here by Lypsius, is found in the Aldine edition (Ep. 352. 31n).

scribat Ioseph habuisse duos patres, Iacob naturalem et Heli adoptivum, ac locum notatum ad me mittito; nam die Martis mane est abeundum. Bene vale.

## 1087. FROM THOMAS MORE.

Mori Lucubrationes p. 429 (a).

Lond. Mor. i: Jortin ii. 384.

<Greenwich ?>

<March-April 1520.>

[First printed, with many inaccuracies, in More's *Lucubrationes*, Basle, Episcopius, 1563, 8°, with the marginal note 'et haec nunc primum edita': following More's letter to Dorp (LB. App. 513), which was also 'nunquam antehac edita'. Apparently written very soon after More had seen the *Antimorus* (Ep. 1045), probably about the same time as he composed his reply to that, *Thomae Mori Epistola ad Germanum Brixium: qui, quum Morus in libellum eius, quo contumeliosis mendaciis incesserat Angliam, lusisset aliquot epigrammata annis abhinc plus septem, iam intra sesquimensum in summa Anglorum Gallorumque concordia, sub ipsum conuentum principum aedidit aduersus Morum libellum, qui et ineptis et virulentis iurgiis suum infamat authorem*, London, Pynson, <April> 1520 (cf. Ep. 1096. 103-5). The *Antimorus* no doubt arrived in London about the third week in March (cf. p. 128, and Ep. 1096. 1); so that this letter may be dated in the end of March or the beginning of April. A comparison of its postscript with that to Ep. 1096, about More's anticipations of seeing Erasmus at Calais, also indicates that this is the earlier of the two.]

THOMAS MORVS D. ERASMO ROTEROD., VIRO OPTIMO ATQVE

DOCTISS., S. P.

Ecquid vidisti vnquam, Erasme optime atque doctissime, suauiore  
 quenquam quam sit hic noster Brixius? qui simulatque ipsi quic-  
 quam dissimulare libet, reliquos idem mortales omnes satis <c>ela-  
 tum putat. Nam quando homo quantumvis stupidus non sentire non  
 potuit quam esset absurdum, odiosum, infame, sine causa quenquam  
 iurgiis et conuiciis impetere; iterum atque iterum narrat, infigit,  
 inculcat, epigrammatibus meis prouocatum se defendentis tantum  
 partes obtinere, vt diris et execrationibus impetitus, non nisi iocis  
 contra, salibus et facetiis repetat aduersarium. Caeterum de petu-  
 lantia, mendaciis, probris, quibus omnem prius prouocarat Angliam,  
 verbum interim nullum; vt nec de eo quidem, quod quae simultas  
 olim inter nos agitata fuit in mediis belli tumultibus, eam ille iam  
 olim mortuam nunc demum in summa pace redintegrat. Et sic agit  
 homo Phormiana confidentia, vt quum suam causam facile sentire  
 possit nulli non esse damnatam, qui quidem rem pernorit, tamen  
 velut eam bene ac dilucide quibus oportuit iudicibus approbasset, iam  
 suo iure scilicet quiduis debacchetur in me, et totam pectoris sui  
 sentinam lepidus et facetus exhauriat: qui postquam vnum atque  
 alterum epigramma scriptum ioco statuit habendum esse pro diris,  
 tanquam dixisse modo foret omnibus prorsus persuasisse, simul per-  
 suasit sibi rem se plausibilem facturum, si paucos versus et aduersus  
 petulantissimum eius libellum et in bellico tumultu ludentes olim,  
 nunc denique tot annis post factam ac firmatam pacem, in quanta

1087. 3. celatum Jortin.

nunquam fuit vllorum populorum concordia, libro virulentissimo  
 25 rependeret; sperans videlicet neque tam oculatum fore quenquam vt  
 id posset cernere ad quod ipsi libet conuiuere, neque tam importune  
 saeuerum iudicem vt aliud exigat probamentum quam narrantem  
 Brixium, praesertim suae causae aequitatem tanta cum fiducia  
 iactantem.

30 At mihi certe visus esset aliquanto minus impudens, si has ad  
 populum tantum phaleras exposuisset; in quo reperire potuisset ali-  
 quos quibus res adhuc esset incognita, multos quibus alteruter no-  
 strum, quosdam quibus vel inique placent rixae: ac non hoc pacto  
 35 puppimque certaminis (nisi non legisti Chordigeram; nam caetera  
 legisse te scio) verumetiam certatores ipsos intus, quod aiunt, et in  
 cute nosti; tum cui sciat eiusmodi rixas, etiamsi quae iusta sint exor-  
 tae causa, tamen pro tui ingenii candore atque humanitate odiosas  
 inuisasque esse, nedum hanc illius ineptissimam, iniustissimam,  
 40 inhumanissimam, et quam abs te vidisset epistola ad se missa velut  
 praeiudicio damnatam, adiectis etiam tuae sententiae causis: altera in  
 honorem vtriusque ciuilitate magis excogitata quam vere, quasi nos  
 essemus hi quos literarum intersit concordare esse; altera certe iustis-  
 sima, quod quae olim flagrante lusimus bello, ea nunc facta pace  
 45 conueniat obliterari. Ex his causis illam quae ciuiliior erat quam  
 verior, quanquam de me contemptius admittit, de se tamen candidus  
 atque modestus agnoscit: alteram illam quae tam vera fuit vt negari  
 non posset, dissimulanter praeteriit, ac rursus ob oculos fundit pro-  
 uocationis puluerem, qua se lacessitum a nobis et prius praedicat et  
 50 hostiliter.

Et profecto si Brixius, vt totus est in metaphoris comicis, ab epi-  
 grammate meo velut ab epitasi iubeat hanc auspicari fabulam, negare  
 non possum quin ipse prouocauerim. Sin communi more patietur  
 addi suo loco protasis, non erit, opinor, ambiguum quod nihil habeat  
 55 comicum illius turbulenta catastrophe. Nam primum quis non ad-  
 miretur insignem impudentiam toties oclamantis prius lacessitum  
 se, quum sciat interim suam passim prostare Chordigeram? quam  
 non fuissem prosequutus epigrammate, nisi nostram gentem totam  
 mendacibus impetisset conuiciis. Qua in re quid comminisci potest  
 60 quod isti praetendat calumniae? an quod epigrammata mea praeces-  
 serint eius libellum, quum non ad aliud quam ad eius libelli ludant  
 insecitiam, furta, mendacia? Aut, vt est acutus rhetoreculus, contendet  
 in Chordigera nihil esse conuictii? At idem quantumuis impudens  
 non negabit in primo limine Chordigerae nos foedifragos vocare se,  
 65 et petulanter appellare periuros. Et tamen audet praefari oliuam

53. quin *Jortin*: quem *a*.

64. nos *Jortin*, vt in *ll.* 94, 183: omnes *a*.

35. Chordigeram] See Ep. 212. 1n.  
 caetera] More's own epigrams;  
 cf. l. 51n.

36. intus] Pers. 3. 30.

40. epistola] Ep. 620.

47. agnoscit] Ep. 1045. 10-20.

49. prius] Ep. 1045. 79.

51. epigrammate] There are eight

poems on the affair of the *Chordigera* in  
 More's *Epigrammata*, Basle, Froben,  
 March 1518, pp. 242-6. Cf. l. 135n.

52. ab epitasi] in the middle, instead  
 of at the beginning: the *epitasis* being  
 the central part of the play, led up to  
 by the *protasis*.

64. foedifragos] Cf. *Chord.* ll. 17, 18.



sese mediis in armis gessisse, homo nimirum sic affectus erga mendacia vt periurium quoque et foedifragium habeat in blanditiis. An nihil ad me pertinuisse censet, mendacis et calumniis ab illo lacesitam patriam, quod ipse non attingar nominatim? nam id videtur innuere: quasi non hac ratione, atque adeo eadem praeclara [o]ratione, 70 latroni liceat in ius vocare viatorem, a quo sit fortasse repulsus inclementius, quod non illum impeteret sed insidias tentaret pecuniae.

At fortassis etiamsi non in illum prius, saltem scripsi acerbius: est enim et in vleiscendo modus. At ego 'Polyphemi barbariem imitatus prae stomachi rabie Brixium, alterum videlicet Vlysem, diris et execrationibus insectatus sum'. Ita sane disputat, nihil habens pensi quam falso. Nam eo solatur se, quod sperat fore multos quibus, cum rem totam non didicerint, ista facile persuaserit, atque ita sine pugna vicerit: apud te vero et si qui sint conscii, satis habet si consequatur id laudis genus, 'Ni causam nossem, putarem vera hunc 80 loqui'. At ego aut veritate me tuebor, aut vinci potius volo quam iudicis ignoratione vincere. Quamobrem non imitabor hac sane parte Brixium, qui versus meos in Abyngdonium (quos per iocum effutiueram vt cuiusdam asininas auriculas demulcerem, quod ei nihil placeret absque consonantiis rhythmicis) in extremo limite insanæ 85 Syluae suae collocavit, ademptis duobus epigrammatis meis in idem argumentum, quibus illorum iocus versuum aperiebatur. Qua re nihil efficere potuit magis sycophanticum. At ego certe contra faciam. Nam et Chordigeram curabimus excudendam, et Epigrammata nostra subiungemus. Quin adiiciemus et Syluam eius, ne quid causetur 90 ademptum; atque hoc pacto spero me facturum ne sit arduum atque accliuè literatis omnibus iudicare an tam bonam habeat causam quam habere se iactat atque gloriatur Brixius.

Nam cum nos periuros appellasset ac foedifragos, cum totam rei seriem in suorum gratiam ac nostrum probrum, vt ipse vocat, fictio- 95 nibus, vt res vere habet, impudentibus inuertisset mendaciis, eademque omnia tam absurde tractasset vt nihil vnquam quisquam tractarit absurdius, ita versibus obuestiuisset alienis, vt Valeriae Probae te putares legere centonas, nisi quod eos illa concinne coaptauit, Brixius ita consarcinarat inepte vt commissura tanquam cicatricosum vulnus 100 extet in nodum, aut velut arida siti tellus hiulcet; ego non aliud illis epigrammatis, quibus se queritur tam capitaliter offensum, quam in ea quae dixi vitia lusi, et certe nihil, opinor, acerbe: eoque vehementer admiror in quo meorum Epigrammatum reperiatur illas diras atque execrationes, quas homo lepidus, vt iactat, conuertit in iocos. 105 An illud execrationes appellat ac diras, quod in vno meorum Epi-

72. quod scripsi: quum a. 99. eos Jortin: eas a. 100. commissura scripsi: commissurae a. 101. nodum scripsi: modum a.

74. modus] Cf. Hor. S. I. I. 106.

Polyphemi] Cf. Ep. 1045. 39-43.

83. versus meos] An epitaph in rhyming verse, p. 232 of More's *Epigrammata*. The most grotesque line in it is, 'Praeter et haec ista fuit optimus orgaquenista'. Brixius reprinted it on f. H<sup>2</sup>v<sup>o</sup> of the *Antimorus*: cf. f. D<sup>4</sup>. It is preceded and followed by other verses on Abyngdon.

Abyngdonium] Henry of Abing-

don († 1 Sept. 1497), successor of Wells Cathedral 24 Nov. 1447, and cantor of the King's Chapel May 1465: both of which offices he held until his death. He was also master of St. Catherine's hospital at Bristol 1478. None of his works survive. See More's verses upon him (l. 83n), and G. Grove in *Dictionary of Music*, 1879.

98. Probae] See Ep. 32 introd., and 37n.

grammatum, per iocum excusans eius mendacia, quasi nemo redierit e Chordigera domum, qui rem vt erat gesta doceret eum, adieci dignum fuisse Brixium qui fuisset in ipsa naue, vt suis oculis rem  
 110 videret quam esset scripturus: ne ad eum modum tam turpiter mentiri cogeretur, et falsa pro veris commendare memoriae? Extra hoc vnum certus sum nihil vnquam reperturum Brixium, in quod possit tendere vllam vel dirarum vel execrationis calumniam.

Quancquam in hoc ipso aut calumniatur egregie, aut certe quid  
 115 execratio, quid dirae significant, egregie sese declarat inscium. Erit fortasse qui mordaculum putet (et tamen idem si Brixii expenderit parum Chordigeram, spero non difficulter ignoscet): execrationes aut diras haud sane quisquam erit qui vocet, qui quidem Latine sciet; vtpote ad quas nec illud quidem Martialis nostro tam longe morda-  
 120 cius accedit in Theodorum vatem, Brixio vati fortasse non absimilem: de quo poeta magnum fuisse facinus ac deorum crimen exclamat, quum Theodori penates ignis absumeret,

Non arsere simul quod domus et dominus.

Ego vero, etiamsi dignum duxi Brixium qui, quo vitare tam impu-  
 125 denter mentiendi necessitatem posset, in media fuisset Chordigera: non optavi tamen istud ei, nec ignem imprecatus sum, quem effugerunt etiam multi qui fuerunt in naue. Neque enim quisque statim imprecatur ea cuilibet, quibus illum censet ac pronunciat dignum. Nam et Brixius, opinor, fures dignos ducit suspendio, dignos ducit  
 130 adulteros, dignos haud dubie periuros; a quibus haud ita multis absunt parasangis mendaces: nec tamen, reor, vsqueadeo immitis est vt iis omnibus, tantae nimirum parti mortalium, semel imprecetur interitum. Quod voti genus vt inclementissimum fuerit, ita nec ipsi fortasse Brixio satis tutum.

135 At praeter illud epigramma supersunt nouem, quorum in primo— id quod etiam verum est—admoneo simpliciter ademptum iri scriptoribus omnibus fidem, si assuescant ipsius exemplo non ex fide sed ex affectu scribere. Duobus in id ludo, quod Herueum fecerit tam prodigiose pugnantiem. Vno iocatus sum in Brixii et iactantiam simul  
 140 et incogitantiam, qui praeter alia multa perquam vehementer absurda finxerit Herueum de ipso vaticinantem, velut alumno Phoebi, et, vt id fieri posset, fecerit illum in medijs flammis diu concionantem tanquam in summo ocio: porro quod cum seruati sint ex vtraque naue multi, succurrentibus nostrorum nauiculis aliquot, ille maluerit  
 145 vniuersos prorsus exurere, quam relictum esse quenquam a quo videri potuisset audiuisse quae scriberet. Vno allusi ad eos versus quos Brixius effinxit in cenotaphium Heruei. Duobus ad id lusi, quod Brixius Chordigeram suam veterum poetarum furto surreptis versibus exornasset. Duobus ostendi me mentis et ingenii plusculum  
 150 in Chordigera cum in inuentione rerum tum in dispositione requirere.

109. dignum] *Epigr.* p. 242. 2, 1.

119. Martialis] *II.* 93. 3, 4.

135. nouem] This figure is reached (cf. l. 51n) by including two extracts from the *Chordigera*: *Epigr.* p. 243.

138. Herueum] Hervé Portzmoguer or Portimoger, the Breton captain of

the ship Chordigera, who is the hero of Brixius' poem (*Ep.* 212. 1n), and who perished in the action of 10 Aug. 1512. Another contemporary poet, Humbert de Montmoret, celebrated him with a *Herueis*, Paris, s. a. See NBG. xl. 870.

Haec cum scripserim et laccessitus et turbulentis temporibus et vere, tamen nunquam vel edidi vel ostendi sola, sed ita coniuncta cum aliis, vt lectoris cogitatio vel plurimum auerteretur ab illis, vel non tota certe detineretur in illis: cum eius Antimorus contra nihil profiteatur aliud quam in meum nomen non minus delira quam con- 155 tumeliosa conuitia. Postremo cum accepissem id agi vt excederentur Epigrammata mea Basileae, scis ipse quid egerim vt ea quae in Brixium scripseram, vna cum nonnullis omitterentur: quod quaedam mihi non satis saeuera videbantur, etiamsi procul absint ab ea ob- 160 scoenitate qua ferme sola quorundam epigrammata video commen- dari quibusdam. Et simul neminem volebam quantumuis iusta de causa tantillum a me perstringi nominatim.

Qua in re, quod ad Brixium attinet, meum conatum frustratum esse vehementer gaudeo: adeo se declarat dignum in quem longe alia scriberentur. Nam in illis quibus non minus crebro inculcat quam 165 falso, se prouocatum prius, et tot probris, tot conuitiis, tot maledictis, tot diris, tot execrationibus offensum capitaliter; si ea quae recenset inuenerit, quamquam vt tum res erant et illius merita, meum factum potuissem omnium gentium iure defendere, tamen agnoscam profecto Cyclopi illam Polyphemi barbariem quam mihi Brixius impingit. 170 Quod si contra non inuenerit illic ea quae causatur, tunc aequum censeo vt agnoscat Brixius eum locum quo de diris obicit atque execrationibus, ab ipso fictum totum, vt esset sedes in quam Polyphemum vastum sane gigantem posset admittere: quando adeo illi tam lepida blandiebatur inuentio, vt potius quam cogeretur excludere, 175 fingendum quippiam duxerit in quod posset aliquid facete dicere. Verum ni caecior esset ipso Polyphemo Brixius, facile profecto cer- neret eam rem non admodum multum illi parituram gloriae, si dis- simulanter praeteriens quod in eum dicitur, alia contra se subornet ipse, quae commode possit vincere. 180

Scripseram epigramma in quendam nostratem, qui ridicule, cum nobis bellum esset cum Gallis, in Gallicos mores totus abierat. Alio loco, quoniam Brixius nos appellarat foedifragos atque periuros, tetigeram obiter nostram causam in Gallico bello fuisse piam et officiosam in Ecclesiam Christi, cuius Vicario sumus opitulati: 185 Gallorum contra, quod fouerent schisma et oppugnarent Pontificem. Quod ipsum neque nunc disputo rursus, neque olim me volente prodiit. Et tamen si finxisset Brixius (cui tam impense placet fingere) commotum illis locis fuisse sese, potuisset homini fortassis ignosci facilius: vt cui videretur imposuisse falsa quaedam honesti 190 species, nempe amor importunus in patriam, quo videretur vel vere in eam dicta non perpeti, vel certe foederibus condonata vindicare. Nunc vero stupidissime delegit eam causam, in qua et eosdem habet obices quos haberet illic, nempe ipsum scripsisse prius, praebuisse

158. omitterentur *Jortin*: emitterentur *a*.

157. egerim] There is no trace of this in More's correspondence, so far as it survives.

158. nonnullis] Evidently the lighter verses; which are more suited to Martial than to More.

170. Polyphemi] Cf. l. 74.

182. Gallicos] *Epigr.* p. 209: IN ANGLVM GALLICAE LINGVAE AFFECTATOREM.

Alio loco] *Epigr.* p. 239: IN IACOBVM REGEM SCOTORVM. In the edition of Dec. 1520 this epigram was withdrawn.

195 occasionem, impegisse falsa, litem esse iudicatam, imo peremptam atque abolitam foederibus publicis.

Sed et hoc praetereo turpissimum, quod, quum publice prior laeserit, priuatim sese sic offensum queritur. Quomodo, non potest docere: sed diras et execrationes in se ingestas a me ipse a se finxisse  
200 conuincitur. Quamobrem cum prior scripserit in nos, eaque etiam falsa, cum ego tantum epigrammata contra, in quibus ea scripsissem, quae si neget esse vera, nihil assequetur aliud quam vt eum intelligant omnes bis fuisse mentitum; non solum potuit honeste desistere, verum debebat etiam. Atque adeo fecisset, scio, nisi maluisset  
205 omnibus declarare quam insigniter esset impudens: qui quae peccasset ante, quum donari vel iuuentae eius potuissent, vel imputari temporibus, nunc tot annis elapsis, in tanta pace, in tanta concordia, atque in ipso ferme duorum Principum hospitio (nam id nunc adornant) deintegro renouet omnia, et epigrammata pauca quae in  
210 illius librum lusimus, virulentissimo libello retaliat: in quo cum nihil inueniret quod respondere posset pro se, totus in me conuersus, nihil effundit aliud praeter meras calumnias et plus quam furiosa conuitia.

Primum, quicquid vsquam fere vel cessatum est ab operis Frobenii, vel ab ipso quisquis exscripsit exemplar, id omne obicit mihi; quum  
215 videat nullum vnquam librum tam foeliciter excusum esse vt nihil insit errati, et illic nullum legat erratorum indicem. Et tamen in illis ipsis plerumque foelicius errarunt illi quam castigat Brixius. Quam seditiose calumniatur me lacerare parentem Principis! quum  
220 ipse tantum commemorem quae mala Princeps, dum auspicaretur imperium, incomparabili gloria correxerit, quibus aliquot ante annos afflictabatur respublica; nonnullorum perfidia quibus huius Regis parens nimium credidisset, impar aliquandiu ipse rebus administrandis per aduersam valetudinem, alioqui vir omnium regnandi  
225 prudentissimus. Et tamen Brixius, quum ea mala quae aliorum contingere malicia, ipse improbe vertat in Regem, mirum quam virulenter ibi debacchatur in me: vt pugnos, vt colaphos, vt exilia congerit! Et tanquam velut carcere stringeretur metro, ne tam libere quam libebat liceret excurrere, addidit vipereas glossas in  
230 margine, quibus in ea loca duceretur lector, si quis fortassis parum esset attentus ad carmina.

Atque hoc pacto cum demonstret insigniter nihil sibi ad nocendum defuisse praeter vires pares virulentiae, tamen homo lepidus gloriatur se dixisse facete, dum risum ridet Aiakis. Nam vt is abiudicatis  
235 armis insaniens, cum appensas verberaret pecudes, effuse risit interrim, et earum gemitu mire plausit sibi, vt cui furor persuaserat eas Agamemnonem esse atque Vlysem, in quos cupiebat vleisci: sic Brixius improbum interpretamentum suum insectans, et ad perniciem vsque exagitans, suauiter arridet sibi, dum prae mentis inopia non

208. hospitio] See Ep. 1106. 93n.

220. commemorem] In a congratulatory ode addressed to Henry VIII on his coronation, 24 June 1509 (*Epigr.* p. 185). I cannot find that it was printed at the time; but an illuminated ms. copy, perhaps the original

actually presented to Henry, is among the Cotton MSS. at the British Museum (Tit. D. iv). For Brixius' treatment of it in the *Antimorus*, f<sup>o</sup>. B<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, cf. Epp. 1117, 1133: his marginal note is 'Mori impudentia, dum filium laudare instituit, patrem vituperantis'.

aduertit omnes, imo omnes prorsus homines quibus vlla scintilla aut 240  
boni pectoris aut sensus insit communis, in hoc Brixiano risu non  
minus animum gladiatorium detestari quam deridere dementiam.

Atque haec quum ita se habeant, tamen tanquam ista Coroebo  
cuius scriberet aut Margitae, non Erasmo; tanquam ipso con-  
niente ad suam petulantiam, qua prior debacchatus est in nos, omnium 245  
simul sic eruisset oculos, vt quod ipsi cernere non liberet, idem nemini  
prorsus liceret aspicere; tanquam iam vicisset me lacessisse prius,  
quem res docet posterius scripsisse; tanquam adhuc hostilia durarent  
tempora, vt ei liceret olim iactata verba eademque prorsus innocua,  
nunc demum venenatis vindicare calumniis, quum vterque Princeps, 250  
quum totus vtrique populus ita coaluit in concordiam, vt milites  
obliuiscantur etiam vulnerum, quorum cicatrices adhuc gestant in  
corpore; tanquam ipse acerbiter essem inuictus ac diras omnes  
imprecatus in illum; tanquam ille vicissim meros iocos, meras  
facetias, meros sales affudisset, ac non insana conuitia deblaterasset 255  
in me ac plus quam virulenta deliria: operaeprecium est videre vt  
securus ac certus spondeat sibi non veniam tantum velut necessariae  
responsionis, sed laudem etiam clementiae, qui videlicet impetitus  
diris et execrationibus (quae nusquam extant), quum illi fas esset  
paribus armis in certamen descendere, mira tamen indolis benignitate 260  
atque admirabili dexteritate ingenii mordere se iactat absque dente,  
iocari sine calumnia, ridere citra conuitium, ludere citra maledictum,  
commonefacere sine obiurgatione, erudire sine ferula; imo adeo mea  
maledicta in lusus, conuitia in risus, probra in iocos, execrationes in  
ironias, diras denique in scommata conuertisse. 265

An non videatur belle perorasse Brixius, si quis haec forte legat,  
qui nihil omnino cognoscat de causa? Nam si quis lector inciderit  
qui Chordigeram eius, qui mea Epigrammata, qui moricum eius  
Antimoron inspexerit (si quis forte sic abundet ocio vt ei vacet bonas  
horas tam male perdere), quum in illis Epigrammatis meis neque 270  
maledicta neque probra neque conuitia neque execrationes neque  
diras inueniet; quum apud illum contra nihil inueniet aliud praeter  
meras sycphantias, maledicentiam et virulenta iurgia; quum dentes  
videbit, sed fractos in cotricula, ferulam videbit, sed absque literis;  
quum videbit hominem sic admonere vt stultissime carpat quod non 275  
intelligit, sic erudire vt calumniatur improbe si quid intelligat: is  
quanto risu ridebit eos risus Brixii, qui Brixium reddant ridiculum!  
Quibus scommata, quae multo scommate redeant in authorem! Quos  
ei iocos exhibebit ita iocans Brixius, vt se videre putet saltantem  
camelum! Quantam praebabit ludendi materiam tam inepte ludens 280  
Germanus, vt germanus videatur Aesopici aselli, qui non multo  
minus absurde imitatus lasciuientem canicula quam Brixius aemu-  
latur poetas, lutosos et corneos pedes impexit in heriles humeros,  
fustibus inde retrusus in stabulum! Denique quam lepidis ironiis  
eludet ironias Brixii! quippe tam illepidas, vt lectorem admoneant 285  
pictoris cuiusdam, omnino talis qualis Brixius est poeta; qui cum  
leporem atque canem depinxisset ita similes vt internosci non possent,  
tandem vter canis esset, vter lepus, subscriptione solers indicauit.

261. iactat] Ep. 1045. 35-8.

268. moricum] Perhaps an epithet  
based on the Sicilian proverb quoted

in l. 581; cf. *Adag.* 1801, and More's

*Epistola ad Brixium*, f. d<sup>4</sup>.  
278. Quibus] sc. risibus.

Ita Brixius eiusmodi fere ludit ironiis vt misere metuat sibi ne  
 290 quas velit accipi per iocum dictas laudes, earum plerasque multi  
 agnoscant pro veris: cuius periculi non aliud vidit effugium quam  
 vt *εἰπωρεύειν* se protestaretur marginali glossemate. Nimirum homo  
 cautus ita cauit sibi, ne sua teneretur syngrapha, quasi me laudasset  
 ex animo. Vno loco tantum putauit non necesse esse vt marginali  
 295 nota nos admoneret ironiae suae, adeo fidebat eius loci elegantiae:  
 quum in indice, vt ille vult videri, meorum erratorum, vt res indicat,  
 calumniae atque inscitiae suae, meminit. Ridet in Vtopia mea  
 dialogum in quo fraterculus cum morione disceptat: 'in quo' inquit  
 Brixius, 'dialogo enarrando exornandoque Morus ingenii sui acumen,  
 300 phraseos vim ac iudicii integritatem facile explicat.' Equidem,  
 Erasme doctissime, non vsqueadeo contemno Brixium, aut mihi tam  
 impense placeo, quin facile fatear neque elegantem fraterculorum  
 phrasin neque acutas morionis argutias tam belle vnquam me potuisse  
 exprimere, quam ad verum ac viuum potuerit expressisse Brixius.  
 305 Adeo efficax res est talibus orationis delitiis assuescere, et ad morio-  
 nem non nomine (quod tam ciuilitate tam saepe Brixius concedit  
 mihi) sed natura (quo illum suo sibi iure vendicat Antimorus)  
 accedere.

Porro, quod de iudicio dicit, quo nimirum significat absurdum  
 310 esse barbaram fratrum phrasin ei libello inserere, quem cupias esse  
 Latinum (vt omittam interim et Graecos Latinis barbaros esse, et  
 Latinos Graecis, quorum sermonem cum laude quoque Romano  
 sermoni scriptores omnes tam frequenter interserunt), non expecto  
 vt, non dico mea oratio (in qua Brixius vndique tam manifestarios  
 315 soloeismos ac barbarismos, sed manifestaria sycophantia, manifestaria  
 deprehendit inscitia) sed nec ipsius Brixii (cui Veneres omnes atque  
 omnes prorsus Gratias putat affusas Brixius) ad Latinitatem aliquando  
 sit peruentura Plautinam: qui nec absurde tamen sibi facere visus  
 est, nec Romanum sermonem dehonestare, quum in comoedia Latina  
 320 Poenum interdum faceret loquentem Punice. A quo exemplo non  
 multum, opinor, abest, si quis in eo scripti genere quod prope  
 accedit ad comicum, fratrem id genus producat in proscenium lingua  
 loquentem sua, hoc est Latino-barbara. Et tamen scis ipse, mi  
 Erasme, quam non valde mihi placuerit ille dialogus, quamque  
 325 libenter fuerim omissurus, nisi supra quam dico placuisset illis, quos  
 neque literis neque iudicio quisquam (qui quidem literas habeat ac  
 iudicium) non tam longe anteponat Brixio,

Quantus ad aethereum patet hinc suspectus Olympum.

306. quod tam *Lond.*: quod iam *a.*

307. quo *a*: ? quomodo.

292. glossemate] *Antimorus*, ff. B<sup>2</sup>  
 v<sup>o</sup>, B<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, C v<sup>o</sup>, D<sup>3</sup>.

294. Vno loco] *Antimorus*, f<sup>o</sup>. D<sup>4</sup>:  
 Haud tamen inficere genus esse Epi-  
 grammatis in quo,  
 Si quisquam vatum de grege, Mære,  
 vales;

referring to the verses on Henry of  
 Abingdon (l. 83nn), which in his com-  
 mentary Brixius describes as 'Mæri  
 ridiculum epigramma' (f<sup>o</sup>. H<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup>).

296. indice] *Antimorus*, f<sup>o</sup>. E<sup>3</sup>, *Tho-  
 mae Mæri lapsus inexcusabiles in sylla-  
 barum quantitate*: f<sup>o</sup>. F<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, *Mæri soloe-  
 cismi ac barbarismi aliquot foedissimi*.

297. Vtopia] pp. 72-8, ed. Lupton;  
 who shows that the greater part of the  
 story was expunged by the Index ex-  
 purgatorius.

298. inquit] *Antimorus*, f<sup>o</sup>. G<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>.

306. nomine] Cf. Ep. 1045. 10 seq.

328. Quantus] Cf. Verg. A. 6. 579.

Quorum aliquos hic quoque commemorarem, nisi quod et frustra commemorarem conscio, et non est animus viros cum honestos tum etiam honorabiles obicere inuidissimi viri latratibus; qui aliena laude sic intabescit, vt plane pereundum homini fuerit, nisi aliquid rabiei suae deblaterasset in Beatum Rhenanum, aemulatus Aeschinis odium: a cuius eruditione non minus abest quam ego absum a Demosthenis, cuius gloriae (ita) inuidit Aeschines vt Ctesiphontem quoque, quia laudauerat, accusaret publice, et ei machinaretur exilium, quod merito mox in ipsum recidit. Ita quoniam Epigrammata mea Rhenanus Bilibaldo, doctissimus doctissimo atque optimus optimo, laudatione sua commendauit, mirum quam insanit Brixius, quam virulento animo, quam infirmis viribus ebetem plumbei gladii cuspidem stringit in Rhenanum: adulatorem vocat, aut, nisi hoc agnoscat, inscium, indoctum ac plane caecum, qui non viderit meos versus tales esse quales visi sunt per inuidiae conspiciilla peruidenti Brixio. Sed frustra inuolat in elephantem culex. Nam Brixius cuiusmodi sit, declarat ipse.

Rhenanum laudare ego nec, vt nunc res habet, volo, ne illud audiam 'Mutuo muli scabunt'; nec certe si vellem, satis possem, vt quo (quod omnes norunt, fatentur ac praedicant) tot foelicium ingeniorum ferax Germania nihil habeat, si linguam spectes, elegantius, si disciplinas, eruditius, si mores, melius. Verum demiror hercle cur in vnum furit Rhenanum Brixius. An eius vnus iudicium de meis studiis dissentit a Brixio? quasi nihil honorifice de me scripsissent (vt omittam te ac Petrum Aegidium, quibus videri possit amor nonnihil imponere) Buslidius, Huttenus, Paludanus, Nouiomagus, Viues, Grapheus, Zasius ac Budaeus; quibuscum eo tempore

333. deblaterasset scripsi: ablaterasset a: oblatrasset Jortin.  
addidi, in fine versus. inuidit scripsi: inuidet a.

335. ita  
343. conspiciilla

339. commendauit] In a preface to the *Epigrammata*, BRÉ. 72; cf. Ep. 845.

341. in Rhenanum] *Antimorus*, f°. H v°: but Beatus is not mentioned by name. Cf. ll. 367-74.

352. scripsissent] Busleiden, Paludan, Nouiomagus, and Grapheus had all made complimentary contributions to the first edition of the *Vtopia*, Budaeus to the second: see Lupton's edition, 1895, pp. lxxv-viii.

353. te] Erasmus wrote a preface for Froben's edition of the *Vtopia*: Ep. 635.

Aegidium] He wrote the preface to the first edition: addressed to Busleiden, 1 Nov. 1516.

354. Huttenus] For his praise of More cf. Ep. 999. 1-3.

Nouiomagus] Geldenhauer: see Ep. 487.

355. Viues] I cannot find any printed eulogy of More in the works of Viues which had as yet appeared. This is perhaps an editorial insertion (cf. Ep. 663. 105) based on the praise of More

in Vives' notes to Augustine *C. D.* Basle, Froben, Sept. 1522 (ii. 7, p. 41).

Grapheus] Corn. Grapheus or Scribonius (c. 1482-19 Dec. 1558) of Alost, a man of lively temperament. Interesting himself in music, poetry, and painting, as well as in the classics, he travelled widely in Italy; and had recently settled at Antwerp and married. His first publication seems to have been a small collection of devotional verse, *Androtheogonia*, Louvain, Th. Martens, 6 Feb. 1514 (? 1515); and Martens produced two similar volumes for him about the same time (van Iseghem, nos. 78, 82, 83). Complimentary verses by him, of which More is no doubt thinking here, appear also in Martens' edition of *Vtopia* (Ep. 461 introd.). He was appointed one of the secretaries of the town of Antwerp; and was concerned with the celebrations there both on Charles' election to the Empire in 1519 and on his return from Spain in June 1520.



adeo non amicitia contracta est vlla, vt nec litera quidem vlla inter-  
cesserit: at neque cum ipso Rhenano, vt omittam plurimos eruditione  
non incelebres. Quod si Brixius fingat hos omnes adulari mihi,  
multum ei debeo qui tam magnum virum me facit. Sin caecos,  
360 inscios atque indoctos omnes pronunciet, quoniam sic ab ipso dissen-  
tiunt, vt quem ille toties stultum vocat, toties appellat insanum, ei,  
vt nihil recenseam amplius, aliquanto certe plusculum tribuant pru-  
dentiae quam adhuc audio, praeter Brixium, quenquam tribuisse  
Brixio: nemo ei tam absoluta potestate dictaturam detulit, vt eius  
365 vnus sententiam ita ratam esse oporteat, quin ad populum saltem  
supersit prouocatio.

Nam quod hoc ita moleste fert, quod Rhenanus Epigrammata mea  
Marulli et Pontani praetulerit, debebat aliquanto pressius Rhenani  
laudationes expendere: qui etsi multo mihi tribuit amplius quam  
370 meus pudor possit agnoscere, tamen ea parte qua potissimum Brixius  
offenditur, non adeo effusus est in laudes meas vt Brixius inuidere  
debuerit. Neque enim me Pontano aut Marullo vndecunque praefert  
Rhenanus aut confert. Natura tantum comparat, non Graecarum  
literarum peritia: ne sit opus vt ita stomachetur Brixius Graeco  
375 conferri Britannum. Etenim natura quid impedit etiam Graeco  
parem quempiam,

Veruecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci?

358. Quod si Jortin: Quasi a.

For the former he composed a broad-  
sheet, for the latter a congratulatory  
poem, *Diui Caroli . . . desyderatissimus  
reditus*: both printed by Hillen. He  
quickly became attracted by schemes  
of moderate reform in the Church. In  
1520-1 he edited two works by John  
Gochius; and Dürer (*Tagebuch*, ed. F.  
Leitschuh, 1884, pp. 76-7, 89) received  
from him a copy of Luther's *Capt. Baby-  
lonica* (Ep. 1153. 146n) in June 1521.  
Soon after the arrest of Nic. of Hertog-  
enbosch (Ep. 616. 14n) Grapheus was  
arrested on 5 Feb. 1522 at the order of  
Egmondanus and Hulst, and under  
pressure made an abject recantation in  
April. His life was spared; but in  
spite of a piteous appeal, 18 Nov. 1522,  
to John Carondelet (Ep. 803. 12n), in  
which he gives some account of him-  
self, he was detained at Brussels and  
not allowed to return to Antwerp till  
Nov. 1523 (EE. 19). A letter thence to  
Dürer, 23 Feb. 1524, shows the caution  
to which for the rest of his life he was  
bound, in speaking of religion.

He remained at Antwerp and slowly  
re-established his reputation by literary  
work. In 1528 he dedicated to Caron-  
delet the *De Sculptura* of Pomponius  
Gauricus of Naples; in 1531-2 he com-  
posed some *Colloquiorum Formulae* out  
of Terence; in 1541, with his colleague

Peter Gilles, an *Enchiridion principis ac  
magistratus Christiani*; in 1543 a Para-  
phrase on Ps. 123; and he published  
numerous little volumes of verse. In  
1540 his secretaryship was restored to  
him; and he wrote elaborate descrip-  
tions of the ceremonies observed on  
Charles' institution of the Senate at  
Antwerp in 1540 and on Philip's re-  
ception there in 1549. An epitome of  
Olaus Magnus' *Hist. de gentibus septen-  
trionalibus* is his work; though printed,  
Antwerp, C. Plantin, 1558, without  
his name. Erasmus writes of him with  
praise in two letters of 14 July 1522,  
and thought of leaving him money in  
his time of need; and their relations  
were always cordial.

See F. Pijper in BRN. vi, 1910;  
OE., with some epitaphs composed by  
Grapheus for Erasmus; Foppens;  
Dürer's *Literary Remains*, ed. W. M.  
Conway, 1889, pp. 115, 123, 130; and  
O. Clemen, *Joh. Pupper von Goch*, 1896,  
pp. 269-75.

355. Zasius] In the preface to his  
*Lucubrationes* (Ep. 862).

367. moleste fert] *Antimorus*, f°. H  
v°.

Rhenanus] BRE. 72.

368. Marulli] Cf. Ep. 385. 5n.

Pontani] Cf. Ep. 337. 339n.

377. Vervecum] Juv. 10. 50.



Quamquam ipse neque tam superbus sum neque tam nescius mei, vt quae mihi tribuit Beatus Rhenanus, agnoscam: qui me, quod dixi, talibus viris natura confert, vtilitate vero praefert hactenus, vt 380 censeat plus frugis adferre lectoribus si quid affero salubrium sententiarum, quam quicquid illi chartis illinant obscoenitatis ac nequitiae; ac plus iuuare putat quae simpliciter ac aperte cano, quam Marulli delectant aenigmata. Qua in re quid aliud Rhenanus quam, si quid est virtutis in me, id illorum praefert vitiis? 385

Quod laudis genus quum nihil obstet quo minus eorum virtutes meis possint, vt certe faciunt, longe antecellere, non debuit ad inuidiam vsque videri benignum: quum interim, vt praeteream reliquos, Budaeus vnus, vir non minus publicae rei peritus quam literariae (in qua plane principatum quendam obtinet), quae de me 390 scripsit eiusmodi sint quae—sicuti nunc hominis candidissimi ciuitati tribuo, non aliter (quam) quae in Brixii Chordigeram praefatur eruditissimus Aliander—, ita longe magis optem esse vera quam Pontanum aut Marullum superare carmine, aut vtrunque simul vtraque lingua vincere. Et tamen mirum est quam subito 395 mutatus Brixius incumbit in famae meae curam etiam ipse, vtpote cuius non nisi fauore ac studio tot erratorum meorum me tot millium, tam pudendorum, amice, beneuole, fideliter commonefecerit; videlicet vt ipsius opera subducantur clanculum, quae circumferri diutius absque insigni traductione mea ac perpetua quadam ignorantiae nota 400 non poterant: quo nomine censet tantum etiam debere me tam amicae eius industriae, quantum alteri quisquam debere possit.

Hoc tam elegans ac bellum schema tam vehementer arrisit Brixio, vt quod nemo non irrisit quum legeretur in Antimoro, nunc velut repetit serio: oblitus interim illorum versuum, quibus miro ingenio 405 comminiscitur, qua arte nunc verisimile sit me tantae mederi infamiae, nempe hac, vt omnes libros qui iam excusi sunt vsquam, curem vndique reportatos ad me, atque ita repurgatos post emittam denuo. Et tamen hoc ipsum ita veretur Brixius, ne videlicet emissis in omnes vndique terras plus quingentis legatis, omnia exemplaria 410 recipiam, vt minetur se facturum vt apud se atque aliquot etiam alios (quod nisi emissis in id vicissim legatis difficile, opinor, fuerit) corrupta exemplaria extent, quae meos errores (quorum nunc id me admonet vt tollantur clanculum, ne quis posthac possit exprobrare) sic omnibus essent exhibitura, vt nec Oceani fluctus omnes sordes 415 mihi possint abluere.

Eiusdem vel memoriae vel constantiae etiam illud est, quod cum in ista epistola ad te neget Antimorum suam dentatam esse, vt in qua mordeat sine dente; tamen in hendecasyllabis (quos ita belle concinnat, vt in vnum versum interdum syllabas intrudat tredecim) 420 ait suos elegos se meo cruore oblinere. Et plane quemadmodum non minus ridicule poetas imitatur quam hominem simia, nec minus inepte dissimulat quam aut mugil aut cuniculus, qui simulatque caput in glebam condiderit, totum corpus satis occultatum putat; ita

393. Aliander] A complimentary letter by him praising the poem and the dedication to the Queen is prefixed to the *Chordigera*: and dated 29 Dec. 1512,

Paris.

418. epistola] Ep. 1045. 34.

419. in hendecasyllabis] *Antimorus*, f<sup>o</sup>. E<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>.

425 nullus lupus vnquam fuit deteriore memoria, nulla pluma, nullus  
ventus magis constanter inconstans.

Iam quod ait se tuo consilio fuisse pariturum, nisi liber iam tum  
fuisset in manibus typographi; demiror admodum, quum tantam  
vim obtineat apud illum vel solus nutus Erasmicus, tam leue pondus  
430 habuisse monitoriam epistolam, vt potius suam famam pergeret  
infamare tam furioso libello, praesertim siticulosus gloriae, quam  
perderet paucillum pecuniae: homo cui, vt ipsius verbis vtat, non  
victus aut vestitus modo, sed famulitium quoque atque equitatus  
insuper, et crumena denique semper aere grauis abundet; cui domus  
435 sint et hortuli, in quos Apollo ac Musae omnes, nisi Brixius pessulum  
obdat hostio, cupiant relicto Parnaso prorsus immigrare. Et tamen  
miror si tibi fuisset pariturus, qui re adhuc integra toties admonitus,  
neque Budaeo neque Beraldo neque Lascari neque Deloyno parere  
voluit, neque reuerendissimo Cardinali, qui nuper obiit in Gallia.  
440 Caeterum vt bonitatis fuisse iudicat quod Antimori dehortareris  
editionem, ita nisi probaris editam, plane iam te censet iniustum:  
qui aliud ius illi nunc dicas in me, aliud in Fabrum olim statueris  
tibi. Nec dubito quin sibi videatur acutus admodum Brixius, et  
peritus iudiciorum, qui te tam graui stringat praeiudicio, vt ni videri  
445 velis iniustus, aduersus eum pronunciare non possis.

Ego, mi Erasme, (quod sicuti apud omnes profiteor, sic apud  
neminem libentius profiteor quam apud te; cuius animum hac sane  
parte comperi penitus conspirare cum meo) Iacobum Fabrum sic  
obseruo, suspicio, veneror, quomodo virum debeo quo non aliquot  
450 ante saeculis extitit quisquam literis ac virtute venerabilior: qui an  
plus adnitus sit, vt praeter sacrarum literarum studium, in quibus  
illustrandis vtiliter est versatus, scholas aliquando ab inepta ista  
garrulitate atque absurdis argutiis ad sobriam ac seueram philoso-  
phiam atque ad neglectas iamdiu disciplinas traduceret, ambigo.  
455 Quae res adeo in confesso est, vt ii quaeque perquam honorificis  
calculis illi attestentur in summa, qui ab eo longissime in vno atque  
altero interdum dicto dissentiant; nec alia re prouocati tamen,  
quam quod Faber quaedam, vt videtur multis, quae dicta ac disputata  
moderatus offendissent neminem, nimis aliquanto fortiter asseueret,  
460 ac maiore quam par sit contentione definiat: ita bonos viros plerun-  
que longius pius quidam feruor abducit.

Verum quam nihil habeat simile tua defensio cum istac absur-  
dissima querela Brixii, nemini potest esse dubium, nisi cui res  
prorsus erit ignota. Quamobrem consilium non est hunc explicare  
465 locum, et causam cum causa, libellos cum libellis conferre, quasi non

## 438. Baraldo a.

425. lupus] As the type of ingrati-  
tude: cf. *Adag.* 1086.

427. quod ait] Ep. 1045. 20-6.

432. verbis] Ep. 1045. 118-24.

437. admonitus] On f<sup>o</sup>. C<sup>4</sup> v<sup>o</sup> of the  
*Antimorus* Brixius appeals for support  
to the authority of Budaeus, Deloynes,  
and Lascaris.

439. Cardinali] Antony Bohier of  
Issoire in Auvergne; Abbot of St. Ouen  
at Rouen 1492-1515, of Issoire 1499, of

Fécamp 1505; Councillor of the Par-  
liament at Rouen 1507; Abp. of  
Bourges 1515; Cardinal 1 April 1517;  
† 27 Nov. 1519, at Blois. See GC. ii.  
94, 359, xi. 153, 213. A member of his  
household was the future poet, Salmon  
Macrin, who was intimate with Brixius  
and contributed some verses to the  
*Antimorus*: see BE.<sup>4</sup> p. 88n.

440. iudicat] Ep. 1045. 14-20.

442. aliud ius] Cf. Ep. 1045. 65-6.

aliter patere possit neque in initio quicquam, neque in toto rei progressu, Brixii vesaniam cum tuo facto congruere: ne vel rem clarissimam facere controuersam puter, vel sopitum atque obrutum ignem importune videar suis eruisse cineribus, vel Fabrum, quem toto colo pectore, aliqua cogar offendere; vel tuum iudicium, apud 470 quem nunc causam dico, tentare credar, et fauorem conciliare blanditiis. Hoc vnum certe (nisi quod ludere se posuit pro furere) aliqui dicit non omnino falsum, te videlicet cominus pugnas-  
 quum ipse rem egerit eminus. Nam vt tu rem non gladio quidem, vt ait Brixius (qui te videtur gladiatorem fingere) sed acu prorsus 475 attigisti; ita ille deliriis tantum velitatus eminus, et eiaculatus conuitia quae vel anus ebria effutire potuisset in quemlibet, et quae in ipsum commodum competebant plurima, ad rem nunquam profecto quiuit accedere; aut si fors attingit aliquando breuiter, tum quemadmodum solet in duriore solo infirmis viribus emissum telum, 480 protinus aut praeteruolauit aut excidit. Itaque eminus sic commissa pugna hactenus plane profecit, vt ediderit specimen posse quidem sagittam sese non incommode prorsus emittere, si quis tantum quem in locum eius sagitta ceciderit, eo scopum semper officiose transferat; et belle posse iurgari, si quem nactus esset in quem illa 485 competere, quae ipse ex inexhausto probrorum suorum puteo posset haurire: quibus quando deest in quem haereant, quid aliud interim quam ipse perfundit sese?

Verum aliquando tandem velut tuis literis permotus incipit esse placatior, ac, 'si mihi videatur, posteaquam vterque in proscenium 490 prodiit, vt ait, personatus (sic enim prodire solebant pugnatu-  
 suas pro virili partes egisse visus est,—ego videlicet epigrammatis aliquot, Brixius integris voluminibus; ego prouocantis, ille respon-  
 dentis (nam hoc, ne quis aliqui non credat, accurate repetit)—non recusat tandem quo minus dextris inuicem iunctis Erasmo patre 495 patrato (qui mos olim fuit peculiaris histrionibus) feriamus foedus', praesertim cum tu me sentias illius amore dignissimum. Caeterum ne pax tam facile impetrata fieret aliquanto contemptior, aut mihi inde surgerent cristae, ita rem temperauit, nusquam suae maiestatis immemor, vt 'si tragoediae ipsius exitum spectare malim, nihil item 500 moretur quo minus ea ad postremum vsque actum deducatur: vt-  
 pote cui mea hypocrisis non sit tam admirabilis vt illum a proscenio deterreat, nec vires item vsqueadeo formidabiles, vt si manus con-  
 ferre voluerim, detractare debeat, modo meis, non vt Patroclus Achillis, armis concertaturus in palaestram descendam, et ante 505 conflictum insonet tuba'. Vt miris artibus istam conflictatiunculam, qua ferme duntaxat ipse pugnat secum, exornat Brixius atque ἀποσεμνύνει! Nam velut histriones nos committit, comicos, tragi-  
 cos, palaestritas, bellatores: et mirum est quanto cum artificio haec inter se tam diuersa commisceat, quam concinne pugnantibus aptet 510 personas, mimis scenicis arma, et adhibito patre patrato inter impe-

468. clarissimam *Jortin*: charissimam a. 478. nunquam *Jortin*: inquam a.  
 479. attingit *scripsi*: attinget a: attingat *Jortin*. 494. accurate *Jortin*: accur-  
 rate a. 507. exornat *Jortin*: exornet a. 510. aptet *scripsi*: aptat a.

472. ludere] Ep. 1045. 71.

474. gladio] Ep. 1045. 70.

491. vt ait] Ep. 1045. 81-94.

ratores histriones feriat foedera. Vt dimicantes producit in prosce-  
nium, bellatores in palaestram! denique scita ἐπιμόνη tam belle  
persistit in metaphora, vt in tribus fere versibus conficiat nobis  
515 comicotragicopolemon.

Quod ad hoc foedus attinet, Erasme charissime, noli laborare.  
Neque enim tam ingens instat rei literariae periculum, si congre-  
diantur hinc Morus, homuncio perpūsillus, hinc generosa illa palma,  
palma non altior vna, Brixius, vt Erasmo sit opus patre patrato qui  
520 faciat pacem: nisi literarum procures similiter affectos reddat huius  
duelli cura, quomodo apud Homerum sollicitos habet superos Giganteo  
bello formidabilior illa βατραχομυομαχία. Nam quod me scribis esse  
illius amore dignissimum, tuam bonitatem agnosco, qui vndique  
studes paci. Verum ego, mi Erasme, me tali non dignor honore vt  
525 inter amicos satrapis tam potentis adnumerer: cuius nunc vtcunque  
 respondi Antimoro, non sat fortasse reuerenter pro tanta viri digna-  
tione, sed pro re certe, vt censent alii, nimis aliquanto modeste.  
Tu vero, mi Erasme, quid sentias, cupio scire. Nam quod tam  
propere curavi excudenda quae scripsi, quae tutius fortasse fuerat  
530 per ocium polire, praesertim obicienda tam oculato aemulo, vt et  
ibi cernat mendum vbi mendum non est: malui ei ossa multa  
relinquere in quibus exerceat dentes, fatiget, aut frangat denique,  
quam mihi diu talibus nugis occupare pectus. Et profecto non  
fuissem tam insanum libellum responso dignaturus vilo, ni mihi  
535 visum esset amicorum quorundam obsecundare consiliis, suadentium  
vt me tuerer aduersus hominis absurdissimas calumnias. Quae res  
vna mihi scopus fuit, non commutare conuitia, ac paria vicissim in  
illum spargere. Alioqui, si statuissem non respiciendum potius quid  
me deceret dicere quam quid illum conueniebat audire, quantumuis  
540 magnifice meum contemnat stilum Brixius, tanquam imbellem,  
eneruem, nihilque masculum; effecissem saltem vt intelleret quam  
verus sit ille Nasonis versus,

In causa facili cuius licet esse disertum.

Nunc vero quum ille non in ingenium tantum ac mores meos  
545 debacchatus sit, verumetiam in perniciem meam, quoad eius fieri  
potuit, sit grassatus; in literis vero in me nihil intactum reliquerit  
quod non arrosit: ego contra nihil illius attigi praeter illa ipsa  
volumina, quibus aut ipse petor aut patria. In vniuersum vero  
quid praestare possit, neque pronuncio neque excutio. Scio enim  
550 quam leue pondus habiturum sit de illo iudicium meum; quod  
tamen etiamnum magis benignum est in illum quam sit multorum

519. altior scripsi, cf. *Lucr.* 4. 414, *Juv.* 13. 173: aliter a. 524. tali non  
*Jortin*, in fine versus, cf. *Verg. Aen.* 1. 335: tam a. 546. me scripsi: eū a.

518. palma] In some verses preced-  
ing the *Antimorus*, f°. A<sup>4</sup> v°, Brixius  
had written:

Vt si palmam oneres premasque,  
contra

Haec obnititur altiorque surgit.

Cf. *Adag.* 204, citing Gell. 3. 6: 'Ar-  
bori palmae peculiare quiddam inesse,  
quod cum ingenio fortium virorum  
conueniat. Nam si super eius lignum

magna pondera imponas ac tam gra-  
uiter vrgeas oneresque vt magnitudo  
oneris sustineri non queat, non deor-  
sum palma cedit nec infra flectitur, sed  
aduersus pondus resurgit, et sursum  
nititur recuruaturque'. More uses the  
same figure in his *Epistola ad Brixium*,  
f°. f<sup>4</sup> v°.

522. scribis] *Ep.* 620. 32, 3.

542. Nasonis] *Tr.* 3. 11. 21.

quos ille minus offendit. Verum enimvero neminem adhuc audio tam candido calculo suffragantem Brixio, ut non idem sentiat nihil hactenus ab eo prodiisse tam magnificum, quod respondere possit hominis iactabundi gloriolis; dum nunc iactat idem esse poetice[m] sibi quod πεδίων ἵππων, hoc est equo suum campum, nunc se gloriatur cum antiquitate certare, nunc ipsam clauam vi eripere Herculi, dum fulmen denique satis impudenter sese minitatur efflaturum. Has hominis glorias alii quoties cum eius conferunt poematiis, ingenium censent non insanum tantum sed etiam insanabile. 555 560

Ego vero, quanquam Brixius in me tam atrocem non modo iudicem sed et augurem quoque praebeat sese, ut non solum quicquid hactenus unquam scripsi damnet, verum etiam pronunciet nihil posthac scripturum quod possit esse dignum lectu: tamen mitius aliquanto de illo sentio, coniecturam potissimum cum ex Chordigera faciens, tum ex Antimoro quam in me scripsit iratus, quando vel hoc ipsum mihi spem adhuc aliquam facit, austeram illam indolem posse aliquando mitescere, quod cum tam inepta scribat nunc id aetatis habens, hominem esse video non tam praecocis ingenii quin adhuc durare possit ac maturescere alioqui. Plane si sentirem ad statum iam ac robur peruenisse atque, ut Graeci vocant, ἀκμήν, aliud expectare non possem quam ut cuius ver lethargus est, aestas ira tam impotens, eius autumnus sit omnino furor. 565 570

Iam quod meam hypocrisin negat esse tam admirabilem ut eum e proscenio deterreat, fateor certe nil nec habere me nec prae me ferre quod absterreat quenquam. Neque negare possum quin hypocrisis Brixii tantum terroris inuehat secum, ut non modo me homuncionem pauidulum, et quem facile terruerit personae pallentis imago, sed spectatores omnes prorsus e theatro possit spectris expauefactos abigere: si modo veri sint ii versus Brixii, quos in Antimorum Μωρίχων μωρότερος inseruit; 575 580

Haec mihi dictanti astabant Dirae auribus omnes

Et Furiae, infernis concita turba vadis,

Alecto, et sacris caput irretita colubris

Tisiphone, et terrens ore Megaera truci.

585

Quod si personas istas plus satis tragicas deponat Brixius, certe reliqua hominis hypocrisis non habet quicquam tam admirabile ut, velut Medusae caput, quenquam reddat attonitum; neque vires eius experior tam formidolosae ut aut Patroclo, aut Thersitae certe, praesidium petendum sit ab Achillis armis aduersus Hectorem talem. Sin Brixio penitus decretum est (non) factitias illas Furias verum furorem suum proferre in proscenium secum, si certum est illi totis intonare tonitribus, si fulmen illud terrificum vibrare statuit, quod sibi ab ore iactat cadere, quoties secum videlicet Offensus grauius dignas Ioue concipit iras: histrionicam suam solus per me licebit exerceat, ego aduersus tam ominosa spectra silentio memet velut amuleto lustrabo. Existet tamen fortassis Hercules aliquis ἀλεξίκακος, qui suetus eiusmodi portenta subigere, clauam quam ei Brixius vi 590 595

574. negat] Cf. l. 502.

578. personae] Cf. Juv. 3. 175.

580. versus] Antimorus, f<sup>o</sup>. D<sup>4</sup> v<sup>o</sup>.

581. Μωρίχων] Cf. Adag. 1801, and Ep.

1144. 24.

594. dignas] Cf. Ov. Met. 1. 166.

- eripuit, vicissim eripiat Brixio, ferula nimirum armatus aut flagro.  
 600 Nam aduersus τὴν τοῦ Βριξίου βροντὴν non dubitau(er)it vel Στρεψιάδης ἀνταποπαρδεῖν. Porro fulminis praestigium belle compescat Cacus, talium terculamentorum peritus artifex: qui si minus calleret artem, tamen quibus armis vtendum Caco fuerat aduersus tale fulmen, ipsius Caci nomen admoneret. Etenim potius quam fulminis  
 605 afflatu miseri mortales perierint, in os illud patulum, trisulco hiuleans fulmine, non tantum meiere fas est.  
 Spero, mi Erasme, fore vt te in Regum conuentu simus visuri Caleti; qui venturus haud dubie sis vtrique Regum gratissimus. Alioqui fuerit impudens si nos amiculi tui vel exigamus vel expectemus vt nostra causa subeas laborem tanti itineris, quorum potius officium fuerit ad te venire: id quod, ni te illuc Regum cura pertraxerit, a Principe impetrata in dies aliquot venia faciemus. Tu interea, mi Erasme, vale, ac nihilominus quam soles amicus Brixio, Morum simul qua soles charitate complectere: cui tu tam charus  
 615 es vt nec ipse sibi sit charior. Lupsetus noster magno auditorio summa cum laude sua, nec minore scholasticorum fruge, bonas literas in vtraque lingua profitetur Oxoniae. Successit enim Ioanni Clementi meo; nam is se totum addixit rei medicae, nemini aliquando cessurus, nisi hominem (quod abominor) hominibus inuiderint  
 620 Parcae.

Iterum vale; ac meo nomine Dorpio, Neseno, Viueti, viris in re literaria primariis, salutem plurimam nuncia.

## 1088. TO JODOCUS JONAS.

Gotha MS. chart. A. 399, f. 231.

Horawitz ii. 3.

Louvain.

9 April 1520.

[This letter was first printed, from the Gotha MS. described in Ep. 872 introd., by Steitz in his life of Nesen (Ep. 329 introd.), pp. 96, 7; using a copy communicated by Pastor Krafft of Elberfeld. Horawitz printed it later from the same source. Kawerau (JE. 37) refers also to a ms. copy at Hamburg (58, f. 20 v<sup>o</sup>), which I have not seen.

The year-date is confirmed by the mention of Atensis' death (8 Jan. 1520) and of Erasmus' reply to Lee (Ep. 1037 introd.).]

600. dubitauerit Jortin. στρεψιάδης α: corr. Jortin. 601. fulminis Jortin: fluminis α. 606. meiere Jortin: me ire α.

601. ἀνταποπαρδεῖν] Cf. Ar. Nub. 293.  
 604. Caci nomen] sc. a cacando: Jortin.

605. afflatu] Cf. Obseq. 50.  
 606. meiere] Cf. Juv. i. 131.  
 608. Caleti] See p. 296.  
 615. Lupsetus] Cf. Ep. 967. 26n. He succeeded Clement (l. 618n) about the end of 1519, and was lodged in Corpus (cf. p. 210). During his residence there Gentian Hervet of Orleans was his pupil: see Hervet's *Opuscula*,

Lyons, S. Dolet, 1541, p. 45, 'Ego a mea in Angliam profectione, quo tempore quartumdecimum paulo minus agebam annum, duobus annis cum viro doctissimo Thoma Lupseto, qui nescio quot abhinc annis mortuus est, in Corporis Christi Collegio Oxoniae habitauit'. Lupset held office till 1523, when he was succeeded by Vives.

618. Clementi] He had been appointed Wolsey's Reader in Humanity at Oxford c. Nov. 1518; cf. Ep. 907.

EXIMIO D. IODOCO IONAE ERAS. ROTERODAMVS.

S. ACCEPI postremas literas tuas amantissimas. Leo responsum est, vt ille non habeat posthac quod hiscat, nisi velit conuicia congerere; quod in promptu est et meretricibus. Nunc superest alter actus, vt amici scribant literas censorias in Leum, sed ita vt laudent et doctos et principes Angliae doctis fauentes, Leum vnum 5 onerent; et hunc magis rideant vt stultulum, vt gloriosulum, vt fucatum, quam vt insectentur. Cuperem colligi multas epistolas tales, quo magis obruatur. Colligantur a doctis et ad me mittantur per certos homines; ipse recognoscam et curabo aedendas. Sit in his magna varietas. Dedi Wilhelmo Neseno quo vos instituat. 10

Nolim scire Praedicatores qualem amicum praestiterim Lutheri. Haec Academia concepit immedicabilem insaniam. Perit Atensis, sed odiosius agunt Edmondensis et Latomus, alter lippus, alter claudus. Saluta amicos omnes, et si quid ama(n)t Erasmus, hunc Leum tractent vt dignus est. Bene vale. 15

Louanii postridie Paschae. Anno 1520.

Erasmus tuus.

## 1089. FROM RICHARD PACE.

Epistolae eruditorum virorum p. 155.  
Jortin ii. 377.

Greenwich.  
April (1520).

[For the source see p. 210. The omission of the precise month-date in Eev perhaps indicates that the letter was printed from Pace's rough-draft, communicated from England, rather than from the actual document received by Erasmus. The year-date is indubitable.]

PACAEVS ERASMO SVO.

EPISTOLIO mihi significasti te Lei respondisse Apologiis. Legi ipse versum, imo perlegi ἀμύσσει a capite ad calcem, pellectus admiratione illius qua vteris vbique modestiae: quod nunquam in tali re credidissem te praestare potuisse, nisi vidissem. Res mirifice aridet eruditibus auribus. Cauebunt, opinor, in posterum alii ne te impetant 5 conuitiis, qui tam modeste et sancte mordere nosti. Quod Germani frendent in Leum, sicut non miror, ita vehementer doleo. Non miror ideirco, quod conetur Leus coronae Germanorum preciosissimam conspurcare gemmam: doleo quod frendendi ansam in conterraneum meum et amicum nacti sint. 10

Vale ex Grennico. April.

1088. 11. praestiterim *Krafft*: praestiterint *MS*.

14. amant *Horawitz*.

1088. 4. literas] See Ep. 1083 introd.  
5. laudent] Cf. Ep. 1083. 33n.  
10. Neseno] See Ep. 1057 introd.  
By 20 April he had returned (EAE f<sup>o</sup>. B<sup>3</sup>: Eev p. 53).

quo vos instituat] Perhaps a copy of Ep. 1053 in Martens' edition, to show his Erfurt friends how he wished the case stated; and Lee's

*Annotationes* (Ep. 1037). Cf. also Ep. 1085. 10-12.

11. praestiterim] e. g. in Ep. 1033: and see Ep. 1038 introd.

14. claudus] In a marginal note to Sbrulius' *Carmen* (Ep. 1159. 6n) as printed in the *Flores*, Latomus is described as 'loripes'; cf. also Lond. Viv. 6, LB. 615 of 19 Jan. 1522.

1090<sub>1097</sub> FROM THOMAS MORE.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 544.  
HN: Lond. xiv. 15: LB. 553.

(Greenwich ?)  
(April 1520.)

[An approximate date may be assigned from Ep. 1097.]

THOMAS MORVS ERASMO SVO S. D.

TAMETSI mihi nunquam fuit obscurum, Erasme omnium dulcissime, quanto intervallo iudicium tuum antecellat meum, nunquam tamen illustrius inclaruit quam in hoc consilio, quo tibi Leoque suasimus vt libellus eius perpetuo premeretur: te censente contra vt tum  
5 potius aedere sineretur, dum expectabatur assidue, vt aliquando posset ea finiri fabula, quam sopita fama paulisper post exiret tamen, noua suscitata tragoedia. Itaque perpulimus verius quam persuasimus, vt in ea pacta concederes; quae, quum tu te neges infregisse, Leus sancte sese seruasse deieret, interim tamen perpetuo fere rumpe-  
10 bantur. Per vtrum vero, quando res me tam procul agente gerebatur, altero in alterum congerente regerenteque vicissim omnia, certo diiudicare non possum: dolere tantum cogor illud consilium tantum apud vtrumque valuisse vt pax iniretur, quod valiturum non erat vt seruaretur. Maluissem enim tum libellum aeditum quum minus  
15 irritatis animis poterat aedi mitius, quam vt nunc demum adauctis odiis emitteretur acerbior. Prodiit enim, sed amarior aliquanto quam vel sperassem vel in rem fuisset studiosorum; in quibus desideratur ea modestia quam vel idiotas inuicem non praebere pudesceret. At tibi certe, mi Erasme, conuenit, si causas quas allegat  
20 habuit, non mirari si amarulentius affectum suum tam insigniter offensus effuderit: sin elusus est aliqua figura veri, sic quoque conuenit ignorare. Neque enim nos quicquam segnius credita mouent quam cognita.

Non es vel admonendus, opinor, vel hortandus, vt exhibeatur abs  
25 te vere Christiana modestia, cuius labor in tota re vni desudat Christo, qui tibi solus ob oculos debet obuersari: a quo solidiorem tanto referes gratiam, quanto magis hic referre mundus neque ingratus curat neque gratus potest. In cuius immensa comoda quum tot incommoda perpessus sis, quum tot laboribus valetudinem detriueris,  
30 vt bona promoueres studia, tamen apud inuidos, eosque tibi prope modum vni debentes quicquid habent literarum, si quid habent bonarum, mala pro bonis referas, eo similior es Christo: quem non aliter possis imitari fidelius quam si maledicta retalies benedictis, sicut incitasti benefactis. Vale, Erasme animo meo charissime.

35

Tuus, vt suus, T. Morus.

6. H: possit F.

9. H: rumpebatur F.

35. Tuus . . . Morus om. H.

8. ea pacta] The settlement attempted in the summer of 1519: see p. 110, and cf. Ep. 1074. 67-74.  
19. causas] The contempt shown

for his notes (cf. his letter to Louvain, *Annot.* f<sup>o</sup>. AA<sup>4</sup>), and the abusive attacks made upon him (ibid. ff. CC. v<sup>o</sup>, CC<sup>2</sup>: cf. Ep. 1061. 319-509).



## 1091. TO LIVINUS ALGOET.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 568.  
HN: Lond. xv. 13: LB. 502.

Antwerp.  
13 April 1520.

[Only 1520 and 1521 are possible; for by April 1519 Carinus (Ep. 920 introd.) had not yet come to Louvain with Nesen (cf. Epp. 994. 9n, 1034). But beyond this I cannot confirm the year-date. No corroboration is obtainable from the place; for in 1521 Erasmus was again at Antwerp just at this time (Ep. 1199).

For Erasmus' three visits to Antwerp in March and April 1520 see pp. 203, 216. His intention was now, after supervising the printing of his third book against Lee, the second *Responsio* which Hillen produced in May (p. 110), to go on into Holland (Ep. 1092. 1). But the dates of his letters signed from Antwerp show such short intervals that the visit to Holland can hardly have been carried out (cf. Lond. xvii. 6, LB. 604, of October 1521). Between 3 and 5 May he returned to Louvain (Epp. 1098, 9).

Livinus Algoet († 25 Jan. 1547) of Ghent (Index to H) entered Erasmus' household as a servant-pupil c. 1519, and remained with him for nearly seven years; frequently carrying his letters. At Louvain he was a pupil of R. Rescius (OE. p. 200), and became proficient in Latin and Greek: 'adeo . . . vt non habuerimus apud nos illi similem', if he is the messenger of Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 118 (cf. Ep. 1063 introd.). In Sept. 1524 Erasmus, who was not altogether satisfied with him (O.<sup>1</sup> p. 8), sent him to study medicine at Louvain (OE. p. 352), and proposed that he should work there with a young kinsman of Wolsey (Lond. xviii. 50, LB. 686); at the same time, on the suggestion of Marcus Laurinus (EE. 27: cf. ll. 25-7), trying to arrange that his Courtray pension (Ep. 436. 5n) should pass to Algoet at his death (Lond. xx. 46, xxi. 31; LB. 783, 822). But the young man was disinclined to study, and in 1525 was still carrying letters (EE.<sup>2</sup> 30; Horawitz v. 77, 80; LB. App. 330). In 1527 he was in Paris (EE. 71); but Erasmus was disappointed in him (OE. p. 352), and did not, as Laurinus wished, make provision for him in his will. Continuing to hang about in quest of court service, Algoet obtained temporary employment with Corn. Scepperus at Augsburg (EE. 131); and at length attached himself to Nic. Olaus, who in 1531-2 procured him, with Erasmus' aid, a small post in the household of Queen Mary of Hungary (OE. pp. 174-6, 196, 225). On 6 Aug. 1532, being still a dependant, Algoet married a granddaughter of Ant. Clava (OE. pp. 219, 224): and continuing with Olaus, was appointed in March 1534 to teach Queen Mary's young pages (OE. pp. 477, 515). For the year 1532-3 he enjoyed the income of Erasmus' Courtray pension (Basle MS. C. VI.<sup>a</sup> 71, f. 1). In Dec. 1538 he received a present from the Queen for composing a genealogy of Charles v; by 1543 he was king of arms for Flanders. In Erasmus' later years Algoet regained some of his confidence, and often acted as messenger to him. See the detailed notes in EE. E. Boehmer (*Bibl. Wiffeniana*, i, 1874, p. 93) mentions a rare volume, narrating the proceedings of the Diet of Augsburg *Pro religione Christiana*, which Algoet received an imperial privilege to print, 6 Nov. 1530.]

## ERASMVS LIVINO ALGOTIO SVO S. D.

INCIDERVNT nonnulla praeter spem, quae reditum nostrum in dies complusculos remorantur. Itaque quod iter ingressurus admonui, visum est rursus inculcare literis. Vide ne committas vt absentia nostra te segniorem ad studia reddidisse videatur, quae potius debuit acuerere. Nimirum quo pius tibi vacat temporis ab obsequiis quibus 5 praesenti soles inseruire, hoc par est attentius incumbere literis. Hac certe spe te reliqui Louanii, magis tuo commodo consulens quam meo. Dabis igitur operam ne me haec fallat ratio, ac modis omnibus

TIT. ALGOTIO *add. H.* svo *om. H.* 4. debet *Lond.*

cauebis ne quid reuersus offendam quo reditus meus minus laetus  
 10 esse videatur. Nosti illud Terentianum, 'Ita vt fit, domini vbi  
 absunt': item illud, 'Malo coactus qui suum officium facit, tantisper  
 cauet dum id rescitum iri credit: si sperat fore clam, rursus ad  
 ingenium redit'. Illud te dignius est: 'Is quem beneficio adiungas,  
 ex animo suum officium facit, praesens absensque idem erit'. Mihi  
 15 semper placuit haec Mitionis ratio; tuae partes erunt adniti ne me  
 huius animi poeniteat.

Non aliter quam pestem fugito quorundam consortia, in quos vere  
 competit illud Menandri, *Φθείρουσιν ἡθὴ χρηστὸν ὁμιλίας κακὰ*. A Carini  
 latere digitum latum ne discedito. Is annis quidem haud ita multo  
 20 maior est te, sed ea morum integritate, tanta siti literarum, vt vix  
 alterius conuictu queas euadere vel melior vel eruditior. Natura dedit  
 ingenium felix; quo nomine vt tibi gratulari possumus, ita laudari  
 non debes, ni naturae bonitatem veluti solum felix tua excolas  
 industria, dedecus ingens reportaturus, si tute tibi defuisse videaris.  
 25 Neque te clam est quid abs te expectent parentes optimi, neque nescis  
 quid debeas Marco Laurino, qui te mihi prorsus affectu paterno  
 commendauit. Vt ne commemorem interim quid mihi debeas, qui  
 te semper habuerim non famuli sed filii loco, certe auget hoc quoque  
 expectationem multorum, quod cum Erasmo familiariter conuixeris.  
 30 His omnibus non potes nisi summo studio respondere; et nunc aetas  
 est vt maxime docilis, ita laborum patiens. Alios a studiis arcet  
 nummorum, librorum aut praeceptorum inopia: tibi cum nihil  
 horum non suppetat ex amicorum benignitate, nisi talem te reddi-  
 deris qualem oportet, non erit quod praetexas, culpa omnis in te  
 35 vnum recidet.

Haec tam multa cum satis, opinor, inflamment te ad studium  
 egregiae probitatis atque eruditionis, tamen hoc quoque calcar addere  
 debet animo non degeneri, quod Louanii vides tot pueros, tot adole-  
 scentes non minus feliciter quam ardentem ambire laudem literaturae  
 40 bilinguis. Postremo par est vt gentis paternae cognomento respon-  
 deas, ne, quod abominor, existant aliquando qui *πάγκαλον* per iocum  
 vertant in *πάγκακον*; vnius elementi deprauatione ex omnibono (nam  
 id sonat gentile cognomen) omnimalum facientes. Quin huc potius  
 manibus pedibusque connitendum, vt hoc cognominis non fortuito  
 45 sed numinis alicuius consilio tibi contigisse videatur. Haec tam  
 diligenter admoneo, non quod diffidam ingenio tuo, sed quod iis  
 quibus vehementer ex animo bene volumus, etiam tuta timere  
 soleamus.

Si quid isthic allatum est literarum quas intelligas non esse magni  
 50 momenti, eas seruato in reditum meum. Sin quid erit quod proro-  
 gari non expediat, nec continget per quem certo mittas, ipse huc  
 aduolato. Bene vale. Antuuerpiae Id. April. ANNO M.D.XX.

28. hoc om. N.

49. intelligis H.

52. idus Apriles H.

10. Terentianum] *Eun.* 600.11. Malo] Cf. *Ter. Ad.* 69-71.13. Is quem] Cf. *Ter. Ad.* 72, 3.18. Menandri] *ap.* 1 Cor. 15. 33.

## 1092. TO NICHOLAS EVERARD.

LB. App. 315 (a).  
Gudii Epistolae p. 380 (β).

Antwerp.  
17 April (1520).

[This letter and Ep. 1188 were first printed by P. Burmann in 1697 in the same volume as Ep. 949; from the collection of autograph letters belonging to Ant. Vivien (1661-1707), a member of a Dordrecht family, who had settled as a lawyer at the Hague (see NNBW. ii. 1503; and Burmann's preface, f<sup>o</sup>. \*\*<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup>). The corrections made by Leclerc show that he too had the original manuscript before him: though he does not mention Vivien in his preface. His text both here and in Ep. 1188 is so much better than Burmann's that it must be placed first; but in spelling and form of date Leclerc allowed himself such freedom that I have preferred to follow Burmann.

The year-date can be assigned without hesitation from the mention of Erasmus' replies to Lee (ll. 4, 11), the second and third of which were printed by Hillen at Antwerp in April and May 1520. In consequence the year-date, Anno 1521, which appears in α, may be attributed to the editors.

Nicholas Everardi or Everardus (c. 1462—9 Aug. 1532) of Middelburg was a native of Walcheren. After studying at Louvain under Arnold de Beka and Peter of Tirllemont he was LL.D. 11 June 1493; and, continuing there to teach law, was Rector 1504. He also became Chancellor to Erasmus' patron, Henry of Bergen, bishop of Cambray (cf. his *consilium* no. 24). For a time he took orders, and was appointed Dean of St. Guidon's at Anderlecht in 1498, and Dean of St. Gudule's at Brussels in 1506. But shortly afterwards he returned to civil life, married, and served as a member of the Grand Council of Malines. In 1509 he was made President of the Council of Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland; and in 1528 President of the Grand Council in succession to Josse Laurens.

He wrote *Topicorum seu de locis legalibus liber*, Louvain, Th. Martens, Feb. 1516, addressed to John le Sauvage (Ep. 410), and with a preface by Remaclus Arduenna (Ep. 411), who had been his pupil. This was reprinted at Bologna, Jo. Bapt. Hectoris, 27 Jan. 1528; and a new edition with his final corrections appeared after his death, Louvain, S. Sassenus, 1552. His sons, Everard, Nicholas, and Adrian, also printed a volume of his *Consilia*, Louvain, 1554; which, as giving details of the cases submitted to him for opinion, serve, like those of Zasius, to illustrate the life of the times. In the seventeenth century his works were consulted and several times reprinted. A translation of Lucian's *De non credendo calumniæ* by Rumoldus Stenemola, (Antwerp, M. Keyser, 1530), is dedicated to him. One of his younger sons was Janus or Joannes Secundus (1511-36), author of the *Basia*, who made some reputation as a poet.

See Val. Andreas, pp. 40, 177-8; C. van Gestel, *Hist. archiep. Mechlinien.*, 1725, ii. 14; Sweert; NNBW. iii: and for his feeling towards Erasmus cf. Ep. 1044. 18-22.]

EXIMIO DOMINO D. NICOLAO, VTRIVSQVE I. DOCTORI, PRAESIDENTI  
HOLLANDIAE DIGNISSIMO, ERASMVS ROT. S. P.

MAGNIFICE domine Praesidens, visam hac aestate Hollandiam,  
nisi quid aliud inciderit. Interea mitto celsitudini tuae plumbeum

TTT. NICOLAO EVERARDO, PRAESIDENTI HOLLANDIAE, S. D. DESIDERIVS ERASMVS β.

1. Hollandiam] Cf. Ep. 1094. 10-11, and p. 235.

2. plumbeum Erasmum] Cf. Epp. 1101. 8-9 (bronze), 1119. 5 (bronze), 1122. 18 (lead). The description in Ep. 1101 makes it easy to identify this with the medal, dated 1519 and commonly (no doubt rightly) attributed to Metsys,

on the ground of Erasmus' letter to Botteus, 29 March 1528 (Lond. xix. 43, LB. 954), speaking of 'effigiem mei . . . quam Quintinus Antuerpiae fudit aere'. Erasmus can be traced at Antwerp frequently during the months of April to Aug. 1519, and again in Nov. and Dec. For copies struck at

Erasum, ab artifice non vulgari effigiatum, nec mediocri sumptu. Mitto duos libellos, quibus respondeo Leo Anglo: quo nebulone nihil  
 5 adhuc produxit orbis nec arrogantius nec indoctius nec virulentius. Ipsa Anglia suum foetum execratur. Audio et isthic esse Praedicatores qui stolidissime deblaterant apud indoctam multitudinem et populum ad lapides prouocant: quorum improbitati nisi principes obsistant, res tandem exibat in seditionem. Praedicent sacras literas,  
 10 et taceant de rebus hisce quas non intelligunt.

Tertius liber excuditur; is breui veniet isthuc, nisi prius contingeret te Louanium reuisere; id enim accepi ex filio tuo, qui nuper coenauit apud nos Antuerpiae. Is mihi visus est non veste tantum sed et animo candidus. Salutabis caeteros amicos, quibus nunc non vacat  
 15 scribere, Sasboutum, Carolum, Mauricium, Bernardum Decanum; et, si adsunt, heroes quibus ego debeo plurimum, Nassauwen et Veriensem. Bene vale.

Antuerpiae xv. Cal. Maias.

Erasmus ex animo tuus.

4. Leo a: Leoni β. 16. heroes a: homines β. 17. Veriensem scripsi: Veriensis a, fortasse pro Verieñ., cf. Ep. 291. 13, necnon Ep. 247. 17, 19, vbi Baiocēñ., Narbonēñ., Bononiēñ. EFHN, Ep. 1094, 15, 31, 47, 48: Veciensis β. 19. Erasmus ex animo tuus om. β.

Nuremberg in 1523-4, with perhaps some modification in the reverse see Lond. xxx. 30, LB. 646, of 8 Jan. 1524. Geo. Agricola states (*De precio metallorum*, Basle, Froben, 1550, p. 299) that he had seen an example in silver weighing a lb.

As early as 1521 a woodcut of the medal was produced, which appears on the title-pages of three parts of John Eberlin's *Die 15 Bundesgenossen* (Basle, P. Gengenbach). There is a good plate, showing both sides, in F. van Mieris' *Hist. d. Nederlandsche Vorsten*, 1733, ii. 94, 5: also in a Dresden dissertation, 1752, by A. Grenzius, who discusses the medal fully and states that the Dresden copy, apparently that of Ep. 1119. 5, was first silvered and then gilt.

The present reproduction is from the copy (bronze) in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. There are also copies in the British Museum (lead); at the Basle Museum, reproduced by J. R. Haarhaus in *Zs. f. bildende Kunst*, NF. x (1898, 9), p. 48, and by A. Machiels in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Nov. 1911, p. 349; and elsewhere.

4. duos libellos] The *Apologia qua*

respondet and the first *Responsio*: see p. 110.

11. Tertius liber] The second *Responsio* to Leo: see p. 110.

12. filio] Peter, the eldest, a Praemonstratensian or White Canon, probably of their abbey at Middelburg; LL.D. at Louvain, 22 May 1520, and parish priest of Flushing. See Molanus p. 544 and Val. Andreas p. 182. There is an epitaph on him in the *Opera* of his brother, Joannes Secundus, Utrecht, 1541, f. G<sup>6</sup> v<sup>o</sup>.

15. Sasboutum] Jodocus Sasbout (4 March 1487—14 Nov. 1546), a Dr. of Laws, who since 1515 had been a member of the Council of Holland, over which Nic. Everard presided. In 1543, when Gueldres became Imperial, he was appointed its Chancellor. He corresponded with Erasmus in 1532-3: Lond. xxiv. 17, LB. 1219 and EE.<sup>2</sup> 112. See NNBW. ii. 1265.

Carolus] I cannot identify.

Mauricium] See Ep. 176 introd.

Bernardum] See Ep. 1237 introd.

16. Nassauwen] See Epp. 147. 58n, 829. 12, 1192.

17. Veriensem] Adolphus: see Ep. 93 introd.



Medallion of Erasmus by Metsys, 1519.



1093<sub>1096</sub> TO THOMAS MORE.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 579.  
HN: Lond. xv. 15: LB. 503.

Antwerp.  
26 April 1520.

ERASMVS ROT. THOMAE MORO S. D.

SPERABAM meas literas aliquid ponderis habituras fuisse apud Brixium. Sed ecce prodiit ac prostat hic Antimorus eius. Qui liber vellem autoris ipsius causa, cui faueo ob animum eius vel in bonas literas, vel in me, quod eius declarant scripta, propensum, aut perpetuo latuisset, aut certe Brixius fuisset imitatus tuorum epigram-<sup>5</sup> matum modestiam ac ciuilitatem. Quae et ipsa tamen optassem nunquam potius essent aedita quam vt hic tumultus tragicus inter vos fuisset excitatus, non sine dispendio bonarum literarum: quas non video posse consistere, nisi aduersus tam pertinacem barbarorum conspirationem illas defendat eruditorum numerus, iunctaeque vni-<sup>10</sup> bone phalanges. Verum quando fieri non potest vt quod factum est, fiat infectum, cupio vehementer vt malum germen, quod parum faustis auibz enatum est, opera nostra curetur, vt si radicitus euelli non possit, saltem ne serpat latius. Quod vt ego, mi More, cupiam, non Brixii tantum causa, cui valde faueo, me mouet, verumetiam cui<sup>15</sup> multo adhuc magis faueo, tua. Non quod arbitrer esse periculum ne Antimorus eius quicquam officiat famae tuae, quae vtinam non plus nocuisset ipsius: sed quod plane metuam ne, si tu respondendo talionem in illum regesseris, fiat vt quod nunc de illo sentiunt omnes, idem posthac de vtroque sentiant.<sup>20</sup>

Scio quam difficile sit ad tam aculeatum vndique libellum respondenti temperare a conuiciis: et tamen si quid eam in partem pecces tu, nemo qui te norit tam facile putabit ignoscendum tibi quam ignoscet Brixio. Nam vt nihil interim de vtriusque eruditione dicam, tua certe conditio, tua dignitas ac rerum vsus exigit vt eiusmodi rixas<sup>25</sup> non minus ineptas quam virulentas negligas potius, quam vt conuicia conuiciis accurate retalias. Audio quotidie quid post aeditum libellum eruditi loquantur de Brixio: quae vt de illo non libenter audio, ita de te multo minus audire velim. Quamobrem quum sentiam quam arduum sit tam virulento libello lacessitum sic attemperare responsum<sup>30</sup> vt nihil indulgeas affectibus, optimum certe censeo si rem totam, ita vt meretur, negligas atque contemnas.

Neque vero hoc tibi consulerem, optime More, si quicquam esset in Antimoro quod tibi sic labem aspersisset vllam, vt operaeprecium sit eam curare abstergendam. Sed omnia plane sunt eiusmodi vt inter<sup>35</sup> legendum quisque respondeat sibi. Nam omnes vident Brixium id in te reprehendere, quod tam temere tamque praepropere aedideris

3. faueo *add. N.*

18. quod *om. H.*

26. conuicia *om. H.*

1. literas] Ep. 620; which Brixius saw for the first time when it was printed in the *Farrago* (E).

2. Antimorus] See Ep. 1045.

5. epigrammatum] Cf. Ep. 620. 29n.

7. aedita] Cf. Epp. 550 introd., 634. 4.

10. defendat] Cf. Juv. 2. 46.

22. temperare] Cf. Ep. 620. 30n.

25. dignitas] Cf. Epp. 780. 45n, 908. 16n.

tua epigrammata, quae tu nec adhuc aedidisti: cum pleraque tibi ante annos plus viginti scripta sint, omnia ferme ante annos decem.

40 Vident illum vellicare pro erratis tuis, quorum alia sunt excubentis, alia typographi, et in his pleraque talia vt nisi damnatis summis autoribus reprehendi non possint. Vident epigrammata tua quae feceras in Chordigeram, iam olim esse scripta flagrante bello; nec fuisse causam Brixio vt nunc tot annis post initam et confirmatam

45 pacem bellicum tumultum renouaret. Vident Brixium in epitaphio Abyndonii ludere, manifesta calumnia dissimulantem quod dissimulari non potest, illic opera data affectatam carminis ineptiam. Caeterum qua parte insectatur id carmen quo tu gratularis auspiciis regnum ineuntis Principis, vsque adeo nemo doctorum in Brixio non desiderat

50 animi calamique moderationem, vt ego non pessimus, vt scis, amicorum patronus, haud alium inueniam colorem illius excusandi quam quod ita senserit Britannicarum rerum ignorantia: quas si compertas habuisset, neque scripsisset ea, et vel iratus fuisset fassus Regem abs te laudibus vere regiis magnifice laudatum esse.

55 Haec, mi More, cum omnes et sentiant et fateantur, quid restat causae cur te torqueas respondendo, hoc est rem, quod aiunt, actam agas, non alio fructu quam vt venias in periculum, ne famae iacturam, quam nunc solus apud eruditos patitur Brixius, tibi facias aliqua ex parte communem; si forte (quod haud facile vitare possis, vbi calamus,

60 vt fit, incaluerit) respondeas inclementius et conuicia repenses conuiciis. Non minima portio tuarum laudum est ingenii lenitas perpetuaeque morum suauitas, vnde nolim ego quicquam decedere. Sin tibi decretum est diuersa ingredi via (nam audio librum tibi aduersus eum iam in manibus esse), velim te excuses tantum, et maleuolentiae

65 crimen prouocatoriaeque petulantiae sic abs te depellas vt in aduersarium non regeras, ac ratione pugnes, non iurgiis, illius inuidiam tua cumulaturus modestia: tamen, vt sic quoque rem geras, multo certe malim tacere te, vtque tota res oblitteretur silentio. Quod vt illico fieri non potest, ita paulatim poterit, te, vt spero, volente.

70 Scripseram Brixio vt Antimorum, quam tum audiebam eum meditari, premeret: et si fuisset in tabellario diligentia, persuasissem, si vera scribit Brixius. Verum (quod ex eius responsione vides) liber iam erat sub prelo, priusquam meam videret epistolam. Abs te vero, mi More, mihi plus profecto quam a Brixio polliceor: cui cum

75 videam persuasurum fuisse me, si meae ad illum literae venissent in tempore, dubitare non debeo quin abs te facile sim impetraturus vt mea causa tantum impetres ab affectibus tuis, ne eum qui et me amat et vicissim amat a me, magis etiam oneres nouis libellis. Ab alterutro proficiscatur oportet huius contentione finis, nisi litem

80 alterna reciprocatione perpetuam esse velis. Et tua dignitas tuique mores hoc postulant, vt abs te potius sit huius rei initium. Crede mihi, mi More, tametsi Brixius hac in re ita se gessit vt nunc fortassis

46. dissimulantem *F* Corrig. : dissimulans *F*.  
*fine versus.*

66. non add. *H*: om. *F*, in

43. Chordigeram] See Ep. 212. 1n.  
 46. Abyndonii] See Ep. 1087. 83n.  
 48. carmen] See Ep. 1087. 22on.  
 62. suauitas] Cf. Ep. 999. 20n.

63. librum] More's *Epistola ad Brixium*;  
 see p. 217.  
 70. Scripseram] Ep. 620. 28-40.  
 72. Brixius] Ep. 1045. 4-6.



etiam ipsum poeniteat, et, si res esset integra, non sit factur—  
 neque enim quisquam tam felix est vt omnibus horis sapiat—, tamen  
 is est, quem si nosset propius, hominis tum ingenio tum literis 85  
 delectareris; neque quenquam alium facile reperies quem iudicares  
 amore tuo digniorem. Neque debes ab omnibus tam sedatos affectus  
 exigere, quam omnes ferme pro caeteris factis tuis proque spectata  
 iam diu prudentia prorsus expectant abs te. Brixius quanquam in  
 Chordigera sua quaedam scripserat, in quae tu lacessitus prius iure 90  
 potueris acerbius etiam, praesertim vt tum res erant, rescribere;  
 tamen postquam epigrammata tua lepore quodam omnibus adblan-  
 dientia, omnium risu excitassent in illum, mirari non debes si iuuenis  
 natura vehemens famaeque appetens, aliquantulum a consideratione  
 sui facti dolore quodam animi totus in tuos versus auersus, sibi putauit 95  
 iniuriam fieri, quam se non animaduerneret neque merito nec idoneo  
 tempore vindicare.

Scio te non tanti facere paucula illa epigrammata quae lusisti in  
 illum, quin pati possis vt in meam gratiam aboleantur; qui nisi  
 monuisses sero, hoc tua sponte curabas olim, quum totum librum 100  
 non libenter audires proditum in publicum. Igitur efficiam vt e  
 tua voluntate, cum posthac excudetur liber, omittantur illa, atque  
 vicissim ne propagetur Antimorus. Ita fiet vt si nihil accedat  
 alimenti, ignis iste paulatim emoriatur. Quod si tam obfirmato  
 animo decreuisti litem hanc persequi, tamen per amicitiam nostram 105  
 neque nouam neque vulgarem, precor etiam atque etiam dispicias vt  
 rem tractandam putes. Ego, si detur optio, te, vt dixi, tacere malim,  
 ac rem plane contemnendam contemnere. Id si fieri non potest, quod  
 proximum est optarim, vt quod et hactenus abs te curatum est,  
 eruditione tantum et causa, non etiam maledicentia vincere pergas: 110  
 vt quoniam alterum amicam habere me video nonnihil hoc infelici  
 casu mutilum, alterum saltem, qui mihi sic est charus vt vnum  
 omnibus habeam potius, possim perpetuo seruare integrum, felicius  
 futurum, si vtrunque liceat. Etenim quum nihil sit homini praeciosius  
 fido bonoque amico, par est nullius rei iacturam quam amicitiae 115  
 ducere grauiorem.

Haec scripsimus in mediis turbis, in quibus nos non ignoras  
 versari. Bene vale, amicorum syncerissime.

Antuuerpiae vi. Cal. Maii. ANNO M.D.XX.

103. accedat *F* Corrig.: accidat *F*.

100. olim] For the first edition of  
 More's *Epigrammata*, Basle, Froben,  
 March 1518.

101. efficiam] This proposal for  
 a peaceful settlement was frustrated  
 by the publication of More's *Epistola  
 ad Brixium* (l. 63). In consequence  
 the epigrams against Brixius remain  
 in the only later edition of More's *Epi-  
 grammata* printed during the lifetime

of Erasmus and More, Basle, Froben,  
 Dec. 1520. The predilection of the age  
 for controversy is illustrated by the  
 fact that at this very time Erasmus  
 was being urged by his friends to  
 a similar composition with Lee: see  
 Epp. 1037 introd., 1078.38n, 1090, 1097.

117. turbis] The printing of his last  
 reply to Lee; cf. Epp. 1086 introd.,  
 1092. 11-12.

## 1094. FROM JOHN DE HONDT.

Leipzig MS.  
EE. 2.

Courtray.  
28 April 1520.

[An original letter, autograph throughout: in the Burscher collection at Leipzig (see Ep. 1067 introd.). The handwriting is crabbed and difficult; but the year-date is clear, and may be accepted.]

VENERANDE et humanissime domine, humili recommendatione premissa: recepi, effluxis nunc aliquot diebus et posteaquam Tornaco reuersus essem ex synodi celebratione, litteras vestre humanitatis beniuole ad me datas, de data diei Mercurii in Paschalibus nouissime transactis, eisque inclusam syngropham vacuum, inscribendi gracia acquittan(ciam) termini natiuitatis beati Iohannis Baptiste proximo affuturi, me inter cetera requirendo quatenus (modo facultas suppeteret, modoque michi non est incommodum) pecuniam termini eiusdem instantis vestre reuerencie per Michaellem nuncium transmitterem; qua in re eidem vestre reuerencie, quam proximis diebus abfuturam intelligo et forte in remotis agituram, complacuisse nouerim. Vt itaque petitioni honeste satisfacisse videar vestreque reuerencie eo melius sim commendatus, mitto eidem, iuxta petita, summam integram eiusdem termini affuturi, videlicet sexaginta quinque florenorum Renen(sium) communium: maiorem summe eiusdem partem in bona vsuali moneta, stuferis videlicet, et residuum illius in auro boni et iusti ponderis. Syngropham ipsam vacuum iam conscripsi, nichil in eadem inserendo quod vestre reuerencie preiudicium aut grauamen generare possit imposterum, sed fidei commisse fidelitatem seruando.

Verum tamen, venerande mi domine, non est subticendum quantum periculi latuerit cum Tornacum adhuc agerem, decanis Christianitatis ibidem pro tunc reddentibus eorum compota more vsitato; eo videlicet quia noster Barbirius non transmiserit litteras *Significamus* nuncupatas, que alias dicuntur littere attestacionis residence et familiaritatis sue in curia Regis Catholici; cuius obliuio (nisi iteratis vicibus et instantissime apud dominos officarios reuerendi domini Torn(acensis) intercessissem) quasi effecit quod fructus ecclesie

3. synodi] of rural deans; cf. ll. 22-3.

4. Mercurii] 11 April 1520. The letter is not extant.

5. syngropham vacuum] The receipt due by Erasmus for the pension paid to him twice a year by de Hondt out of the prebend at Courtray (l. 28n). Erasmus had forgotten the precise form (cf. Ep. 913. 9-13), and sent a sheet for de Hondt to fill in and return to him by the messenger for signature.

11. abfuturam] From Louvain; see p. 235.

in remotis] In Holland; cf. Ep. 1092. 1.

22. Christianitatis] See l. 6rn.

24. *Significamus*] The opening formula of a letter issued by a bp. on the request of his vicar-general, announcing an appointment to a benefice and

confirming the new beneficiary in possession. A specimen is given by L. Rockinger, *Briefsteller u. Formelbücher*, 1863, p. 585. But it is not clear why such a letter should have been needed every year (ll. 34-5). Possibly what is intended here is a certificate, required in the case of an absentee beneficiary, to attest that he was still alive, before the income of his benefice could be paid to him.

28. Tornacensis] Louis Guillard; see Epp. 360. 18n, 1212.

fructus] From this passage, in combination with Epp. 436, 443, 751, 913 and EE. 3, 141, EE. 277, it appears that Erasmus' Courtray prebend carried with it the three benefices mentioned here; and that in making the exchange for a pension he arranged

parrochialis sancti Egidii Wasie et duarum capellaniarum, sancti Nicolai Wasie et Gandensis, iam erant confiscati et memorato domino 30 Tornacen(s) affecti. Obtinui tamen precibus, vt dixi, quod nichil ex hiis deperditum est, modo intra hinc et festum natiuitatis beati Iohannis proximum ego ostendero et fidem fecero eisdem dominis de litteris huiusmodi *Significamus*. Scripsi satis antehac quod annis singulis adueniente festo Pasche expediret illas transmittere; quid 35 cause adfuit, cur littere eedem hucusque non applicuerunt, nescio. Ceterum, domine venerande, quia de beneficiis, que Barbirius ipse a me obtinet, dimittendis et pensione per capellanum alterum domini de Chieruia assignanda scribitis rem totam arbitrio ipsius Barbirii commisisse, modo eam comprobem: si Barbirius predictus cum 40 Rege iam diu desiderato venerit, secum quod honestum erit contractabo, nec interero negocio vbi vestre reuerencie offensum aliquid aut preiudicium afferens practicabitur; quinymmo causam illius haud alias ac si propriam tuebor. Absit enim vt alius inueniar apud vestram reuerenciam quam alii eidem de me predicarunt. 45

Dominus meus honorandus, magister Iacobus de Tielt, cantor et canonicus Curtracen(s) et secretarius reuerendi domini Tornacen(s), mittit quemdam honestum iuuenem, cui nomen Iohannes Soti, de Ardemburgo oriundum, pauperem, excellentis ingenii, (quem pluribus annis ob ingenii excellenciam litteris grammaticae et arte 50 musicali iam satis edoctum enutriuit), Louanium in collegio Lillii in artibus liberalibus instruendum: ad maiora tandem ipsum promoturus, si, prout cepit, studium suum continuauerit. Is idem dominus, vestre reuerencie salutem plurimam dicens, eandem exorat, dignetur iuuenem ipsum apud Regentem collegii iam dicti habere commen- 55 datum. Bene valeat interim vestra V. D., cui totis viribus dies et noctes morem gerere cupio.

Ex Curtraco die vicesima octaua mensis Aprilis anno 1520.

Eiusdem vestre reuerencie seruitor

Iohannes de Hondt, canonicus Curtrac(ensis) 60  
et eiusdem loci Christianitatis decanus.

Venerando et humanissimo domino, domino Erasmo Roterdamo, sacre pagine professori excellentissimo, Louanii in pedagogio Lillii residenti.

Louanii. 65

46. canotor MS.

that Barbirius should receive the benefices (cf. ll. 37-8; EE. 3; EE.<sup>2</sup> 77), while de Hondt held the canonry. The pension was charged on both sources (Ep. 751. 12-15); but the whole sum was paid to Erasmus by de Hondt, in part for himself and also as agent for Barbirius (Ep. 751. 4-6; EE.<sup>2</sup> 77).

29. Wasie] A district forming the NE. of Flanders, and W. of the Scheldt; see Ant. Sanderus, *Flandria illustrata*, ii (1644), 538-53. St. Nicholas lies midway between Antwerp and Ghent, with St. Giles to the N. of it. Barbirius subsequently ceded St. Giles to his brother Nicholas (Ep. 613); see Ep. 1245.

38. capellanum] I cannot identify.

39. Chieruia] See Ep. 532. 27n.

41. desiderato] Cf. Ep. 1004. 145n. venerit] Cf. Ep. 1079. 9n.

46. Iacobus] of Thielt, N. of Courtray, vicar-general of the bp. of Tournay. In Nov. 1517 de Hondt was living with him at Courtray: see J. A. Clerval, *Clichtouei vita*, 1894, pp. 27, 35.

49. Soti] His name is not known to me otherwise. His birthplace, Aardenburg, lies NE. of Bruges, near the mouth of the Scheldt.

55. Regentem] Nevius; see Ep. 298 introd.

56. V. D.] veneranda dominatio.

61. Christianitatis] In the notes EE., p. 373, this is explained as *ruralis* as opposed to the *decanus capituli*.

<sup>1085</sup>1095<sub>1139</sub> FROM WILLIBALD PIRCKHEIMER.

Nuremberg MS. PP. 33 (a).

Nuremberg.

EAE. f<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>2</sup> (β<sup>1</sup>): EEV. p. 149 (β<sup>2</sup>).

30 April (1520).

F. p. 478: HN: Lond. xii. 12: LB. 561 and 504.

[There are two texts of this letter; one in Pirckheimer's autograph rough-draft, preserved in the Town Library at Nuremberg (a), the other printed in the Appendix to EAE (β<sup>1</sup>) and then in EEV (β<sup>2</sup>) from the letter actually sent and received, and subsequently reprinted in F and later editions. The relation of these clearly is that a is prior in composition to β<sup>1</sup> and β<sup>2</sup> (= β); but as these represent the actual letter dispatched, that is to say the text finally adopted by Pirckheimer, they must have precedence of a. Accordingly I have taken β<sup>1</sup> for the text here, and have placed the variants of a in the notes: not, however, reproducing divergences of spelling or order. The variants recorded are quite sufficient to illustrate Pirckheimer's practice, at any rate in his rough-drafts, of writing many words with single instead of double consonants. It may be noted that some of the vigorous expressions of a are toned down in β. The text of a was first printed by Goldast in P. p. 402, not very accurately; and from this source Leclerc reprinted it as LB. 561, with a note that its substance is the same as LB. 504 (based on β). For F it might have been expected that β<sup>2</sup>, as a Froben volume, would serve as the original: but seemingly not, for when β<sup>1</sup> and β<sup>2</sup> vary, F almost always follows β<sup>1</sup> (cf. Ep. 1109).

The year-date can be assigned from the appearance of Lee's *Annotationes* (Ep. 1037) (c. Feb. 1520), which Pirckheimer has seen; and from the inclusion of the letter in EEV, Aug. 1520.

A point of interest is that in a Pirckheimer has written hastily against the heading—evidently a remark that suggested itself, to be added—the words: 'Guilielmus Nesenus tibi Lei scripta misit'. The Bodleian possesses a volume (Mar. 869) containing Lee's *Annotationes*, Paris, Gourmont, (c. Feb. 1520), and Erasmus' *Apologia qua respondet*, Antwerp, M. Hillen, (c. March) 1520 (Ep. 1037 introd.), and, bound between them, Erasmus' first *Responsio*, ibid., April 1520: the binding being perhaps contemporary. On the title-page of Lee's book are two autograph inscriptions by Resch and Nesen: at the foot 'Ex dono Conradi Resch. Ad Guilelmum Nesenum', with the second clause subsequently erased; and at the top 'Nesenus clarissimo Bilibaldo'. On the title-page of the *Apologia qua respondet* is written in Nesen's hand 'Doctissimo Bilibaldo Pyrchem(ero) Nesenus(s)', in two lines with the ends shorn off in binding. It seems clear that this is the volume of which Pirckheimer was thinking. If so, *tibi* in his note must be interpreted as the Ethic Dative.]

EPI. CLARIS. VIRI BILIBALDI PERCKHEYMERI, SENATORIS  
NOREMBERGENSIS.

S. P. SVVM officium facit affinis iste meus, Erasme amicissime, quod te colit ac subinde meo nomine salutatur: probe enim nouit qua te prosequar beneuolentia. Poterimus eius opera in mittendis litteris vti, quae nescio quo fato aut tardissime redduntur aut etiam penitus  
5 intercidunt. Diu enim nullas abs te accepi, quamuis ipse aliquoties scripserim, et nisi ex Epistolarum tuarum Farragine te mihi

TIT. β (PERCKHEYMERI F. β<sup>1</sup> F: NOREMBERGENSIS β<sup>2</sup>): ERASMO a, vbi secunda manus BILIBALDVS addidit: BILIBALDVS PERCKHEMERVS ERASMO ROT. S. D. H (PERCKHEMERVS N<sup>13</sup>: PIRCKHEMERVS N<sup>2</sup>). 1. S. . . . 2. salutatur β (1. S. P. β<sup>1</sup> F: Salutem P. β<sup>2</sup>: om. H): S. Recte fecit necessarius ille meus quod te Antwerpiae conuenit et meo nomine salutauit a. qua β: quanta a. 3. eius β: et eius a. 4. redduntur aut etiam β: consignatur aut a. 5. abs β: a a. ipse add. β. β: aliquociens a. 6. mihi β: meis a.

6. Farragine] containing Ep. 856.

respondisse deprehendissem, ne nunc quidem id scirem. Quam vero fideliter et meae tibi redditae fuerint, vel Alamiri nostri diligentia satis declarat. Caeterum insulsissimam inuectivam Eduardi Lei legi, imo verius vidi: quis enim sustineat legere librum tam sine mente, 10 sine fronte, sine litteris, sine omni dote humana? Legi et tuam Apologiam, quae tamen pollicetur responsionem ad illius Annotationes.

Scire cupis quid sentiam? Vellem omnino tacuisses, aut ita homini vt dignus erat respondisses. Sed periculum erat ne silentio obiecta videreris agnoscere? Quasi vero optimus ac doctissimus quisque non 15 confestim intellecturus fuerit, cuncta quae ille furiosus et impotens sui euomuit, meras esse sycophantias et impudentissima mendacia. Habet suam faciem veritas. Et iste rabiosulus adeo apud se non est vt ipse frequenter prodat seipsum. De improbis vero et mendicis nulla tibi debebat esse cura. Quanquam qui inter hos sunt paulo 20 minus stolidi, sentiunt ac damnant hominis prodigiosam arrogantiam, incitiam ac virulentiam: quam execrantur etiam ii qui tibi parum bene volunt, et indignantur propugnatori laeue magis quam Leo, qui causam suam tam infelicitate egerit vt satius fuerit quieuisse. Vtinam igitur posteaquam tibi non esse silendum censueras, eumentitae et 25 fictae modestiae immodestissime respondisses, et cuncta rhetorices spicula contra tam purulenta ac tartareo veneno tincta conuicia scelerati capitis distrinxisses!

Sed volebas modestiae memor esse, nec malum pro malo reddere: sanum profecto propositum et a nemine bono non laudandum. 30 Verum si ita perpetuo feceris, quid tibi ab emulis expectandum sit cogita, si viderint cuius audaci ac stolido impune esse Erasmo maledicere et capiti tuo illudere. Quare te per tuam gloriam ac per nostram amicitiam obtestor, ne posthac quemuis rabulam responsione tua dignum censeas; aut si omnino respondendum duxisti, non per 35 teipsum sed per coquum quempiam aut stabularium respondeas. Agnosce teipsum, qui maior es quam vt cum talibus in eam palestram descendas: ex qua victor etiam nil nisi ignominiam referre possis. Quod ni ita feceris, sycophantarum turba tandem obruere necesse est.

8. vel  $\beta$ : plane  $\alpha$ . 9. satis declarat  $\beta$ : ostendit  $\alpha$ . insulsissimam . . .  
 12. annotationes  $\beta$ : inuectivam Angli illius nec non responsionem tuam legi  $\alpha$ .  
 13. Vellem  $\beta$ : Vellem vt  $\alpha$ . 14. silentio  $\beta$ : silendo  $\alpha$ . 15. videreris  
 agnoscere  $\beta$ : agnosceres  $\alpha$ . vero *add.*  $\beta$ . 16. intellecturus fuerit  $\beta$ : intel-  
 ligeret  $\alpha$ . quae . . . 17. euomuit  $\beta$ : hec  $\alpha$ . 18. Habet . . . 19. seipsum  
*add.*  $\beta$ . mendicis  $\beta$ : ineruditus  $\alpha$ . 20. tibi debebat esse  $\beta$ : habenda erat  
 $\alpha$ . Quanquam . . . 24. quieuisse *add.*  $\beta$  (22. ii  $\beta^1 F$ : hii  $\beta^2$ ). 25. postea-  
 quam  $\beta$ : cum  $\alpha$ . non esse  $\beta$ : haud  $\alpha$ . censueras  $\beta$ : censebas  $\alpha$ . 26. et  
 $\beta$ : ac  $\alpha$ . 27. purulenta  $\beta$ : foeda  $\alpha$ . tartareo veneno tincta  $\beta$ : teterrima  
 $\alpha$ . 28. scelerati capitis *add.*  $\beta$ . 29. volebas modestiae  $\beta$ : voluisti tui  
 $\alpha$ . 30. profecto propositum  $\beta$ : equidem consilium  $\alpha$ . 31. perpetuo feceris  
 $\beta$ : facere perges  $\alpha$ . 32. si viderint . . . Erasmo  $\beta$ : cum impudentissimo  
 cuique impune tibi  $\alpha$ . 33. licebit *post* illudere  $\alpha$ : *om.*  $\beta$ . Quare . . . 34.  
 rabulam  $\beta$  (33. ac  $\beta^1 F$ : &  $\beta^2$ ): To igitur hortor ac ob amicitiam nostram obtestor  
 ne dehinc vnumquemque nebulonem  $\alpha$ . 35. duxisti  $\beta$ : videatur  $\alpha$ . 36.  
 teipsum . . . quempiam  $\beta$ : te sed coquum quendam  $\alpha$ . respondeas . . . 37. es  
 $\beta$ : id fiat. Maior tu es (etiamsi illi molestissime laudes tuas ferant)  $\alpha$ . 39.  
 Quod  $\beta$ : Etenim  $\alpha$ .  $\beta$ : sycophantarum  $\alpha$ .  $\beta$ : obruaris  $\alpha$ . est  $\beta$ : erit  $\alpha$ .

7. respondisse] to Ep. 747.

8. Alamiri] Cf. Epp. 711. 16n, 1001.

9. inuectivam] See Ep. 1037 introd.

11. Apologiam] *qua respondet*: see

p. 110. The promise of a further reply, to Lee's notes, occurs at the end, ff. G<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, G<sup>4</sup> (Jortin ii. 527).

23. laeue] Cf. Ep. 1084. 48n.

40 Nunquam enim quiescunt isti, sed assidue contra optimum ac  
doctissimum quenque necnon veritatem ipsam debacchantur. Nec  
mirum: quo pacto enim benedicerent, qui nil nisi maledicere  
didicerunt? Quorum animus, ingenium, mores eiusmodi sunt vt  
longe praestet ab illis vituperari quam laudari, maleque quam bene  
45 audire.

Caeterum cum sint infantes ipsi, vt animi veneno desit oratio,  
cum sint inertes, vt nolint interim abesse a suis voluptatibus,  
postremo cum metuunt ne minus colligant caseorum, indies accre-  
scente aduersus eos orbis odio, non mirum si querunt talem histrio-  
50 nem qualis est Leus, qui personatus et instructus alienam agat  
fabulam, et infamem gloriam praemii loco ferat. Hunc oportet nec  
frontis habere quicquam nec cordis, sed tantum linguam effrenem ac  
meretriciam procacitatem. Quo quidem in genere Leus iste vincit  
omnes quotquot antehac prodierunt in proscenium, quos tamen  
55 aliquot spectauimus insigniter impudentes. Quis enim non intelligit  
a quibus consutus sit iste calceus? Sed Leus induit, acturus pro  
multis fabulam, hoc est orbi exhibiturus teterrimum monstrum ex  
insecitia, arrogantia, vanitate, virulentia impudentiaque conflatum: in  
summa, tale quale depinxisti in libello quo respondes Latomi dialogis,  
60 mira quidem breuitate, sed vt nihil fieri possit absolutius. Quencun-  
que contemplabaris animo cum illa scriberes, certe tua descriptio  
aptissime congruit cum imagine operis Leici. Et in hoc vno visus  
est mihi aliquid humanae mentis habere, quod agnouit imaginem  
suam. Scio te non imperitum esse pictorem. Sed nemo poterat  
65 Leum exprimere rectius quam expressit seipsum. Totus ille sibi  
placuit et se totum expressit. Quod si tu praedicasses hominem ad  
insaniam vsque gloriosum, vsque adeo sibi placentem vt miretur non  
verti in rosam quicquid calcauerit, se vnum admirantem, sibi  
pulchrum, sibi doctum, sibi sanctum, cum nulla omnino re bona sit  
70 praeditus, nec quicquam habeat in pectore praeter venena,—quan-  
quam verissima dixisses, tamen fortassis non omnes erant tibi  
credituri. Nunc ipse Leus se talem expressit.

Ego, mi Erasme, plurimum fido tuae simplici probitati. Vix  
tamen eram crediturus tantum stultitiae, tantum arrogantiae, tantum  
75 fuci, tantum stoliditatis, tantum maliciae esse in vilo pectore humano:  
si tamen iste Leus homo dicendus est, ac non potius teterrima belua.

40. Nunquam . . . isti  $\beta$ : Tot enim ac tales sunt ἀλόστορες illi vt nec vnquam  
quiescere valeant  $\alpha$ . assidue  $\beta$ : semper  $\alpha$ . ac doctissimum *add.*  $\beta$ . 41.  
necnon  $\beta$ : ac  $\alpha$ . Nec mirum . . . 44. praestet  $\beta$ : Quapropter longe praestat  
 $\alpha$ . maleque  $\beta$ : ac male  $\alpha$ . 46. Caeterum . . . 84. Capnionem  $\beta$  (76.  
est  $\beta^1 F$ : *om.*  $\beta^2$ ): ad tacendum sint impotes, ad loquendum vero penitus inepti.  
Quid mirum igitur si tandem hominem iuxta cordis sui desiderium inuenerunt,  
qui perditam eorum improbitatem ac detestandam loquacitatem teterrima nuga-  
rum coluione ac nephando verborum lenocinio fucaret? Quis enim tam in-  
sulssus esset ac hebes qui non cerneret venerandos Magistros nostros calceum  
hunc consuisse, probum vero illum virum induisse? vnde non imerito maiori  
excandescit indignatione cum egregios illos Magistros aliquantisper durius tractas  
quam cum Scripturam sanctam (vt illi volunt) perueritis. Et hoc facit caritas  
illa non ficta que sub religionis et modestiae praetextu etiam lenonibus turpiora  
audet. Et tu obiter miraris inueniri qui insanienti 'Euge' illud accinant? cum

48. caseorum] Cf. Ep. 877. 23.

1061. 504n.

59. depinxisti] See Epp. 993. 32n,

68. in rosam] Cf. Pers. 2. 38.

Si quisquam fuisset nequior, si quisquam insanior, hunc sibi delegissent huius provinciae, quam iam pridem agunt, proconsulem. Neque enim nouum est quod agunt. Vetus hoc istis studium est, insignium virorum famam contemnerare, et optima conantibus obsistere. Nam vt vetustiora praetereamus, quae pars orbis ignorat quam peruersis, quam sycophanticis, quam sceleratis machinationibus vexauerint inclytum et optime de Germania, optime de litteris meritum Capnionem? vt interim sileam spurcissima conuicia, quae in eximium illum ac vere generosum Nouae Aquilae Comitem, quae in nobilem Huttenum, denique in me et omnes Capnionis amicos euomuerunt. Quid non moliti sunt in optimum Iacobum Fabrum? Nam quae aduersus Lutherum iampridem machinantur forsitan tacere praestat; ne me quoque, quod iam diu egere, sub amicitiae illius praetextu in ius rapiant, ac de crimine haeresis causam dicere cogant. Verum illud nullus ignorat, eo temeritatis illos progressos esse vt et Pontifici summo, ad quem praecipue huiusce rei cognitio spectat, negocium hoc, quod eum tum in manibus habere sciebant, extorserint, et priusquam ille sententiam tulisset, haereseos condemnauerint autorem.

Caeterum per Gratias, quid aliud tot sycophantiis, probris ac conuiciis effecere quam quod suam stoliditatem parem maliciae traduxere, seque Deo pariter ac hominibus reddidere inuisos? Siquidem eo res illorum culpa deducta est, vt iam nihil magis placeat bonis omnibus, quam quod istis maxime displicet, isque optimus esse videatur de quo ipsi pessime sentiant. Macte igitur virtute, qui dignus sis visus quem impurissimi sycophantae per sceleratissimum histrionem Leum virulentis suis maledictis incesserent. Haud enim maiori laude extolli poteris quam vt talium ornareris vituperiis, nec vnquam bonis et eruditis placeres, nisi Leo Leique similibus indoctis hypocritis

ego maiori admiratione ducerer ni multos sui similes ac eiusdem farinae reperi-  
ret. Nam per mortalem Deum, cui bono nebulones isti vnquam pepercerunt?  
et vt vetustiora praetereamus, quis ignorat quam peruersis technis et sceleratis  
machinationibus optimo et doctissimo Capnioni illuserint? a.

84. spurcissima β: probra et a. 85. eximium illum ac vere add. β. que in nobilem  
add. β. 86. denique in add. β. 87. euomuerunt β: eructauerint a.  
Quid non . . . 89. egere β: Quinimo inuidia exagitati nec a sui ordinis abstineant  
hominibus. Nam praeter cetera quid intentatum reliquere vt diuam Mariam  
Magdalenen assertori suo Fabro eriperent et cum turpissimis scortis in olidum  
lupanar detruderent? cum tamen potius deceret in re tam dubia eam sequi opi-  
nionem que ad pietatem accederet propius. Quae vero contra Lutherum ausi  
sunt, forsitan tacere praestat, ne nos quoque a. 91. Verum illud nullus β  
(illud β: id N): id enim iam pridem machinati sunt. Verum hoc nemo a.  
93. negocium hoc quod β: causam quam a. 94. tulisset β: tulerit a. hae-  
reseos β: de heresi a. aβ<sup>2</sup>: condemnauerunt β<sup>1</sup>. 96. gratias β: mortalem  
Deum a. ac β: et a. 97. suam stoliditatem parem maliciae β: semet  
ipsos a. 98. seque β: et a. inuisos β: odiosos a. 99. iam nihil . . .  
100. isque β: non solum vulgo preclarum theologiae vocabulum ludibrio  
habeatur, sed et theologi ipsi (de personatis loquor) quibusuis scurris et nebu-  
lonibus improbiore censeantur, ac is a. 101. sentiunt H. sis . . . 103.  
incesserent β: visus es in quem impurissimi hallucinatores spurcissima sua  
effutirent maledicta a. 104. extolli β: affici a. vt talium ornareris  
vituperiis β: tan scelestis vituperari a. 105. Leo . . . 106. displiceres β:  
tam indoctis et pessimis his displiceres hypocritis: qui et optimum Capnionem

85. Nouae Aquilae] Cf. Epp. 877. 21-  
2, 889. 42-3.

87. Fabrum] Cf. Ep. 1030. 4-6.  
90. haeresis] Cf. Ep. 1182. 4n.



displceres. Ne quid igitur, Erasme, commouearis, si inuidi et vere miseri homines seipsos torqueant, et suo fungantur officio, idque faciant quod nunquam non faciunt. Talia enim verae virtutis tibi iacta sunt fundamenta, talem probitatis et eruditionis consequutus es  
 110 existimationem, vt eam nullus liuor, quamuis edax, valeat abolere. Tantos denique ac tales vndique tibi conciliasti amicos, vt etiani tacente te defendere et a sceleratorum rabularum iniuriis et contumeliis vindicare possint et audeant.

Sed te laudare desinam, ne Leus rumpatur inuidia; cui precor  
 115 lentum ac longum exitium, quo dignissimus est: si tamen prius commemoraro a quo crimine te nuper defenderim. Conueneramus plerique, ac inter caetera de te sermo incidit. Cumque nonnulli te tuaque summis extulissent laudibus, sanctissimus quidam qui tum forte aderat, ex mendicorum genere theologus, laudes tuas admodum  
 120 moleste ferebat, ac subinde concutiens caput nescio quid secum cornicabatur. Id sentiens, rogo nunquid esset quod in te minus probaret. At ille vultu ad grauitatem composito, multa esse respondit quae quis merito in te reprehenderet. Cum adigi non posset vt vnum proferret, tandem importunitate mea subactus 'Tametsi decreueram' inquit 'silere, tamen quando me vrges, ne quis me putet  
 125 inuidia stimulatam dixisse quod dixi, Erasmus ille vester et quem tantis effertis preconis, libenter comedit gallinas: idque non aliorum relatu, sed cum hominem Basileae cognouissem, duobus hisce oculis conspexi'. Tum ego, 'Furtiuasne an emptas?' 'Emptas' ait ille.  
 130 'Longe' inquam 'perniciosior est vulpecula illa scelestissima quae mihi quotidie e corte gallinas rapit, nec vnquam persoluit precium'. Rogabam num vesci gallinis poneret inter flagitia. 'Maxime' inquit;

longe magis virulentis ornarunt conuiciis quam si eum vel ad coelum vsque contumeliosissimis suis extulissent laudibus a. 106. quid add. β. com-  
 mouearis β: optine, mouearis a. 107. idque... 108. enim β: quodque  
 semper facere consueuerunt, assidue faciant. Nam talia a. 109. vt illa nec  
 liuor ipse euertere queat post fundamenta a: om. β. 110. nullus... edax β:  
 nec omne aeuum a. 111. conciliasti β: peperisti a. vt a F: tot β.  
 112. β: tacentem a. 114. Sed te... 117. nonnulli β (116. β<sup>1</sup> F: commemoro  
 β<sup>2</sup>): Quemadmodum nuper a me factum memini. Cum enim in multorum  
 doctissimorum conuentu tui mentio incidisset, ac plerique a. 118. tum aβ<sup>2</sup>:  
 om. β<sup>1</sup> F. 119. forte... 120. caput β: aderat theologus ex mendicorum et  
 eo ordine qui vulgo perdocti habentur, sibi ipsis vero nil videntur ignorare, ad-  
 modum moleste has laudes ferebat ac quassato capite a. 121. cornicabatur  
 β: submurmurabat a. Id sentiens rogo β: Tum ego quesui a. 122.  
 grauitatem β: seueritatem a. 123. in te add. β. Cum... 124. proferret β:  
 inter caetera vero pessimo et haud ferendo flagitio te esse obnoxium. Cumque  
 ego vehementius instarem vt tam horrendum scelus elicerem, ille vero perti-  
 naciter negasset, forsitan vt detractoris culpam euitaret, a. 125. decreue-  
 ram... 126. dixi β (125. inquit add. β<sup>2</sup>: 'silere' inquit F): tacere' inquit 'ac  
 tam imane facinus occultare constitueram, cum tamen ita me vrges, haud vltra  
 silere sed veritatem dicere compellor a. 126. ille... 127. preconis add. β.  
 128. didici post relatu a: om. β. duobus hisce oculis β: gemino hoc obtutu a.  
 129. 'Furtiuasne... 130. perniciosior β: 'Suffuratusne aut coemptas?' At ille  
 'Emptas' ait. 'Longe igitur' inquam 'deterior a. 131. e corte β: ex  
 villa a. 132. Rogabam... 135. omni β: Sed ad hoc responde, obsecro, Num  
 inter peccata censetur galinis vesci? Et ille: 'Maxime cum a deuotis fit homi-

118. quidam] I cannot identify. He  
 had met Erasmus at Basle (l. 128).

121. cornicabatur] Cf. Pers. 5. 12.

127. comedit gallinas] For this, as an  
 example of rich living, cf. Eov. i. 44:  
 'cum multis gallinis et bonis rebus'.



'nam est gulae viciū, et eo grauius cum assidue et deuotis committitur'. Adieci, 'Forsitan diebus quibus fas non est'. 'Non', inquit, 'sed nos sacros viros ab omni epularum lauticia abstinere 135 decet'. 'Atqui, bone Pater, ni fallor', inquam 'haud farre aut hordeo tantum saginasti aqualiculum'—nam obesior erat—; 'et si gallinae quibus ventrem farsisti, adhuc pipare possent, vel exercitus ac tubarum strepitum vincerent'. Vide quam strennue impiam ac nefariam defenderim *ὀρνιθοφαγίαν*. 140

Sed tu me forsitan nugās agere existimas: ego tibi etiam per sanctam hypocrisim me vera scribere paratus sum deierare. Sed ne cuncta tua laudare videar, habes quae et ego non iniuria reprehendam: nempe quod Leo tam diuino viro fueris impedimento quominus semestri tempore, somniando seu potius pastoris illius instar bibendo, 145 litteras Hebraeas et Graecas omnes deuorarit. O felicem Ecclesiam, si illi suum dulce ocium reliquisses! Nunc, opinor, habet quod agat in extremam vsque senectam. Sed oportet nos esse fauentes homini, quibus nonnihil laudis alicubi visus est aspergere. Quod nisi agnouerimus, vereor ne nos omnes appellet mortalium omnium 150 ingratisimos. Quare nostrum erit quotannis Leico nomini aliquo panegyrico gratificari, donec fateatur officium hoc esse satis abunde repositum.

Quod in superiorem Germaniam te venturum esse significas, multis de causis probo consilium. Nam praeter quam quod hic minus 155 a talibus vespis, qualis est Leus, infestari poteris, non sine ingenti animi oblectatione conspicias quales quantosque vndique tibi conciliaueris amicos. Inuitarem te vt primum ad nos accederes; nisi hic pestis recrudesceret, egoque fugam circumspectarem. Sed breui desituram spero; nam summa diligentia occurritur malo. Sub Caroli 160 Regis aduentum te expectamus—interim lues grassari desinet—: ex veteri enim instituto primus noui Regis conuentus hic celebrari

nibus, idque assidue'. 'Forsitan diebus prohibitis' intuli. 'Imo et concessis' respondit. 'Sacrum enim virum ab tanta a. 136. haud . . . 137. saginasti β: nec farre nec ordeo talem sagnasti a. 138. adhuc add. β. vel exercitus ac β (β<sup>1</sup> F: exercitus β<sup>2</sup>): etiam timpanorum et a. 139. vincerent β: multitudinem sua exuperarent a. Vide . . . 140. *ὀρνιθοφαγίαν* β: Risere qui aderant quod tam strenue *ὀρνιθοφαγίαν* defendissem a. 141. ego β: Ego vero a. 142. delerare β: iurare a. Sed β: Caeterum a. 143. aut nimis tibi tribuere post laudare a: om. β. quae et ego β: etiam quae a. iniuria β: iniuste a. 144. Leo tam diuino β: tali a. 145. semestri . . . 154. Quod β: litteras Graecas et Hebraeas tantum non somniando aut pastoris illius instar bibendo hauserit ac Magistris nostris operam nauando, tametsi conuiciando longe melius pessimas horas collocauerit. Quod vero a. esse . . . 155. consilium β: polliceris laudo a. 155. hic . . . 156. poteris β: minus ibi a theologicis infestaberis vespis a. 158. primum add. β. 159. recrudesceret β: gliscere inciperet a. egoque . . . 160. desituram β: quam tamen breui deseuituram a. Nam . . . 162. enim β: ita vt cum serenissimo Rege nostro, quem indies expectamus, secure ad nos venire possis. Nam ex veteri Caesarum a. hic β: Nuremberge a.

145. pastoris] See *Adag.* 687, quoting Theocr. 9. 16-17.

149. alicubi] See Lee's *Annot.*, fo. cc<sup>2</sup>.

159. pestis] Nuremberg had been free of plague for some time (cf. SE. 213, p. 107): but it returned in 1521 (Ep. 1085. 2n).

161. aduentum] Cf. Ep. 1079. 9n. For the preparations made in Nuremberg for his reception see SE. 213, p. 103.

162. instituto] of Charles IV in the Golden Bull of 1356, cap. 28 § 5. Charles V on his election had promised to carry this out: cf. SE. 213, p. 107.

consequit. Ostendi Alamire aliqua nostra cubicula, quibus te accipiam, non inamoena: ipse regia esse dicebat. Quin et hoc polliceor, 165 vltra gallinas gallos gallinaceos, filios ac filias gallorum me abunde appositurum. Tu interim bene vale, Erasme amicissime. Etiam atque etiam memineris te longe feliciorem esse contumeliis invidiorum quam laudibus amicorum, quas nunquam tam aegre ferrent isti, nisi certo certius cognoscerent te eruditione ac probitate immortalitatem etiam viventem induisse. 170

Iterum vale Norenbergae prid. Calen. Maias.

Tuus Bilibaldus Pierckheymer.

Cum haec scripsissem, certior factus sum Oecolampadium nostrum .xxiii. Aprilis monachum esse factum, in monasterio Seruatoris 175 iuxta Augustam, ordinis S. Brigidae, in quo mulieres primas tenere consueuerunt. Vtinam sibi rectius consuluisset!

1093 1096. FROM THOMAS MORE.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 581.

<Greenwich ?>

HN: Lond. xv. 16: LB. 555.

<May init.> 1520.

[Besides the ordinary editions this letter is found in More's *Lucubrations*, Basle, 1563, p. 476 (see Ep. 1087): which contains also Epp. 388, 623, 684, 688, 706, 999, 1087, 1090, 1106. A collation of the variants in these shows that the text of the *Lucubrations* almost always agrees with that of N<sup>1</sup>. In consequence it may

163. Alamire  $\alpha$ , cf. Ep. 711. 16: Alamirae  $\beta^2$ : Alamiro F. aliqua nostra  $\beta$ : nostro  $\alpha$ . accipiam non inamoena  $\beta$ : excipiam luculenta  $\alpha$ . 164. esse add.  $\beta$ . 165. vltra . . . 166. appositurum  $\beta$ : non solum abunde galinas me tibi apositurum, sed et illarum sobolem, filios ac filias, necnon gallos galinaceos et de omni genere musico cuncta que manducari solent volatilia coeli  $\alpha$ . amicissime  $\beta$ : optime  $\alpha$ . Etiam atque etiam  $\beta$ : ac iterum  $\alpha$ . 167. longe feliciorem  $\beta$ : foelicem  $\alpha$ . 168. quam . . . isti  $\beta$ : qui nunquam laudes tuas tam moleste ferrent  $\alpha$ . 170. etiam  $\beta$ : et quidem  $\alpha$ . 171. Iterum . . . 176. consuluisset add.  $\beta$  (171.  $\beta^1$  F: Nurenbergae  $\beta^2$ . 172. Pierckheymerus  $\beta^2$ : Pierckheymer F. 174. .xxiii.  $\beta^1$  F: .23.  $\beta^2$ : vigesimotertio H. April. F).

173. Oecolampadium] The decision to retire from his preachship at Augsburg Cathedral to the quiet of Altomünster was made without consulting many of his friends; cf. Heumann p. 192 = HE. 159, and see also Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 140, BRE. 166. Capito, who mistrusted asceticism (ME. 73), and did his utmost to resist his friend's action, gives this account (Oec. E., f.<sup>o</sup> 4<sup>v</sup>): 'studiis suis et fidei libertatem ab illis stipulatus est: quod his verbis ante contestatus est, "Etiamsi sexcentis" inquit "iuramentis me obstrinxero, nequaquam ea seruare potero, si quando vtilis ministerio verbi futurus sum". Eam conditionem non reliciebant monachi, sed confirmabant, priuilegiumque suum monstrabant, quod ad concionandum exire possint, sicubi haereses pullulent'. Erasmus was only informed after the step was taken (cf. Epp. 1102, 1123. 12, 1139. 112-15);

but the letter is not extant.

174. .xxiii.] Some doubt is thrown on this date by a letter of Bern. Adelmann, dated Augsburg, 28 April, and stating that Oecolampadius had entered the monastery *pridie*: Heumann p. 192.

monasterio] Altomünster, between Augsburg and Freising; belonging to the reformed Augustinian order founded by St. Bridget of Sweden († 1373). Their houses were joint, for men, at first under a prior, and women under an abbess, the latter having the superior rank: but before long the prior was reduced to a confessor, and the women predominated. Oecolampadius (see his life by J. J. Herzog, i, p. 139) describes the men as relieved from any necessity of contact with the world. For the Brigittine houses in Bavaria see a monograph by G. Binder in *Verhandlungen d. hist. Vereins der Oberpfalz und Regensburg*, xlviii, 1896.

be inferred that the variants which occur in Ep. 1090. 9, *Leo sancte se*, and in this letter, 72, *producat in iudicium*; 166, *literarum gratia vel tua* (cf. Ep. 706. 33,4 : printed on p. 466 of the *Lucubrationes*); 190, *Caleum*, are merely fortuitous and do not represent a fresh examination of the original manuscripts : and further that the dates 'Grenuici, mense Maio', which are added in the *Lucubrationes* before the year-date here, are purely conjectural, the month-date being easily assigned from Ep. 1093.]

THOMAS MORVS ERASMO, VIRO OPTIMO ATQVE DOCTISSIMO, S. D.

ANTIMORVS, mi Erasme, Brixii iam diu Londini fuerat priusquam tuae ad me literae peruenirent. Mirabar aliquantulum, quam rem tam valde velles, cur de ea tam sero scriberes: nisi aut Antimorus forte serius aliquanto peruenit isthuc; aut ideo fuisti segnior, quod donec acceperis me libellum parare contra, putasti fore vt eius 5 librum, vtpote auctori potius quam mihi noxium. neque plane dignum cui responderetur, mea sponte contemnerem. Id quod ego profecto, mi Erasme, fecissem, nisi amici quidam et doctissimi simul et prudentissimi suasissent aliter; quibus Brixius etsi magis irrisus est quam inuisus, tamen haudquaquam ita charus erat quam est, vt 10 video, tibi.

Nam ego iam ferme biennium, quum audiuissem eum moliri talia, atque in animo haberem ad eum ipse scribere, idque quam potuissem amantissime, simulque ea consulere quae magis aliquanto in rem ipsius fecisse fuerat, quam quae nunc intemperanter fecit; intellexi 15 interea nunciis e Lutecia certissimis adeo hominem in abruptum ferri suis affectibus, vt nullis amicorum suasibus potuerit cohiberi, non Beraldi, non Lascaris, non Budaei (vides qualium virorum) consiliis retrahi: non Deloini demum, viri tanti, non reuerendissimi Cardinalis, qui nuper illic obiit, auctoritate commoueri. Sic inta- 20 bescebat vlciscendi libidine et, tanquam Narcissus, amore quodam suorum ipse versuum deperibat misere: quos tamen quotidie novos velut e cunis exceptam sobolem in mensam nunc Deloini, nunc Cardinalis circumferebat exosculans; nec semper inde laetus referebat domum, quum a viris doctis et grauibz audiret interdum talia qualia, 25 si sapuisset, ipse dixisset sibi. Quorum mihi multa cum alii scripserunt illinc, tum Ioannes quidam, natione Graecus, homo Latina lingua iuxta doctus ac sua, probis moribus et indubitatae fidei, plurima retulit coram: quibus quum sentirem Brixium impotentius abripi quam vt attractari pateretur, mutavi consilium, atque a 30 scribendi voluntate destiti.

Simul cogitabam, etsi hactenus indulgeret animo, ne penitus vellet tacere, tamen quoniam in eam rem tam multum studii, tam multum impendebat temporis, in quo non erat absimile veri primum illum animi calorem ac velut impetum quendam, qui subitis rebus imponit, 35 spacio et mora deferuere, iocis eum lusurum ac salibus; a iurgiis vero, conuiciis et calumniis omnino temperaturum sibi, ne merito iudicaretur importune maledicus, si acerbius in pace laederet quam

12. biennium] The *Antimorus* had been long projected; cf. Ep. 620. 28 seq.

17. amicorum] Cf. Ep. 1087. 437n.

20. Cardinalis] See Ep. 1087. 439n.

27. Ioannes] Of this Greek who came from France to England and visited More, I can find no other trace. Hardly Lascaris (l. 18); though he was intimate with Brixius.

laesus esset in bello. Tum quoniam ante annos septem Chordigeram  
 40 eius legeram, quae tametsi multis et inuentionis, oeconomiae et  
 sermonis viciis abundabat, prae se ferebat tamen specimen eius  
 ingenii, quod annis posset (quos nunc accessisse videbam) aliquando  
 maturescere; sperabam eum doctum aliquid atque excussum aeditu-  
 rum, quod me quoque in quem adebatur, oblectaret; quem iocus  
 45 aliquanto liberior non admodum solet offendere.

At ubi prodiit praeclarus iste Brixii partus Antimorus, Morycho  
 plane moroteros, veneno quouis virulentior et indoctior ipsa Chordi-  
 gera, nihil aliud quam, vt par erat, irrisi, illud interea mecum ὑπο-  
 τονθορίζων, Χρυσὸν ζήτων εἶπον ἀνθρακας. Et hercle quemadmodum  
 50 Aetnae carbonēs exusserunt Empedoclem, ita carbonēs isti similem  
 captantem gloriam vstularunt Brixium ac reddiderunt carbone quouis  
 atriorem; eoque nec omnino quicquam respondere statueram. Verum  
 aliis aliter visum est, quorum ego iudiciis in meis rebus magis  
 fidebam quam meo. Hi quanquam faterentur neminem esse litera-  
 55 tum vsquam, cui non factura sint nauseam tam insulsa, tam virulenta  
 deliria, calumnias eius censebant, etsi perabsurdas atque ineptas, ad  
 haec nec obscuras, si quis attendat satis proram puppimque negotii,  
 non fore tamen satis liquidas multis, qui fortasse legerent eius Anti-  
 morum, quum neque Chordigerae neque meorum epigrammatum  
 60 facultas futura sit. Suaserunt igitur vt haec omnia in vnum librum  
 cogerem et lectoris pariter subiicerem oculis: tum vt meo scripto  
 negotium nonnihil illustrarem, sic vt legenti nihil requiratur amplius  
 nisi iudicium suum.

Vides, Erasme charissime, quid nos ad rescribendum compulit.  
 65 Quamobrem non necesse habeo tuis respondere rationibus; quando  
 nisi alio me perpulissent alii, fuerim ipse tibi semper δμόψηφος. At  
 quod tibi video persuasisse Brixium, negligentia tantum tabellarii  
 tui contigisse quo minus effeceris vt ille perpetuo presserit Anti-  
 morum suum, vehementer, mi Erasme, demiror id sic acceptum  
 70 tanquam probatum tibi. 'Quid ni credam?' inquis, 'quando  
 Beraldum atque Budaeum, vtrunque tam spectatae fidei testes,  
 producit in iudicium.' Producit, Erasme, non nego, fidei tantae  
 viros duos vt vtriuslibet fides in quantavis re facere fidem possit.  
 'Quid obstat' inquis, 'ergo quin quod ait Brixius, vicerit?' Hoc  
 75 vnum, mi Erasme, quod quum duos testes producat, vtrunque  
 producit auritum, oculatum vero neutrum, quum plus in iudiciis  
 valeat oculatus testis vnus quam auriti decem. Quid enim aliud  
 possunt testari Beraldus ac Budaeus quam sese ex ipso audiuisset  
 Brixio Antimorum illo aut illo die fuisse sub praelo? Hoc enim  
 80 significat Brixius, quum se dicit illis aeditionem Antimori indicasse  
 aliquot ante diebus quam tuam legisset epistolam. Ergo tu Beraldo  
 credes et Budaeo; sed cui interim credent illi? an non ipsi Brixio?

Videsne nunc, Erasme, speciosum istud testimonium,

'Quemne ego heri vidi ad vos adferri vesperi?'

58. tamen *F* *Corrig.*: tam *F*. 59. quum *N*: quam *F*. 60. facultas *FN*:  
 facilitas *F* *Corrig.* 84. vos *N*: nos *F*.

39. Chordigeram] Cf. Ep. 212. 11.  
 49. Χρυσὸν] Cf. *Adag.* 830.

72. producit] Ep. 1045. 26-30.  
 84. Quemne] Cf. *Ter. Andr.* 768-70.

vt exiret denique in suffarcinatam Cantharam? Vt illud omittam 85  
interim, quod nullos vnquam testes potest producere, non ante sibi  
lectam epistolam tuam quam vidisset excusam, quum potuerit ac-  
ceptam dissimulare, vt ista causa post apud te liceret vti integra.  
Praeterea quum Antimorus eius constet quaternionibus non plus  
octo, qui totidem diebus solent excudi, nec dimidium ex Brixii verbis 90  
colligitur peractum esse quum tuas literas legeret, in angustum sane  
compingit illos aliquot dies, quibus ait se Beraldo et Budaeo indi-  
casae aeditionem. 'At cur' inquis, 'fingeret istud Brixius?' Adeo  
tibi mirum videtur si vel animi causa fingat homo poeticus? Quan-  
quam suberat etiam causa cur fingeret. Nam quum vterque frequenter 95  
admonuisset ne tam ineptum libellum ac muliebriter iurgiosum  
aederet, volebat fortassis experiri an eodem animo accepturi forent  
quum fecisset, quo tam saepe consuissent ne faceret. Accidit enim  
nonnunquam vt quod ne fiat obsistimus acriter, dum res est integra,  
id vbi in eum locum venit vt non possit corrigi, patiamur, et vicium, 100  
quoad licet, verbis integramus.

At ego, mi Erasme, quo vere videre possis quanto verius Morus  
tibi paratus sit obtemperare quam Brixius, quanquam quum tuae ad  
me venirent literae, liber non quidem sub prelo esset, sed totus esset  
excusus (atque id docere possim non duobus auritis testibus qui ex 105  
me audierint, sed oculatis plusquam decem qui suis viderint oculis;  
imo testibus, opinor, oculis ipsius tuis, vtpote ad quem librum ante  
hanc epistolam peruenisse non dubitem); quanquam ad eius aedi-  
tionem tot amicorum consiliis vrgeret, tamen vbi tuas literas ac-  
cepissem, cuius vnus apud me sententia omnibus omnium calculis 110  
praeponderat, non sum imitatus Brixium: cui quum sit, vt scribit,  
crumena semper aere grauis, tamen tanti fecit monitionem tuam,  
cuius, vt ait, nutus obseruat, vt non sustinuerit tantillum sumptus  
impendere, quo libellos illos vniuersos coemeret atque in ignem  
semel coniiceret; vt tantas eius ineptias, nomen illud Brixii, cuius 115  
illustrandi desiderio nimis quam misere sitit, infamaturas, omnium  
subduceret oculis. Ego vero, mi Erasme, praeter eos duos, quorum  
alterum iam ad te miseram, alterum ad Petrum Aegidium, atque  
alios quinque quos vendiderat typographus (nam quum primum  
prostarent ac coepissent auide flagitari, tua commodum interuenit 120  
epistola) coemi vniuersos, eosque clausos adseruo, vt priusquam

89. non plus octo] There are nine sheets: A-I.

90. totidem diebus] An indication of the ordinary rate of printing at this time.

nec dimidium] This understates Ep. 1045. 26, 'magna ex parte'.

111. scribit] Ep. 1045. 119-20.

113. ait] Ep. 1045. 22-3.

119. typographus] Richard Pynson († c. Jan. 1530), a Norman, who in 1464 was a student at the University of Paris. After learning the art at Rouen, he settled in London c. 1490, and became one of the most famous of its early printers. In 1508 he was appointed Printer to the King, and thus

produced Henry VIII's *Assertio septem Sacramentorum* (Ep. 1227. 5n). His last known book is dated 18 June 1528. See E. G. Duff's *Century of the English Book Trade*, 1905, pp. 126, 7.

In 1513 he printed the first edition of one of Erasmus' translations from Plutarch (Ep. 268; cf. vol. iii, p. xxiv).

121. coemi] More's action is adequate to account for the rarity of his volume; for which see p. 217. There is a copy in the British Museum (714 b. 13). On 25 June Erasmus believed that More had made no public reply (Ep. 1117. 115-16); in August, after seeing it at Calais (Ep. 1184. 20-22), he was hoping to per-

aliquid innouetur ex me, possimus, imo possis potius ipse tecum, statuere quid a me velis fieri.

Quamobrem tute nunc, mi Erasme, etiam atque etiam dispice in  
 125 eius amici causa quid statuas, qui quicquid statuas obtemperare  
 constituit. Nam quod suades, ut quicquid in Brixium scripseram  
 omittatur, quum Epigrammata mea denuo continget excudi, atque ut  
 Antimorus Brixii vicissim non propagetur amplius: ego, mi Erasme,  
 quod ad Brixium pertinet, multis mihi videor coniecturis colligere,  
 130 magis tenerum eius in suos versus animum quam ut abduci patiatur  
 ab eo studio se, quo charissimae foeturae suae, quoad eius fieri potest,  
 procuret aeternitatem. Mea vero Epigrammata nunquam admodum  
 animo placuerunt meo, id quod et ipse mihi, Erasme, conscius es:  
 cui et quibusdam aliis nisi liber ille arrisisset amplius quam ad-  
 135 blanditus est mihi, nusquam fortassis extaret hodie. Nunc vide ut  
 rerum vices inuersae sunt. Si conditione cautum esset inter nos  
 ut ex epigrammatis meis tibi liceret quaecunque velles transfigere,  
 modo ne ius in pauca quaequam sit quae mihi liberet excipere, iam  
 quos in versus solos tu ex pacto ferrum stringeres, eos ego solos  
 140 exceptione defenderem. Adeo mihi coeperunt adblandiri, postquam  
 eos video multis commendari virulenta atque inepta versificatione  
 Brixii. Nec tamen istud dico quo minus tibi quiduis liceat in mea,  
 cui quiduis etiam licet in me.

Iam quod ais eum esse Brixium, quem si pernossem intimius, eum  
 145 sentirem talem quo nemo sit amore meo dignior: equidem, mi  
 Erasme, non ego me pro tanto viro gero ut tam tenui quenquam  
 conditione videam, quem indignum censeam amore meo, modo ne  
 sit improbus qui non amari debeat a quoquam; eoque Brixium facile  
 assentior non indignum esse qui maiorum sit amore virorum dignus  
 150 quam ipse sum. Nam omnino videtur aliquanto plus habere, non  
 dico superbiae, sed plane generosi cuiusdam spiritus et magnificentiae,  
 quam ut ad pusillam hanc atque humilem indolem meam possit  
 vsquequaue congruere, nisi in amicitia tam male copulari vellem

Quam male inaequales veniunt ad aratra iuueni.

155 Nec tamen eam, mi Erasme, te consulente recusem, qui me vel ad  
 parendum praestantioribus facile possum componere. Certe quod ad  
 eruditionem eius attinet, studiosum esse credo, et non omnino stu-  
 pidum, tum quem aliquando alium reddet vsus. Caeterum in his quae  
 aedidit hactenus, ut vere dicam, id quod etiam docere possum, neque  
 160 soloecismis caret neque numeris satisfecit, et ingenio frequenter  
 magis labitur quam ut puero concedi possit. Et tamen qualis qualis  
 est, non tanti memet facio ut me illi posse censeam eruditione  
 conferri, quum tu, mi Erasme, vel amore caecutiens, vel (quod verius  
 certe puto) quadam erga me ciuilitate, praeferas. Et ut ingenue  
 165 dicam, adeo illum non odi, ut postquam animo nunc defecatiore sum  
 factus, adamem etiam literarum gratia.

Verum in causa quid fieri velis, expende diligentius priusquam

122. aliquid *F*: aliud *N*.  
 qualis *N*<sup>13</sup>.

146. ego *om. H*.

161. qualis qualis *FN*<sup>2</sup>:

suade More to suppress it altogether  
 (Ep. 1131. 14-16).

134. liber ille] See Ep. 550 introd.  
 154. Quam male] Cf. *Ov. Her.* 9. 29.

imperes. Nam plane si non respondero, putabor multis huius ineptissimae rixae praeuisse causam, et nihil quicquam prouocatus, tamen probris, diris et execrationibus insectatus illum: quod non minus fuisset inhumanum, quam nunc falsum esse docui, si tu librum patieris exire. In quo quod secundo loco mones, vt si omnino decretum sit emittere, curandum mihi sit vt (quod haecenus me praestitisse dicis) eruditione tantum videar et causa Brixium, non etiam conuiciis vincere; ego, mi Erasme, vt eruditione contentus sim si Brixio compar sim, ita causa non dubito quin longe sim superior, quantumvis suam Brixius asserat bonam, facilem, vincibilem; quod principium ex arte solet adhiberi ad defendendam noxiam. Conuiciis profecto facile me vinci patiar, quo armorum genere nunquam pugnare statui. Et tamen fieri potest vt quod mihi mea facit iniuria nihil acerbum videri, idem alius cui non idem rei sensus est, iudicet esse mordaculum. Quod si fors acciderit vsipiam, non adeo reurebor aequitatem lectorum, quin et in me quoque, mi Erasme,—quantumcunque grauem personam tuus nobis imponat amor, qui magna de me fingit omnia; tamen dum adhuc inter mortales versor, nondum plane relatus in diuos, vt in re ridicula rideamus, non verebor, inquam, quin aliquid et in me condonaturus sit humanus lector humanis, quos hominum nemo prorsus excussit, affectibus. Vale, mi Erasme charissime.

Quum Caletium venerimus, quo Rex propediem adornabit iter, spero fore vt coram his de rebus commentemur plenius. Nam omnino in hoc Regum conuentu te expecto, atque ita Brixium: nam et Regina Gallorum aderit, cui cum sit a secretis Brixius, non poterit, opinor, abesse. Ita quod ad me attinet, facile rem compones ex sententia tua. Nam etsi nulla de causa sic egit in me vt plane declarauerit nihil ad meam perniciem praeter vires defuisse sibi; tamen quando tu, mi Erasme, plus es mihi quam dimidium mei, plus apud me valebit in Brixio quod sit amicus tuus quam quod inimicus meus. Iterum vale. M.D.XX.

## 1096] 1097. TO THOMAS MORE.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 544.  
HN: Lond. xiv. 16: LB. 505.

Antwerp.  
2 May 1520.

[Contemporary with Epp. 1098,9.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS THOMAE MORO SVO S. D.

Non ignorabam, optime More, consilium istud vestrum, quantumlibet incommodum mihi, ab animo amantissimo proficisci, atque ideo non potui non boni consulere: quanquam interim saedulo testatus sum vos Leo consulere, non mihi. Perspectum erat hominis ingenium,

1096. 187. aliquid FN<sup>2</sup>: aliud N<sup>13</sup>. 199. M.D.XX add. H.

1096. 190. Caletium] See p. 296. 14 Oct. 1499—20 July 1524.  
193. Regina] Claude of France, 1097. 4. Leo consulere] Cf. Ep. 973. 17.

5 huiusmodi tragoediis natum. Satis ardebat sua sponte, et tamen habebat qui quotidie oleum adderent camino. Ac saepe numero mecum admiratus sum vobis non itidem animaduersam Lei naturam, qui familiaris cum eo vixeritis. Nec vnquam eam pacem accepi, imo cum pacificus ille Pacaeus, optimo quidem animo sed consilio mihi  
 10 parum felici, reuersus e legatione Germanica conaretur nos in gratiam redigere, pertinacissime reclamaui, testificans eam pacem nullum alium fructum adferre nisi quem ego maxime fugerem: nec enim alia re magis offendi a Leo quam rumore libri aduersum me scripti, quem ille cum sine fine iactaret, nunquam tamen aederet, paucis  
 15 tantum iuratis communicans, quo sic me vocaret in inuidiam, vt interim nec me doceret quicquam nec ipse posset refelli.

Nec alia mea fuit oratio apud ipsum Leum quam fuerat apud Pacaeum. Sed quum perspicerem vobis concordi consilio sic esse decretum, malui non seruire meis commodis quam pugnare cum  
 20 animis vestris. Etenim quum nunc talis prodierit liber, vt iis etiam modis omnibus displiceat, qui hactenus illi fauebant, vt hoc organo in meam perniciem abuterentur: quos ludos nobis praeuisset sacer ille liber, qui per paucos iuratos amicos et crassos Abbatulos circumferebatur, nec ostendebatur nisi initiatis, quum hic in quo non ab  
 25 vno adiutus est, tot ineptiis scateat? Cuius rei si libet facere periculum, confer haec quae aedidit orbi, cum iis quae scripsit selectis amicis. Sed haec sera iam sunt.

Caeterum quod hortaris vt meminerim Christianae modestiae, sane memorem mones: etiam si non dubito futuros qui modestiam hanc  
 30 vel ignauiam vel formidinem vel aliud quiduis interpretentur. Iam dudum aggressus sum illi respondere. Exiit operis aliqua pars; ea, ni fallor, docebit me Leum magis vincere moderatione animi quam eruditione. Vt hic mundus mihi gratiam referat, nec anxie postulo nec admodum expecto. Verum admiror quorundam dementiam, qui  
 35 posthabitis rebus omnibus vnum illud deuotis animis agunt, vt quam minimum fructus e meis vigiliis ad studiosos perueniat. Atque hunc vitae suae fructum optimum esse ducunt, si commodis omnium obsistant. Bene vale cum tuis omnibus, vir immortalitate dignissime. Antuuerpiae postridie Cal. Maias. An. M.D.XX.

## 1098. TO HENRY VIII.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 501 (451).  
 HN: Lond. xiii. 1: LB. 531.

Antwerp.  
 (3 May) 1520.

[It is clear that in the date, *exaltatae* (14 Sept.) must be corrected to *inuentae* (3 May); for this letter is no doubt of the same epoch as Epp. 1097,9. This inference may be corroborated by the estimate of time in ll. 27-8, forty days

37. optimum F: opimum N.

10. reuersus] Cf. Ep. 1001. 53n.  
 20. iis] The Louvain theologians.  
 23. Abbatulos] See Epp. 1061. 150, 152nn, 1074. 60n.  
 31. aliqua pars] The *Apologia qua re-*

*spondet* and the first *Responsio*: see Ep. 1037 introd.  
 38. tuis omnibus] For letters written to Erasmus by More's 'school' about this time see Ep. 1233.



instead of fifty as in 1, p. 22. 21,2: though it is not safe to lay much stress on Erasmus' figures (cf. 1, p. 2. 26n), especially when, as here, he is writing of the same event at different times. The *libellus* (l. 24) may be identified with Erasmus' second reply to Lee, the first *Responsio*, which Hillen published in April 1520 (p. 110).]

ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVVS SERENISS. ANGLORVM REGI  
HENRICO S. D.

SERENISSIME Rex, cum non minima pars vitae ac felicitatis humanae sita sit in bonis litteris, quo magis impetuntur hoc tempore a stolidissimis quibusdam, hoc magis subleuandae sunt fauore praesidioque principum, erga quos non sunt ingratae futurae: praecipue vero fauendum iis studiis quae conducunt ad pietatem Christique Principis nostri gloriam. Hac in re vtinam animum maiestatis tuae caeteri quoque reges ac proceres imitarentur! quanquam sunt qui id faciant, et spero breui futuros complures tuae pietatis aemulos. Minimum esse fateor quod ego possum in literis. At tamen ita Christus sit mihi propicius vt ego quicquid adhuc scripsi aut scripturus sum, in illius gloriam et scripsi et scripturus sum. Certe hactenus industriam nostram probant optimi quique, et in his summus ipse Pontifex. Conspirarunt tamen aliquot, quibus nimium assuetis veteri vappae non placet nostrum mustum. Pauci sunt et stolidi, sed tamen deuotis animis coniurarunt, adeo vt vel periculo suae salutis cupiant extinctas bonas literas, quas dolent vbique tam feliciter reflorescere.

Ab his suspicor instigatum Eduardum Leum vt in nos debaccharetur. Cum ipsi non auderent prodire in proscenium, iuuenem gloriae cupidum et sibi placentem subornarunt, vt pro ipsis fabulam ageret. Qui vtinam aut aliter scripsisset aut Anglus non esset! Eduardo nihil debeo, sed tamen animo Christiano melius illi volo quam ipse vult sibi. Angliae debeo quantum non alteri nationi. Mitto celsitudini tuae libellum quo illi respondeo, sed absque conuiciis: quem si vacabit inspicere, videbit quam res ipsa Lei pollicitis non respondeat. Non redibit ad conuicia, si suo volet honori consultum. Argumentis non arbitrator vnquam responsurum. Ea in re perdidisti dies ferme quadraginta. Quod temporis vtinam collocare licuisset in opus aliquod quo vel tuam egregiam virtutem posteritati commendassem vel Christi gloriam pro mea virili illustrassem!

Precor vt Christus Opt. Max. generosos iuxta ac pios conatus maiestatis tuae suo fauore semper in maius meliusque prouehat; mihiq; tantum velit aetatis superesse vt aliquando liceat declarare quantopere sciam me debere benignitati tuae vere regiae: quae dignabitur Erasmus extremum clientulum suum solito fauore prosequi.

Antuuerpiae festo crucis + exaltatae. Anno M.D.XX.

21. vtinam aut N: aut vtinam F.

29. FLB: commendarem Lond.

## 1099. TO RICHARD FOXE.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 492.  
HN: Lond. xii. 20: LB. 506.

Louvain.  
5 May 1520.

[The dates are confirmed by the course of the controversy with Lee; cf. Ep. 1037 introd. Erasmus had now returned to Louvain after the printing of the first *Responsio*. For an earlier appeal to Foxe against Lee see Ep. 973.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS R. P. RICARDO, EPISCOPO  
VVINTONIENSI, S. D.

REVERENDE Praesul. Quod Eduardus Leus tam manifestis conuiciis debacchatus sit in famam meam, dici non potest quam displiceat probis omnibus. Nec enim tam mihi nocuit quam omnibus bonarum studiosis literarum, quorum vtilitati desudat hactenus nostrum ingenium. Tot amicorum literis, tot monitis meis non potuit deterri quo minus suae non minus quam meae famae maculam inureret. Exiit liber malis auibus; nonnullo detrimento nominis mei, sed multo maiore ipsius. Ad conuicia respondimus moderatius quam vellent quidam. Ad argumenta sic respondimus vt ille nunquam sit responsurus, sat scio, et tamen vbique tempero a conuiciis.

Nec his contentus Leus adornauit, vt aiunt, alterum libellum multo etiam virulentiorum, quem misit Lutetiam excudendum. Non audit amicorum sana consilia, nec vnquam finem facturum est nisi tua autoritate coherceatur. Atque vtinam id esset factum antequam hoc incendium erupisset! Subornauit Londini Cartusiensem quendam, opinor nomine Ioannem Batmanson, iuuenem, vt e scriptis

TTT. RICHARDO H.

16. F Corrig. : Londiniū F.

8. Ad conuicia] With the *Apologia* qua respondet.

9. Ad argumenta] With the first *Responsio*.

12. alterum libellum] If this rumour had any foundation, it may be conjectured that Lee suppressed his second book as a condition of the agreement indicated by Froben's joint volume (see p. 110).

17. Batmanson] In 1491-2 John Batmanson, M.A., was incorporated at Cambridge on his Oxford degree, and in March 1493 was admitted to incept in Civil Law. On 15 March 1495, being then LL.D., he was an arbitrator in a case between King's College and Trinity Hall: and in the same year he contracted a debt of 20s. 'pro scholis iuris ciuilibus' which the University had not yet recovered in 1523-4. In 1511-12 he was sent to London on University business (*Cambridge Grace-Book B*, ed. M. Bateson, 1903-5, pt. 1, pp. 36, 58, 72: pt. 2, pp. 2, 120).

On 16 March 1503 John Batemanson, LL.D., an advocate in the Court of Canterbury, was present as a formal witness at the election of Wm. Salyng (Ep. 624. 6n), Prior of Merton; see A. Heales, *Records of Merton Priory*, 1898, p. 312. In Sept. 1509 he was sent as a commissioner to Scotland to attest the oath of James IV, and was employed later on the Scottish marches (cf. Bodleian MS., Engl. misc. c. 33, no. 3) and in the suppression of piracy. He also gave assistance with the Lady Margaret's will. See Brewer i and ii. On 20 June 1517 he was present at St. Cross, by Winchester, when Foxe gave his statutes for Corpus Christi College, Oxford: Bodleian MS., Laud misc. 621, p. 130.

In 1523 John Batmanson († 16 Nov. 1531) was Prior of Hinton Charterhouse in Somerset; and in 1529 Prior of the London Carthusians. He is credited by Bale (*Index Britann. Script.*, ed. R. L. Poole and M. Bateson, 1902,

apparet, prorsus indoctum, sed ad insaniam vsque gloriosum. Quod si Leum ab his furiosis tumultibus compescuerit autoritas tua, non meis tantum studiis consulat, sed etiam Eduardi; qui nunc et suum 20 perdit ocium et meum. Bene vale.

Louanii .iii. Nonas Maias. An. m.d.xx.

#### 1100. TO THE READER.

Annotationes Leei, Basle, 1520, tit. vº.

<Louvain.>

<May 1520.>

[The preface to Froben's reprint of Lee's *Annotationes*, Basle, May 1520 (see p. 110); undertaken, evidently at Erasmus' request, to mark the settlement of the controversy. A letter of Erasmus to Froben announcing his approaching return (cf. Ep. 1078. 62n) had perhaps just arrived in Basle on 17 May 1520 (Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 140).]

ERASMVS CANDIDO LECTORI S. D.

QVONIAM multi desiderabant ea quae scripserat in nostras Annotationes Eduardus Leus, et codicum esset magna paucitas, curavi opus excudendum denuo, sicut ab ipso fuerat aeditum, nec addens nec detrahens quicquam praeter inuectiuas quibus opus Annotationum intercluserat; propterea quod arbitrarer illum iam poenitere tantae 5 petulantiae, certe sciebam etiam apud Anglos optimo ac doctissimo cuique summopere displicere. Idque feci eo libentius, quod, vt aliquantulum fructus redeat ex Annotationibus illius nostraque Responsione, e rixis illis nulla ventura sit vtilitas ad lectorem. Bene vale, lector.

10

#### 1101. TO ALBERT OF BRANDENBURG.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 511.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xiii. 22: LB. 508.

15 May 1520.

[The year-date is confirmed by Charles' return from Spain and the meeting of Henry and Francis at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.]

pp. 181,2) with commentaries on Scripture and homilies, and with having written (cf. Ep. 1113. 11) against Faber's *De tribus Magdalenis* (Ep. 766. 22n), Erasmus' Annotations on N.T., and Luther. See DNB.

If, as seems quite possible, these three persons were one and the same, Erasmus' suggestion of youth, here and in Ep. 1113. 9, was perhaps not a mistake but merely an attempt to annoy.

In dedicating to Henry VIII, 14 March 1532, the commentaries of Dionysius Rikel, the Carthusian, on the Evange-

lists, Cologne, P. Quentel, Sept. 1532, Th. Loer, vicar of the Carthusians at Cologne, bespeaks the King's favour for Batmanson: apparently having not yet heard of his death (cf. Ep. 1109. 29n). This was before the persecution of the London Carthusians; but 'from the commencement of the divorce cause they had espoused instinctively the Queen's side' (Froude, *Hist. of England*, ch. 9).

1100. 6. apud Anglos] Cf. Epp. 1026, 14, 1029. 10-11, 1068 introd., 1074. 67-73, 1089, 1103. 13-17.

ERASMVS ROT. R. P. ALBERTO CARD. MOGVNTINO.

SVBINDE motis alis isthuc aduolaturio, R. D. ac Princeps longe clarissime, sed semper aliquid oboritur quod hic me alliget. Expectatur indies Carolus noster. Adornatur sub Calend. Iunias congressus duorum regum, Galli et Angli, mirifico sane apparatu: 5 admoneor ne desim. Interim vmbra[m] Erasmi mitto; nam tuae celsitudinis effigies apud me est. Minimum igitur abfuerit quin totum habeas Erasmum. Potiorem imaginem mei, si quid tamen mei probum est, habes in libris expressam. Corporis effigiem insignis artifex expressit aere fusili. Etiam si quid adhuc superest Erasmi, id 10 totum sibi suo iure vindicare poterit tua R. D.; cui sum et semper futurus sum addictissimus, quaecunque corpusculum hoc habitura est regio. Eam florentissimam quam diutissime seruet Christ. Opt. Max. Louanii. Decimo octauo Calen. Iunias. An. M. D. XX.

## 1102. TO JOHN OECOLAMPADIUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 511.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xiii. 21: LB. 509.

15 May 1520.

[Answering a letter from Oecolampadius, which is not extant, announcing his entry into Altomünster; cf. Epp. 1095. 173-4n, 1103. 28n. The year-date is amply confirmed by the contents.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS IOANNI OECOLAMPADIO SVO S. D.

VTINAM tibi contingat quod expetis, optime Oecolampadi! Id si scirem, haberes me comitem; sed vereor ne te sequatur hoc taedium. Sic est vita mortalium, ab animo petenda est tranquillitas. Index in Hieronymum iam nimium nos torquet expectatus. Valetudini 5 tuae etiam nunc succurri potest, quando aetas est integra; mihi his laboribus immoriendum est: cui si fuisset vel paululum fortunae

1101. TIT. R. P. om. H. ALBERTO add. H. MAGVNTINO N. I. R. D. F: reuerende praesul H. 10. R. D. F: celsitudo H. 12. Eam F: Eandem H. 1102. TIT. SVO om. H. 5. tuae add. H. etiam nunc F: etiamnum H.

1101. 1. isthuc] in response to the invitation conveyed in Ep. 986. 32-4, 37-9. Cf. also Epp. 1102. 100, 1161. 119n.

3. Carolus] See Ep. 1079. 9n.

4. congressus] See Ep. 1106. 92n.

5. ne desim] For Erasmus' visit to Calais see p. 296.

vmbra[m] Cf. Ep. 1092. 2n.

6. effigies] Probably on a coin. For a similar case cf. Ep. 1001. 41n.

7. Potiorem imaginem] Cf. Epp. 871. 22-4, 875. 17-18, 953. 5-13, 981. 22; also 995. 12-17, 1033. 182-4. Grenzius (Ep. 1092. 2n) refers to Ov. M. 15. 875, 6.

1102. 2. comitem] In monastic retirement.

3. Index] in *tomos omnes operum diui*

*Hieronymi* (Ep. 396) *cum interpretatione nominum Graecorum et Hebraeorum per Ioan. Oecolampadium theologum in ordinem digestus*, Basle, Froben, May 1520; with a preface by Capito dated 18 April.

6. fortunae] For Erasmus' conception of himself as habitually unfortunate, cf. Epp. 232. 1, 237. 60, 240. 22-9, 248. 5-10, 281. 20, 296. 231-2, 388. 21, 412. 27-9, 421. 5-6, 423. 50, 451. 1-2, 455. 12, 483. 6, 505. 1, 551. 15-16, 552. 11, 632. 7-8, 865. 28, 891. 13-13, 893. 1-3, 1136. 19-20, 1178. 19-20, 1196. 438-9. Of his friends Batt (Ep. 80. 79n), Ammonius (Epp. 248. 17-20, 505. 1), More (Ep. 999. 190), and Budaeus (Ep. 421. 5), he had a very different view. See also Ep. 1060. 5n.

cum hoc animo coniunctum, non impune sic imponerent mundo isti nescio quid addam. Seditionem non amo. Caetera praestabo pro viribus.

Iam adessem in Germania; sed remoratur me Regum conuentus. 10 Expectatur indies Carolus. Rex Anglus et Gallus adornant colloquium in litore Caleti sub Calendas Iunias. Monet Cantuariensis vt adsim. Lutheri libri pene arserant in Britannia. Nec erat remedium. Attulit remedium amicus quidam humilis, sed in tempore vigilans. Non sum is qui possim iudicare de Lutheri scriptis. 15 Sed haec tyrannis mihi nullo pacto placet. Bene vale, charissime Oecolampadi.

Leo respondi tribus libellis intra menstruum fere tempus. Et obiter alia sunt acta. Nunc aggrediar, imo aggressus sum, Paraphrasim in duas Epistolas Petri; hoc malo quam rixari cum rabiosulis. 20 Taedet me horum Christianorum, imo Pharisaeorum: ego malim esse publicanus mihi displicens.

Louanii. Decimo octauo Calend. Iunias. Anno M.D.XX.

### 1103. TO JOHN BOTZHEIM.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 499.

HN: Lond. xii. 32: LB. 248.

Louvain.

16 May (1520).

[In response to Erasmus' appeal to his friends to write conciliatory letters to Dorp (cf. Ep. 1044. 49n), Zasius (l. 24) stimulated Botzheim to write to both Erasmus and Dorp: letters which were on their way by 6 March 1520 (ZE. 21). Further encouragement came from Urbanus Rhegius (l. 2). This, which is evidently Erasmus' first letter to Botzheim—in the three inaccuracies in Botzheim's name F probably reproduces Erasmus' rough-draft or a copy made from it by a secretary—is therefore his reply to Botzheim's advance.

The year-date added in H can be corrected from Pace's succession to Cole (+ 16 Sept. 1519).]

8. nescio] For this periphrasis cf. Ep. 732. 43.

10. Germania] Cf. Epp. 1078. 62n, 1101. 1. Just about this time Erasmus seems to have received an invitation to teach at Leipzig; cf. Luther to Spalatinus, 31 May 1520 (LE. 2 308), 'Lipsenses anxii pro retinendis scholaribus iactant Erasmus ad se venturum'. Enders notes that after the Leipzig Disputation (Ep. 1020. 62n) many students had migrated from Leipzig to Wittenberg.

11. Carolus] See Ep. 1079. 9n.

12. Caleti] See Ep. 1106. 92n.

Cantuariensis] Cf. BRE. 166.

13. pene arserant] Cf. Ep. 1113. 16-20; where Erasmus claims to have prevailed with Wolsey against this step. When urged to it from Rome, Wolsey replied at first that he had not the requisite powers (Brewer iii. 1210); but later, under pressure, he complied (ibid. 1234;

cf. 1193, 1197). On 12 May 1521 Luther's books were publicly burned at St. Paul's Cross (ibid. 1273,4); and at the same time mandates were sent out to the bishops to collect them and transmit them to London (ibid. 1279). See P. Smith in EHR. xxv. 657,8. Capito reported to Aleander, 29 March 1521, 'apud Anglos (Lutherii) nomen mire frigere, siquidem nemo bonus vel legere dignatur tam atros affectus': see P. Kalkoff, *W. Capito*, p. 135. The sermon preached by Fisher at the burning was translated into Latin by Pace; who sent it in ms. to Leo x with a letter from Richmond, 1 June (Balan no. 98). Later it was printed by Siberch at Cambridge, (c. 1 Jan.) 1522.

14. amicus] It appears from Ep. 1113. 17-20 that Erasmus means himself.

18. Leo] See p. 110.

19. Paraphrasim] Ep. 1112.

22. publicanus] Luke 18. 10.

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS ORNATISS. I. V. DOCTORI IOANNI  
BOTZEMO, CANONICO CONSTANTIENSI, S. D.

Hoc mihi iucundior tua fuit epistola, vir clarissime, quod noui  
lucrum amici cum veteris recordatione copulauit. Vrbanum iampri-  
dem amabam; Abstemium libenter agnosco. Fortunae tuae gratulor  
non aliter quam si esset mea. Caetera placebant omnia.

- 5 Caeterum quod scribis isthic circumuolitare Apologiam, in Pacaeum,  
vt suspicor, male diseruiat animum meum. Vtunque illi hoc  
excidit de Constantia, scio non dictum malo animo. Eodem in  
libello multa iocatur et in me, quae nollem scripta ob quosdam nihil  
10 non detorquentes ad calumniam. Noui Pacaeum intime. Nihil  
illius ingenio candidius, nihil integrius, nihil amicius. Simplicitas  
haec est, non maleuolentia. Eruditus est; sed eum librum, id quod  
res indicat, effudit ex tempore. Et curatum est a nobis ne rursus  
excudatur, nisi ab autore recognitus. Ego in hoc odiosissimo rerum  
tumultu, quem praeter Praedicatores ac theologos excitat Eduardus  
15 Leus, quo vno nihil vnquam adhuc terra produxit nec arrogantius  
nec virulentius nec stultius, sum Pacaeum expertus talem amicum vt  
nemo fratri frater posset esse amicius. Est cum summatibus omni-  
bus, tum optimo Regi longe charissimus. Successit nuper in dig-  
nitatem Ioannis Coleti, decani apud diuum Paulum, prouehendus  
20 haud dubie ad summas dignitates. Quare velim vt si quid animo  
conceperis irae in illum, penitus eiicias, vel mea causa. Non enim  
poteris me vilo officio demerere magis. Ego vero posthac Botzemum  
in amicorum fastis vel inter praecipuos scripsero.

- Ad Zasii mentionem exilii. Vtinam egregius ille senex nobis  
25 diutissime supersit! Dorpio nostro literae tuae fuere longe gratis-  
simae. Erat responsurus amicis, sed in praesentia deerat ocium.  
Propediem respondebit omnibus. Optimo patrono meo Vrbanissimo  
Vrbano plurimam ex me salutem dicito; item Oecolampadio, si  
isthic adest, et ornatissimo Ioanni Fabro.

- 30 Haec scripsi plusquam occupatissimus, scripturus alias accuratius.  
Vale Louanii. xvii. Calend. Iunias. [Anno M.D.xvii].

III. ORNATISS. I. V. DOCTORI *om. H.*  
STANTIENSI *om. H.* 1. iocundior *H.*  
14. praedicatores *F*: Dominicanos *H.*  
Anno M.D.xvii *add. H.*

*F* Corrig.: BOTZENNO *F.* CANONICO CON-  
3. Abstemium *F* Corrig.: Astenium *F.*  
22. *H*: Botzenum *F.* 31.

2. Vrbanum] V. Reginus; see Ep. 386  
introd.

5. in Pacaeum] Cf. Ep. 887. 6, 7 nn.  
I cannot find that the *Apologia* was ever  
printed.

8. in me] Cf. Epp. 776. 7n, 783. 17,  
787. 2-3, 800. 28-9.

16. talem amicum] Cf. Ep. 1089.

18. Successit] Cf. Ep. 1025. 2-3: in  
Ep. 1118. 3 Erasmus still regards this  
as 'noua dignitas'.

24. senex] Cf. Ep. 1121. 37, and Zw.  
E.<sup>2</sup> 113. He was now about 59: but cf.  
Ph. Engelbrecht to T. Blaurer, 17 Dec.

1521 (Bl. E. 37), 'Zasius autem, cum  
sit iam capularis senex habeatque  
alterum pedem in sepulchro, ...' See  
also ZE. 40; and cf. Ep. 1025. 16n.

25. Dorpio] Cf. Ep. 1044. 49n.

28. Oecolampadio] Apparently Eras-  
mus did not know the position, perhaps  
not even the name, of the monastery  
which Oecolampadius had entered (cf.  
Ep. 1102). The date of Ep. 1139  
suggests that Ep. 1095 had not yet been  
delivered.

29. Fabro] See Ep. 386 introd. He  
was now at Constance as the Bp.'s vicar.

## 1104. TO JOHN LOUIS VIVES.

Opus Epistolarum p. 824.

N. p. 787: Lond. xxi. 20: LB. 489.

Louvain.

&lt;May ? 1520.&gt;

[This letter is not easy to date. The reference to Nesen seems to indicate that it must be near in time to Epp. 1046, 1057. But comparison with Epp. 1108, 1111 suggests that it was written in the following May, in reply to a letter from Vives sent off immediately after his arrival in Paris (Ep. 1108 introd.); for the opening sentences may be taken to refer to Vives' warm reception by the Parisians in spite of his attack on their schools (cf. Ep. 1108. 7-23); and there are similar mentions, as in Ep. 1111, of Faustus' lectures and of the controversy with Budaeus.

If this view is correct, it appears that the information about the treatment of Nesen at Louvain, of which Vives must already have been well aware (cf. Ep. 1111. 61-2), was intended for the enlightenment of Parisian readers, to whom Erasmus no doubt expected that the letter would be shown.

The year-date in the text, having only the authority of H, has no value.]

ERASMVS ROT. LODOVICO VIVI S. D.

QVID te felicius, eruditissime Viues? qui gratiam ineas etiam maledicendo, quum nos et benedicendo nobis odium et inuidiam conciliemus. Conati sumus verae pietatis ac religionis aperire fontes, adnixi sumus rem theologicam, plus satis prolapsam ad argutas magis quam necessarias quaestiunculas, priscae maiestati pro virili 5 restituere; et sic in me debacchantur monachi quidam, quasi sacrilegium admiserim; quum tu tam gratos et commodos experiaris sophistas, irritable, vt vulgus existimat, hominum genus. Proinde postea quam res tibi tam feliciter cessit, perge qua coepisti, studiis ad meliora reuocandis inuigilare. Parisiensis Academiae candorem ac 10 ciuilitatem iam olim sum admiratus, quae tot annos Faustum tulerit, nec tulerit solum verum etiam aluerit euexeritque. Cum Faustum dico, multa tibi succurrunt quae nolim litteris committere. Qua petulantia solitus est ille in theologorum ordinem debacchari! Quam non casta erat illius professio! Neque cuiquam obscurum erat qualis 15 esset vita. Tantum malorum Galli doctrinae hominis condonabant, quae tamen vltra mediocritatem non admodum erat progressa.

Huius Academiae procures non ferunt Trilingue Collegium, gratis adiuuans publica omnium studia, gratis ornans non solum hanc scholam verum etiam vniuersam Principis ditionem. Non ferunt 20 professores moribus inculpatissimis, professione casta, doctrina longe Faustinae praeferenda. Parisiensis Academia certe in hoc litterarum genere, quod sibi proposuit, semper primas tenuit; et tamen gaudet vndecunque sibi contingere litteraturae politioris accessionem. Datur locus quiduis quacunque mercede profitentibus. Hic Guilhelmo 25 Neseno Pomponii Melae Geographiam profiteri gratis aggresso nihilo remissioribus studiis obstiterunt quam si parasset totam hanc urbem incendio miscere. Ante annos non ita multos frigatebat haec schola; nunc bonarum litterarum commendatione facta celebrior, mirum quas cristas erigit, quod attollit supercilium, quam meditatur tyranni- 30

11. Faustum] Andrelinus: see Ep. 84 introd.

26. Nesen] Cf. Epp. 1046. 22-3, 1111. 61-2.

dem. Sed hoc quicquid est tragoediae, duobus aut tribus acceptum ferimus. Quos, etiam si non queant mitescere, tamen obruent tandem indies magis ac magis inualescentia rectiora studia, praesertim si tu te in hoc bello Camillum quendam praebeas.

35 De Budaëo tametsi nihil noui praedicas, tamen hominis amicissimi verissimis laudibus sum vnice delectatus. Ille vero nunquam Erasmum ab se alienabit, etiamsi atroces inuectivas in nos scripserit: tantum abest vt illa litterarum velitatio queat animos Gratiarum nodis coniunctissimos diuellere.

40 Habes epistolam laconicam; sic enim soleo pro Lucullianis coenis Diogenicum reponere conuiuium. Verum hoc non animo sed occupationibus imputabis. Bene vale Louanii. [Anno M.D.XIX.]

# 1105. FROM PHILIP ENGENTINUS.

Epistolae eruditorum virorum, p. 155.  
Jortin ii. 377.

Freiburg.  
24 May 1520.

[For the source see p. 210. The year-date needs no confirmation.]

ERASMO ROTERODAMO THEOLOGO PHILIPPVS ENGENTINVS S. D.

Non possum non scribere ad te, Erasme candidissime, praesertim cum ad manus nunc sit qui meas tibi commodissime reddere potest. Intellexi autem Zasium nostrum et Bonifacium Amorbachium idem facturos. Vnde piaculum arbitrarer, si, literariae militiae, quam 5 quam forte satis infelicitur, eodem sacramento astrictus, ex hoc munere me subtraherem. Quancum non sim nescius te esse in bonis literis amplificandis longe occupatissimum, vt ad te scribentium quantumvis breues epistolas vix legere queas, tamen, vt tibi veteris conuictus memoriam refricem simulque admoneam me esse tui 10 nominis studiosissimum, nolui committere vt absque meis literis tam opportune oblatus nuncius ad te proficisceretur. Atque eo nomine minime grauari debes; poteris enim tantillum temporis suffurari tuis negociis vt citra nauseam quasi ludendo mihi nonnihil impartias. Neque a tua humanitate alienum fuerit, si candidum 15 meum in te animum meliori calculo comprobaueris: quod si feceris, exilii mei perpetuam molestiam subleuare videbere, quod vsque adeo me fregit pene, vt etiam post reditum ad nostra studia vix mihi ipsi constem. Exulauimus autem mensibus decem ob inclementem aeris intemperiem, quae multas centurias hominum, imo chiliadas absor- 20 psit. Eo tamen gratior fuit mihi isthaec absentia, quod publico Senatus nostri literarii decreto decenter abesse licuit.

1105. 3. idem facturos] This seems to refer to private letters, now not extant; for against Lee Boniface had already written (Ep. 1084). Zasius, too, wrote later; to Beatus, 5 June, though on 4 June he had not read Lee's book (BRE. 164, 168; where probably one of the dates needs correction).

9. conuictus] At Basle in 1515; see Ep. 344. 52n.

18. Exulauimus] at Constance; see VE. 155. For the cause of his exile cf. Ep. 1085. 13n. By 5 March 1520 he had returned to Freiburg (Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 123).

21. decenter abesse] The question whether it was right to fly before the



Interim a quibusdam accepi esse quendam qui, egregie cordatus homo, si diis placet, contra tuas in Nouum Testamentum Annotationes ingentem pararit Iliada. Erant qui summo desiderio talem censuram expectare videbantur, vt vel ea nomenclatura eleuaretur <sup>25</sup> in Erasmo summae eruditionis autoritas. At rursus qui te extra omnem ingeniorum aleam positum venerabantur, in hoc tantummodo efflagitare eas se nugas dicebant, vt viderent quam nouitatis speciem camelus Bactriana esset allatura. Hic vero eandem audiuius cantilenam, accessione tamen facta auctoris, qui in te superciliose <sup>30</sup> talia meditatur; quem in postrema tuae Farraginis epistola satis luculenter expressisti, (et) amicus admonuisti ne in eam harenam descendat. Statim partum istum addiuinabam, non qui alicubi a te dissentiret, quando hoc semper inter eruditos licuit, vt interim homini ignoto eam doctrinae gloriam condonemus; sed coniecturam <sup>35</sup> faciebat felix illa tardidiscencia, qua tantum intra paucos menses Graecitatis et Hebraismi deuorauit, vt tanquam ad Lesbiam regulam omnis earum literarum vsus ad hunc vnum deuolui debeat. Qua potissimum ratione eam foeturam anxie expectamus, vt ea nouitas mirifice suis gratiis nos oblectet; et fortassis pariet quod nunc ad <sup>40</sup> biennium non sine laboribus parturiit, nisi elephantum conceperit.

Apologiam autem contra istum tuam nunc animo fingimus— neque enim tibi deesse poteris: qua ita aduersarium conficies, vt eo nihil vnquam miserius futurum ducam; habebit enim Marsias suum Appollinem. Quanquam ex mediocriter illis eruditis nullus vnquam <sup>45</sup> sit dignus cui tu respondeas, merebitur tamen hoc quorundam colluuias, qui ex tua taciturnitate amplissimum sibi triumphum sperarent: scis enim quale sit hoc hominum genus, quod sub eximia religionis specie tyrannidem exercet impudentissimam; vtcunque ferendam, nisi in bonas quoque literas debaccharetur. Tale quoddam <sup>50</sup> portentum nuper ad plebem rudere audiuius, non sine risu, nam plerumque excogitat

Grande aliquid, quod pulmo animae praelargus anhelet;

plague was much debated: see Ber's letter of 1551 (Ep. 488 introd.), *De peste, an et quatenus Christiano homini sit fugienda*. In 1519 Burer protests that nothing shall induce him to leave Basle (BRE. 128, p. 177 med.). But doctors were beginning to recommend flight (BRE. 203); cf. Ep. 1085. 2n.

22. quendam] Lee.

27. venerabantur] For an example of this see a *Congratulatio cessantis interregni*, about the election of Charles v, by Jo. Kueffner Ratemburgensis, s.l., 15 June 1520. His preface, dated in May, says: 'Factus sum autem plane miles Erasmus, lucubrationibus eius non ad solem modo verum et ad lucernas quoque excubatissime peruigilans, nec militare sed literarium premium deuictis fusisque hostibus ex bello referre cupiens. Hunc archiducem sequor, hunc effingo atque inuidiosa quadam

aemulatione, reiectis caeteris auctoribus, quam maxime possum, representare nitor. Quem nunc seculi nostri principem non ab re omnis intonat Germania; quo etiam absente vtor vnico preceptore, scripta sua velut ore hausta sacrario recondens, acqueluerum ex re vendita captum indens chrisostecae'.

31. epistola] Ep. 998.

37. Graecitatis] Cf. Ep. 998. 29n.

46. quorundam] Evidently the friars; cf. Ep. 998. 59n. For severe criticism of the Dominicans at this time by the Strasburg Carthusian, Otho Brunfels, see BRE. 158. About 17 May Brunfels, who was now a diligent reader and staunch defender of Erasmus, wrote to him (BRE. 176); but on 1 Aug. had received no answer. The letter is not extant.

53. Grande] Cf. Pers. 1. 14.

quod vbi introspexeris, cum Euangelicis doctrinis nihil habet  
55 commune.

Tu macte ingenio, Erasme, theologiae maxime antistes, tuorum  
laborum pensum, vt facere soles, nunquam intermitte; plane enim  
persuasum est omnibus eruditis ad infelicia monstra conficienda te  
natum esse Herculem. Nemo ex hoc fastigio te deiiciet, quando tua  
60 omnia Christum Deum opt. max. feliciter spirant. Salutat te frater  
meus Antonius tibi addictissimus, qui nunc Spirensis Ecclesiae  
Suffraganeum agit Episcopum. Vale, optime Erasme.

Ex Friburgo Brisgoico. Nono Calen. Iunias. Anno. M.D.XX.

# 1106<sub>1107</sub> FROM THOMAS MORE.

Epistolae selectae, 1520, f<sup>o</sup>. M<sup>2</sup> (a).

Canterbury.

F. p. 520: HN: Lond. xiii. 37: LB. 433.

26 May (1520).

[For the earliest source see App. 12, in vol. iii. The year-date is easily  
assigned from the public events mentioned.]

THOMAS MORVS ERASMO S. D.

De puero cuius causam commendasti mihi, iam ante cum patre eius  
egeram quam tu scripsisti. Rogarat enim pridem me per literas  
puer ipse, quod sibi persuaserat apud illum meam sententiam  
momenti aliquid ac ponderis habituram. Tractavi rem diligenter;  
5 quid profecerim haud satis certo scio. Respondit mihi pater eius non

1106. TIT. THOMAS *add. F.* D. a H: P. F.

1105. 61. Antonius] Engelbrecht († c. 1556-7) of Engen, after studying at Leipzig c. 1503 and taking orders, matriculated at Basle in the summer of 1517. In 1520, being 'baccalaureus formatus' in Theology, he was nominated Suffragan Bp. of Spires, with the title of Bp. of Termopoli; and there-with parish-priest of Bruchsal. About 1524 his Bp. sought to remove him, for sympathy with the new movement for reform; but his parishioners petitioned that he might remain. In April 1525, during the Peasants' Revolt, he fled from Spires with the Bp., but was invited to return (Bl. E. 93). He settled, however, at Strasburg, as preacher at St. Stephen's, and in Sept. 1526 his bpric. was given to another. He became more and more advanced in his views, and married c. Nov. 1533 (Bl. E. 377, 396). But before long the Strasburg Reformers found him an open enemy of their Church, and expelled him from his position; though to the profound regret of the citizens (see a letter printed by A. Hegler in his *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Mystik in d. Reformationszeit*, 1906, p. 34). By 1536 he had

returned to the Catholic side, and settled in Cologne; but in 1542 he was still on friendly terms with T. Blaurer and Hubert.

See F. X. Remling, *Gesch. d. Bischöfe zu Speyer*, ii (1854), pp. 250, 1; and *Urkundenbuch*, ii (1853), pp. 496-8: also Bl. E. and VE. 758. A specimen of his handwriting is given by J. Ficker and O. Winckelmann, *Handschriftenproben des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts nach Strassburger Originalen*, ii, 1905, pl. 54.

1106. 1. puero] Perhaps Ant. of Bergen, the younger (Epp. 760, 969; cf. Ep. 737. 3); the description of whom in Epp. 717. 22-3, 1025. 9-16, agrees with that here. There is no letter to More in the packet which he carried to England in Nov. 1519 (Epp. 1025 etc.); but Erasmus' commendation to More may have been in connexion with Antony's return to England in 1520. Antony perhaps wrote then to More (ll. 2-3), as he had written to Wolsey (Brewer iii. 598).

patre] On the above identification this would be John of Bergen (cf. Ep. 737 introd.), whom More would have had many opportunities to meet.

omnino duriter; et tamen (vt noui hominem ad rem attentum) opinor respondisse tam commode, magis pudore quodam aduersandi mihi quam quod ex animi sui sententia loqueretur. Summa erat, de filio se vsurum consilio meo; sed interim non obscure significabat eum se nummatum malle quam literatum. At puerum ipsum sic animatum video, vt non rem paternam tantum, sed ipsum etiam patrem citius relicturus sit quam se diuelli patiatur a literis; nimirum dignus cuius indolem talem foueant omnes atque omni ope promoueant.

Louaniensem illum scholasticum ita collocaui vt non dubitem quin tibi perpetuo sit habiturus gratias. Eruditio eius perplacet hero; qui quum audiisset eum mihi commendatum abs te, rogauit vltro vt iuuenem ipsi permitterem: qua in re ego non grauati illi sum gratificatus, vtpote quod alioqui destinaueram petere. Nam apud me pluribus ministris non vacabat locus.

Is dum primis illis diebus esset apud me, ostendit mihi opera quaedam Lodouici Viuis, quibus neque magis elegans neque magis eruditum quicquam iam diu vidi. Quotum enim quemque reperias, imo adeo quem vnum ferme reperias vsquam, qui tam virente aetate (nam tu eum virente etiamnum aetate scribis esse) tam absolutum ciclopedias orbem absoluerit? Pudet me profecto, mi Erasme, mei meique similiū, qui vno aut altero libellulo, eoque fere inepto, venditamus nos, cum Viuem respicio tam iuuenem tam multa, tam excussa, tam disertis sermonis, tam abstrusae lectionis aedidisse. Magna res est linguarum alterutra pollere; ille se probat vtraque peritissimum. Maius quiddam ac fructuosius praeclaris imbutum esse disciplinis; at quis vno Viue se ostendit aut pluribus instructum aut melioribus? Multo vero maximum est sic bonas artes imbibisse discendo, vt in alios easdem possis rursus docendo transfundere; at quis illo docet apertius, dulcius, efficacius? Non possum satis admirari virtutes illas quas in Declamationibus eius tu et acute perspexisti et expressisti luculenter; potissimum vero (quod in declamando potissimum est) non modo illorum hystorias temporum tam exprompta memoria complecti quam non quiuis suarum rerum meminit, verum hominum tot olim saeculis functorum fato affectus tam praesentes induisse, vt non e libris hausisse quae declamat, sed vidisse, sensisse, in parte fuisse rerum vel prospere vel secus cadentium videatur: consilia denique non ex aliena conditione languidule, sed feruenter admodum ex suo ipse metu, spe, periculo, foelicitate metiri. Quod si in alterutra tantum parte praestaret, esset tamen admiratione dignum. Nunc vero talem se probat in vtraque vt chamelionta putes, verso solo simul mutasse colorem.

Vtinam expergiscantur, Erasme, atque ad istud Viuis exemplar componant sese quidam qui nimium ambitiose volunt haberi pro

26. cyclopedias *F* Corrig.: cyclopedias *N*. 38. historias *F* Corrig. 45. foelicitatē *F*: felicitatem *H*. 46. probat *a*, *c*. l. 30: prebet *F*. 47. chameleonta *F* Corrig.

15. scholasticum] On the same supposition this would be Adr. Aelius Barland; see Epp. 760. 141, 1028. 10-11.  
16. hero] I have no clue.

21. opera] The *Declamationes Syllanae*; see Ep. 1082.  
25. scribis] Ep. 1082. 53-4.  
37. expressisti] Ep. 1082. 24-56.

50 disertis! idque eo magis titulo quod alia omnia contemnant, quam quod vel assequantur vel rite consequantur eloquentiam, vtpote qui ne per somnium quidem concipiant vllam rhetorices imaginem. Hi cum coeteras artes negligant, quonam studiorum nomine cohonestari postulant? Oratorem profecto vel rhetorem nemo iure vocabit eum  
 55 qui neque veras agat causas neque declamet fictas. Quin poeta perquam tenuis fuerit atque exanguis, cuius poema nullis philosophiae monitis, nullis rhetorum praeceptis, nullis disserendi exercitamentis formetur. Viues quum in rhetorica talem se praestiterit qualem haud ferme iam quisquam qui nihil profitetur aliud, tamen caetera-  
 60 rum artium omnium quae quidem dignae sunt scitu, nullam reliquit, in qua non ita versatus est, vt in ea sola aetatem omnem contriuisse censeas.

Itaque vt nihil est illius quod non mirum in modum delectet omnes, ita me profecto quae scripsit in Pseudodialecticos peculiari  
 65 quadam voluptate perfundunt: non ideo tantum (quanquam ideo quoque) quod illas ineptas argutias lepidis cauillis eludit, validis argumentis oppugnat, ineuitabili ratione a fundamentis eruit atque subuertit, sed et praeterea quod ibi video quaedam iisdem fere tractata rationibus, quas et ipse mecum olim, quum nihil adhuc Viuis  
 70 legissem, collegeram. Quae mihi nunc non eo nomine placent in libello Viuis, quod meae rationes ante arriserint mihi (solet enim placere, si quid afferre alios videmus quod nobis ante in mentem venerat) sed quod mihi plaudo quando quod ante suspectum habueram ne parum apte diceretur, nunc confirmor haud incitum esse, post-  
 75 quam Viui quoque video placuisse. Iam illud me capit ac delectat maxime, quod quum videam idem argumentum vtrique nostrum animum et cogitationem occupasse, tum sic vtrique tractatum, vt quanquam et fusius ab illo et elegantius, tamen in nonnullis non tantum res easdem afferamus, sed propemodum eadem etiam verba,  
 80 sic mihi libenter blandior, quasi cognati quippiam syderis animos inter sese nostros occulta quapiam vi et conspiratione conciliet.

Hoc illi gratulos quod tantum habet locum apud reuerendissimum Cardinalem suum. Spero fore vt illius numinis fauor iniquitatem fortunae corrigat; quae solet in eos esse pessima quicunque merentur  
 85 optima, et tanquam litteris ac virtutibus inuidens, indoctos fere atque improbos beneficiis suis euehere. Verum Cardinalis (cui beandi quemuis tam facilis fere quam ipsi fortunae facultas est) homini tali, quem inter penitissimos adsciuit, cui tantum eruditionis eximiae (qua nunc haud paulo clarius quam ipso dignitatis fulgore splendet)  
 90 acceptum fert, non insigniter esse beneficis neque pro insigni sua bonitate volet, neque sine insigni apud posteros quoque traductione potest.

51. *a H*: consequuntur *F*.  
 afferre alios *H*: afferat alius *a*.  
 euehere *F*: inuehere *a*.

54. *H*: vocabat *a*.

71. *F*: solent *a*.

82. reuerendissimum *om. H*.

86.

89. splendet *H*: splendore *a*.

64. in Pseudodialecticos] See Ep. 1108. 7n.

69. ipse mecum olim] More was doubtless thinking of such passages as that in the *Vitopia* (pp. 61-3, ed. Froben, March 1518), where he speaks dis-

paragingly of the scholastic philosophy. Cf. also LB. App. 513, 1897 v-99 c, and his letter of 29 March (1518) to Oxford University (Jortin ii. 662-7).

83. Cardinalem] Wm. Croy; see Ep. 647 introd., and cf. Ep. 1108. 1.

Vale, mi Erasme charissime; quem ego spero fore vt Caleti prope-  
diem praesens praesentem in hoc Regum congressu complectar.  
Hodie appellit Imperator. Cras summo mane Rex in occursum 95  
prodibit, imo fortassis hac ipsa nocte quae iam nunc appetit. Non  
credas quanto gaudio, non dico Regis ac procerum, sed populi quoque,  
sit acceptus nuncius per quem constabat Imperatorem huc appellere.  
Iterum vale e Cantuaria pridie pentecostes.

Quiddam est, mi Erasme, de quo si mihi notus esset Viues, ad- 100  
monerem illum. Nunc quoniam haud certus sum quo animo accipe-  
ret ab ignoto tam importunum officium, ipse potes per occasionem  
submonere, esse in Aedibus legum atque item in eius Somnio (quod  
alioqui multorum superat peruigilatas vigilias) abstrusiora quaedam  
quam vt pateant nisi doctissimis; quum fuerit in rem litterariam 105  
vtile illius omnia quam plurimis intelligi. Ei rei vel explicando vel  
adiectis in margine breuissimis scholiis facile mederi fuerit. Addet  
item plurimum lucis Declamationibus, si breuibz historiae summam  
complexus vel vna pagella praeponat.

Iterum vale. [Anno M.D.XIX.]

1106 1107. TO THOMAS MORE.

Epistolae selectae, 1520, f<sup>o</sup>. M<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup>. (a).

(Louvain.)

F. p. 522: HN: Lond. xiii. 38: LB. 496.

(June 1520.)

[It is easy to assign an approximate date from Ep. 1106, and the indication  
of Erasmus' illness (l. 13).]

ERASMVS ROTERODA. THOMAE MORO SVO S. D.

NAE ad istius exemplum peruersissimo iudicio videmus esse patrum  
vulgus. Corpori liberorum anxie prospiciunt, animi possessionibus  
neglectis: cum frustra, imo cum suo malo, possideant opes qui  
nesciunt vti. De puero nec ago gratias, nec tu noui quicquam fecisti,  
cum nunquam non sis tui similis.

De Lodouici Viuis ingenio gaudeo meum calculum cum tuo con-  
sentire. Is vnus est de numero eorum qui nomen Erasmi sint  
obscuraturi. Nec aliis tamen aequae faueo, et te hoc nomine magis

1106. 108. a F Corrig. : hystoriae F. 109. Anno M.D.XIX add. H. 1107. 2.  
animi a H: animae F. 3. possideat F. 4. nesciat F. 8. aliis a :  
alii H. aequae a : om. F: magis F Corrig.

1106. 93. Caleti] Henry crossed to  
Calais 31 May for the meeting with  
Francis at the Field of the Cloth of Gold,  
7 June: see Brewer iii, pp. lxxvii-lxxvi.  
At first his head-quarters were at  
Guines; but on 25 June he moved into  
Calais to prepare for a meeting with  
Charles. On 10 July the Emperor  
arrived at Wael, where Henry met him.  
The night was spent at Gravelines, and  
next day they rode together into Calais.

On 14 July Charles set out for Bruges  
and Ghent, and Henry soon afterwards  
returned to England. For Erasmus'  
presence at Calais see p. 296.

95. Imperator] Cf. Ep. 1079. 9n.

103. Aedibus legum] One of the later  
items in the *Opuscula varia* (Ep. 1108.  
7n).

Somnio] See Ep. 1108. 202n.

108. Declamationibus] See l. 21n.

1107. 8. obscuraturi] A favourite form

amo, quod huic tam candide faues. Est animo mire philosophico.  
 10 Hiram illam cui sacrificant omnes, litant perpauci, fortiter contemnit.  
 Et tamen tali ingenio, talibus litteris non potest deesse fortuna.  
 Non alius magis idoneus qui profliget sophistarum phalanges; in  
 quorum castris diu meruerit. Adero Caleti, si valetudo suppetet, vt  
 amicis omnibus extremum complectar ac vale dicam. Bene vale,  
 15 amice incomparabilis. [Anno M.D.XIX.]

1108<sub>III</sub> FROM JOHN LOUIS VIVES.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 639.

Bruges.

HN: Lond. xvii. 10: LB. 610.

4 June (1520).

[The year-date is given by Ep. IIII. Vives' arrival in Paris must be dated between 2 May 1520 (BE.<sup>4</sup> 67) and c. 14 May; for by 17 May Budaëus had reached Ardres (BE.<sup>4</sup> 69). He stayed on after Budaëus' departure, left Paris c. 30 May, and then after five days on the road reached Bruges on 3 June.]

IO. LOD. VIVES DES. ERASMO ROTEROD., PRAECEPTORI

SVO, S. D.

PROGRESSO mihi cum Card. Croio ad fines ditionis nostri Principis,  
 Erasme mi longe doctissime et optime, libuit proximam ingredi  
 Franciam, et paruis paucisque itineribus Parrisios ire; vt et eos  
 inuiserem qui ex vetere mea familiaritate atque amicitia illic  
 5 supersunt, et nouos mihi asciscerem amicos, quibuscum praesens  
 verbis coniunctioneque vitae et absens suauissime literis oblectarer.  
 Illud perincommode rebar accidisse, quod eo tempore aduersum  
 Pseudodialecticos scripsissem, eosque nominatim Parrhisios; vnde  
 non dubitabam quin multos illius notae homines quos modo sophistas  
 10 appellant, animo parum in me propitio sensurus essem. Verum re  
 ipsa longe aliud sum expertus quam ipse mihi nimis profecto  
 meticulosa et suspicaci cogitatione confinxeram.

Venio Parrhisios de via non fessus sed oblectatus, et amicis per  
 famulum significo me adesse. Conuolant ad me frequentes, salutant  
 15 officiose, gratulantur aduentui. Ducunt et illi ad me alios postridie

1107. 12. phalanges F.  
ctarem F.

15. Anno M.D.XIX add. H.

1108. 6. H: oblectarem F.

of compliment with Erasmus; cf. Epp. 605. 34, 646. 12, 903. 11, 905. 21-2, 935. 61-2, 967. 46-8, 1004. 39, 1146. 22, 1159. 37, 1175. 15.

1107. 13. Adero Caleti] See p. 296. valetudo] Probably an indication that he was already ill; cf. p. 283.

1108. 1. Card. Croio] See Ep. 647 introd.

4. vetere mea familiaritate] In the years c. 1509-14: see Ep. 927 introd.

7. aduersum Pseudodialecticos] The last item in the *Opuscula varia*, Louvain, Th. Martens, s. a.: in the form of a letter to John Fortis (l. 18n), dated

13 Feb. 1519 (? 1518) from Louvain. After expressing regrets at being unable to come to Paris as he had hoped, Vives quotes the opinion that the barbarous sophistries still reigning in the University are largely due to the Spanish students there, 'qui, vt sunt homines inuicti, ita fortiter tuentur arcem ignorantiae'. From the suggestion here and in Ep. 1106. 64 seq. that the letter was a recent composition, and from its place at the end of the book, it seems probable that the date of publication must be 1520, and not, as proposed in Ep. 927 introd., 1519.

ac reliquis diebus maximi nominis sophistas. Inter colloquendum, vt fit, mentio statim de illorum studiis, mentio de meis. Ego dissimulare sedulo et occultare epistolam ad Fortem—et aderat quidem ipse—, quam infaustis nimis aubus putabam prodisse mihi. Ibi Fortis de epistola ad se mea tacere diutius non potuit. Arrisere<sup>20</sup> omnes, et non solum se illam fassi sunt boni consulere, sed habere quoque mihi gratiam non paruum quod id operae in ridiculis dementiis confutandis locarim: ingenia Parrhisien(sium) longe aliter nunc sapere quam quum ipse ibi studerem philosophiae—tametsi nonnulli fabulae se adhuc et consessui accommodant, nec exuere omnino vel<sup>25</sup> audent vel sustinent personam pridem tam fauorabilem et actionem adeo plausibilem: esse inter Hispanos qui sui exemplo magnum ad res meliores momentum afferant; Ioan. Poblacionem totius mathe- seos esse callentiss(imum), studuisse et politioribus literis feliciter; idem fecisse Franciscum Mellum, idem Gabrielem Aquilinum; idem<sup>30</sup> se facturum pollicitum esse Ioan. Enzinam, iuuenem omnium aceri-

29. & politioribus H: expolitioribus F.

18. Fortem] John Fuertes, or Furtes, of Aragon was a student in Paris under John Dolz of Aragon in 1511; see Dolz's *Syllogismi*, Paris, H. le feure, 15 Dec. 1511, f<sup>o</sup>. m<sup>o</sup>, and *Disceplationes*, ibid., 16 Feb. 1512, f<sup>o</sup>. U<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup>. He was *contubernalis* with Vives; who introduces him as one of the speakers in his *Christi Iesu Triumphus*, Paris, J. Lambert, June (1514?), and dedicated to him an edition of Hyginus, ibid., s. a., with a preface dated 31 March 1514 (? 1512), and the *Pseudodialectici* (l. 7n).

28. Poblacionem] Jo. Martinus Poblacion wrote *De usu astrolabi compendium*, Paris, H. Stephanus, s. a. In the notes on Aug. *Ciu. Dei*, Basle, Froben, Sept. 1522 (xxii. 22; p. 774) Vives praises his skill in medicine as well as mathematics. In May 1522 he went with Charles to England (Brewer iii. p. 969). In 1529 he was physician to Al. Manrique, bp. of Seville; see the preface to Vives' *De Pacificatione*, Antwerp, M. Hillen, 1529. His book on the Astrolabe is commended in Vives' *De tradendis disciplinis*, ibid., July 1531, bk. iv. He is commonly said to have been professor of mathematics in the Collège de France: but Lefranc, *Hist.* p. 131, shows that he was only attached to the Court as physician to the Queen. At the same time, c. 1530, he was naturalized. In 1532 he produced a Spanish translation of Cebes, made from the Greek: printed at Paris by S. Colinaeus. P. J. Olivarius dedicated to him an edition of the *Somnium Scipionis*, Poitiers, Marnef, 1535, as 'Io. Martino Siliceo Poblacio, Christianissimae reginae Franciae primario medico'.

Nevertheless he is probably not the same person as Jo. Martinus Siliceus, of the diocese of Badajoz, who was a pupil of Vives' teacher, John Dullardus († 10 Sept. 1513), and who, c. 1514, dedicated to Al. Manrique, then bp. of Badajoz (1499-1516), an *Arithmetica*, which Vives praises in the *De trad. disciplinis*, bk. iv. Siliceus also produced an edition of Swyneshed's (l. 74n) *Calculaciones*, Salamanca, Jo. de Porres, 24 April 1520: see Bonilla, *Vives*, pp. 418, 679. Later he became tutor to Philip II, and then bp. of Murcia and abp. of Toledo, † 31 May 1557.

30. Mellum] A Portuguese noble (1490-27 April 1536), who had been sent to study in Paris, and was especially interested in mathematics: see the preface, 1 June (1515), to Gaspar Lax of Aragon's *Arithmetica*, Paris, H. le feure, 18 Dec. 1515. On return to Portugal he was appointed tutor to the King's sons, and continued his mathematical studies. Some of these writings survive in ms.; and some orations delivered by him on court festivals, 1525-35, have been printed. He was with the Court at Evora, when Clenardus arrived there in 1534 (Clen. E. pp. 245-6). See Barbosa, *Bibl. Lusitana* ii, 1747, 197-8 and Herculanus, *Dicc. bibl. Portuguez* iii, 1859, 8-10, xi. 343.

Aquilinum] I cannot identify.

31. Enzinam] No John of this name seems to be known in Paris at this time. In view of the frequent errors that are found in Christian names (cf. Ep. 1054 introd.) it is possible that the person intended here is Ferd. de Enzinas of Valladolid, author of many works on logic which appeared in Paris between

num, vt in commentis illis, disputatorem: mille huic artes, si quis  
similibus congregiatur armis, impetendi, mille repetendi, totidem  
euadendi, elabendi, eludendi. Dixerunt multa, vidi ipse plura in  
35 D. Martino Lusitano, propinquo sui Regis, cuius merita mentio totam  
sibi epistolam postularet; qui gustato illo sophismatum amarore ita  
saporem illum exhorruit, vt natiuae huic et vere humanae eruditioni  
se totum, tradideritne dicam an immerserit? hoc credo, quo melius  
amarorem illum e palato elueret isto dulcore. Magnos habet in istis  
40 disciplinis progressus; in quibus quod suspicabatur me aliquid valere,  
mirum qua me beneuolentia, quo animo, quo fauore prosecutus sit.

Longum esset enumerare qui homines et quos honores mihi habue-  
rint ob eandem de ingenio meo opinionem: nec solum principes  
nobilesque viri, qui vitae ac generi congruas disciplinas suspiciunt et  
45 consecantur, sordes relinquunt sordidis, sed etiam praecipui illius  
Academiae theologi. Vix enim credas quantus sit illorum candor,  
quanto interpretentur melius omnia quam multi quos nosti. Igno-  
rant aliquid, dolet hoc eis; scientibus non inuidet, discentes etiam  
excitant.

50 Conuiuiatus sum cum istis, et quidem frequenter et suauiter. Ad  
mensam tertio verbo sermo statim de te varius, multus etiam sublati  
mensis. O mi Erasme, dicerem omnia, si patereris te in epistola ad  
te laudari. Vtinam ad alium scriberem! Tacendum itaque erit  
inuito quid illi dicant de Hieronymo tua opera sibiipsi restituto, quid  
55 de Nouo Testamento suae integritati reddito, labore longe Christianae  
pietati vtiliore quam quae sunt intra mille annos in scholis clamata;  
quantum admirentur Paraphrases, id est Paulum apertius diuina illa  
sua eloquentem sensa; quantum Adagiis, Copia et aliis prophanis  
operibus tuis delectentur et proficiant; vt Moria sit omnibus in  
60 deliciis, neminem offendant, nimirum quod maiestas illorum theologo-  
rum durior et fortior est quam aliorum. O me rusticum et inciuilem  
quod de his taceam, te durum qui iubeas! Sed erit locus in quo non  
parebo tibi.

Illud nunc feres velis nolis, nulla te illos ex parte spectare, vnde  
65 non occurras summus, admirabilis, absolutus. Possum tibi plures  
quam decem ex hominibus ordinis illius nominare, qui suam tibi  
omnem operam, diligentiam, fauorem, studium pollicentur et de-  
ferunt: nihil se tua causa non facturos, suas esse tibi apertas domos,  
si illuc iueris, paratas facultates, familias, opes, amicos. Precantur  
70 te atque hortantur vt pergas, nihil indoctorum obgannitibus expaue-

35. D. om. H.

37. vere N<sup>o</sup>: verae FN<sup>s</sup>. Cf. Ep. 1115. 6n.

1518 and 1526, with dedications, dated from the Collège de Beauvais, to the Dominican, John of Toledo, son of the Duke of Alva (Ep. 1256. 32n). By 1528 he was dead, 'immatura morte' (Alvar Gomez, *De rebus gestis Fran. Ximenii*, Alcalá, 1569, f. 222 v<sup>o</sup>): so that he may have been 'iuuenis' at this time. For his books, which are now rare, see the catalogues of the Colombina at Seville and the Bibl.

Nationale at Paris; and Nic. Antonio, *Bibl. Hispana noua*, 1783, i. 375-6. The Bodleian also has a collection of three (8<sup>o</sup>. M. 10 Art).

35. Lusitano] A young member of the reigning family of Portugal. Jo. de Celaya dedicated to him an *Expositio in libros priorum Aristotelis*, Paris, H. le feure, s. a. (c. 1516).

Regis] Manoel I (3 May 1469-13 Dec. 1521), king of Portugal 1495.



scens, de Christiana religione bene mereri, et in vniuersum de studiis omnibus; se dare operam ne in concertationibus theologicis nugentur disputantes. Et ita se res habet. Si quis argumentum ad Sôrbonam afferat de Suisetiis contextum araneis, corrugant protinus frontem et reclamant spectatores, atque explosionibus reflant reii- 75 ciuntque e schola. Quin et in altercationibus philosophicis, si quis aenigmatistes instructus veniat pronunciato multis syncathegorematis onusto et quod Ethrusco indigeat coniectore, re alias mire ad pullatam scholasticorum turbam gratiosa, is nunc clamoribus, sibilis, explosionibus, pertumultuose ex diatriba eiicitur. Non dubito quin his 80 gaudeas, pro amore in bona studia tuo, quae profecto mihi iucundo fuerunt spectaculo. Quanquam res illa publica nondum potuit genus illud sphingum a se auertere.

Et haec quidem quae dixi omnia, pertinent ad oblectamentum, ad voluptatem animi mei; quam cepi Parrhisii non exiguam. Illud 85 certe non ad eam solam sed ad fructum quoque peregrinationis meae vel maximum facit, quod Budaeum iam olim tuum, nunc meum, imo vero nostrum, videre mihi et alloqui contigerit. Pro Christe, hominem cuiusmodi! siue quis ingenium spectet, siue eruditionem siue mores siue, quod postremum in illo homine est, fortunam: quae 90 quum in eo sit splendidissima, minima tamen et obscurissima est, si cum magnitudine caeterarum dotium claritateque conferatur. Natus est loco nobili in primis, estque in ordine suo honestissima dignitate, ab vltima stirpe gentis ad eum deducta, tum etiam opibus instructus, quae natalibus non sint pudendae. Caeterum hac parte censendus 95 ille non est: nam caetera illa, vt solaria quaedam sydera, stellam hanc fortunae generisque obscurant.

Gaudeo me ad te scribere et de Budaeo. Nam huius laudes exerta et clara voce praedicant libri quos aedidit, et ipse admirari celebrare-que non cessas hominis virtutes; quas malim multo de te audire 100 quam ipse narrare. Quam multa legit et quam multum multa! Omnia quae in hunc diem scripsit abunde ostendunt, quum nihil illi sit non lectum, nihil tamen illum legisse nisi accuratissime. Memoriam quis non admiretur? Bibliothecas medius fidiis dicas hominis pectus, non pectus. Ita sunt illi omnia in numerato, historiae, fabulae, 105 antiquitates, res omnes, verba omnia. Latine sic scribit, sic loquitur, vt non sit cur magni nominis non haberetur aetate Ciceronis, si tunc

87. fecit Lond.

88. Proh H.

74. Suisetiis] Roger or Richard of Swyneshed (hence Suisetus, Suiset, or Suiseth) in Lincolnshire, was a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, in 1349: see DNB. His *Calculationum liber* was first printed at Padua c. 1477 (Proctor 6805): cf. also l. 28n. His philosophical works remain mostly in ms., but *De insolubilibus* was printed at Oxford c. 1483: see F. Madan, *Early Oxford Press*, OHS. xxix (1895), p. 3. This was perhaps the 'liber diu optatus' which Casaubon found when he visited the Bodleian in 1613 (M. Pattison, *Casaubon*, 1892, p. 363). Vives in the *Pseudodial.*,

f. M v°, includes Swyneshed in a list of medieval grammarians for whom he has little respect; cf. 'Suiseticæ quiquilae' in Vinc. Theodorici's preface to Petrus de Palude (see Ep. 1196 introd.).

78. Ethrusco] For the eminence of these soothsayers cf. Gell. 4. 5. 5.

87. nunc meum] Vives had made Budaeus' acquaintance and paid him two calls when he went to Paris in June 1519: see Epp. 987, 992. 1, 2. Budaeus' subsequent letters to him (BE. 43, 51, 52, 66, 67) and this second visit clearly had established intimacy.

vixisset: Graece vero, vt profiteantur Graeci ipsi posse ab illo doceri se linguam suam. Philosophiae quum esse illum peritissimum  
 110 clamant volumina quinque De Asse, tum vero quantum teneat nemo facile crediderit, nisi qui eum propius spectarit et ex interiore, quod aiunt, vita norit. Quemadmodum sit in autoribus versatus nolo quisquam sciat me dicente, sed magistris Annotationibus in Pandectas iuris et libris De Asse. Quod opus eius Hermolaos omnes,  
 115 Picos, Politianos, Gazas, Vallas, cunctam Italiam pudefecit; ita vt non minus prudenter illud quam vere scripserit Tonstallus, homo doctissimus, fore vt derisui habitus esset Budaeus, si opus De Asse antequam aederet, professus fuisset se scripturum. Οἶδ' ἐκεῖνος ψευδῆς, ὅστις ἐπέγραψε "Μωμήσασθαι τὰυτὰ ῥῶν ἐστὶν ἢ μὴ μωμήσασθαι". Quid ego  
 120 de moribus loquar? Quid non est in eo summum et suspiciendum, facilitasne et humanitas, tum etiam aequitas? an pietas in diuos et mortales? Aditus patebat homini ad amplissimam fortunam aper-  
 tissimus, si vel latum vnguem sustinuisset ab exactissima illa et suis omnibus numeris perfecta virtute discedere. Hanc praetulit omnibus  
 125 fortunae promissis, omnibus blandimentis. Nunquam splendore opum perstrictus ab aequo sanctoque oculos deflexit.

Scis tu haec omnia esse vera, et eloquentia tua non maiora illa quam sint facis. Nescio an posses, ita iam ad summam peruenere; sed certe ornas, et sic rem se habere persuades. Diligis tu atque  
 130 adeo amas Budaeum. Est tibi vnus ille in his Cisalpinis terris quem perpaucis Itolorum non praeferas. Sic de illo sentis, sic colis venerarisque ingenium et studia eius. Ille vicissim te, non quo gratiam referat sed quod ita sentit, principem te literarum huius aetatis praedicat, in fastigio locat eruditionis. Ingenium, doctrinam,  
 135 monumenta tui religiose colit. Famae ac nominis tui studiosissimus est. Pergite vos amare mutuo, vos colere, vos admirari. Duo estis corpora; sed in iis vnus est animus. Quo spectaculo potest esse gratius aliquod studiosis omnibus aut iucundius? Nam quod tecum epistolis lusit paulo, vt videbitur forsitan iis qui vos non norunt,  
 140 acerbius et contra id quod vestram amicitiam decebat, multa, vt tum ex vtroque vestrum, tum etiam ex re ipsa intelligo, in causa fuerunt. Primum quod vterque occasionem quaeritabat prolixo ad alterum scribendi, nec semper de laudibus. Nam id perpetuum longumque non potest esse: aut si potest, est tamen suus cuiusque rei modus.  
 145 Quumque eloquentia ipsa sine aliquo velut antagonista iaceat, libuit initio vos leuibus quibusdam stimulis inuicem pungere. Quid enim est orator, si vel solus dicat vel non ab alio sollicitetur atque excitetur? torpeat necesse est langueatque. C. Erucium scribit Cicero negligentissime Roscium Amerinum accusasse, quod neminem  
 150 suspicaretur fore qui responderet.

Itaque primum de operibus vestris iniecta mentio, campus dicendi non angustus: nam scripsistis plurima et eruditissima, et quae sunt

118. H: ψευδὲς F. 126. perstrictus F: ? prestrictus legendum. Cf. Epp. 317. 32, 319. 3. 137. Quo FLB: Quod Lond.

116. Tonstallus] Ep. 571. 87-92.  
 119. Μωμήσασθαι] This inscription appears on the title-page of the second edition of the *De Asse*, Paris, J. Badius,

14 Oct. 1516.  
 131. perpaucis . . . non] sc. plerisque.  
 144. modus] Cf. Hor. S. 1. 1. 106.  
 149. Cicero] *Rosc. Am.* 21. 58, 59.

in manibus studiosorum omnium frequentia. Dumque alter ab altero cur quicque fecerit rationem poscit, ac vterque consilia scriptio-  
num explicat, leuiter vel a se auertit vel in alterum reiecit quod 155  
alter si non improbabat, certe ita factum esse mirabatur, hinc  
prima origo concertationum. Pudu it vtrunque non approbari alteri  
per omnia. Et dum longius repetitis consilia et consiliorum causas,  
prodiit tua ad Fabrum Apologia, quae velitationem paulo magis  
accendit; dum tu Budaeo nimius videris, aut certe videri fingeris, ne 160  
pergas aliis scriptis Fabrum impetere, tibi contra nimis quam paucis  
modicusque existimare.

Hinc progressum est ad illa quae quidam iam nimia, iam atrociora  
et intolerabilia iudicarunt, quum tibi, quod vnum Budaeus satis sibi  
esse putat, nunquam amicitiae claustra videantur excessisse: ac ne 165  
mihi quidem rem totam attentius perpendenti; nam et libere vterque  
est locutus, confusus simplicitati amicitiae. Et ioci illi qui extraneis  
armati ac dentati existimantur, amicis inermes sunt, non vulnerant,  
non mordent, ac vix etiam pungunt, sed titillant solum. Nam et  
animus quo dicebantur, nihil minus cupiebat quam laedere; et ipsa 170  
dicta, si non mel, certe nec fel habebant, sed salem et lusus, quales  
ipsa quoque dictat amicitia: etiam non ex vulgari nota, sed ex  
praecipua illa et germana, cuiusmodi inter Ciceronem et Atticum  
Brutumque fuit, qui sese plerunque non absimilibus epistolis  
lacescebant. 175

Certe de Budaei erga te animo, tametsi eum tibi exploratissimum  
perspectissimumque esse sat scio, tamen nihil non ausim tibi polliceri.  
Ostendit ille mihi literas ad se a furiis quibusdam—nam sic melius  
quam homines nominaro—scriptas, qui diuidere vestros animos et ex  
vnico duos facere moliebantur, suspitiones afferebant sinistre detortas, 180  
et semina iactabant discordiarum ex ipsius Alectus sinu petita.  
Dixi quae mihi pro tempore videbantur, vt Budaei animus, si quid  
forte ex tanto veneno acerbius concepisset, leniretur ac placaretur.  
Sed nihil mea oratione opus erat. Nam ille quum erga alios omnes  
tenacissimus est susceptae amicitiae, nec facile ab amicitia etiam 185  
laccessitus iniuria discedit. tum vero te ita in animo suo amoris ac  
venerationis radicibus defixit, vt nulla inde vi reuelli queas. Spondeo  
tibi pro illo, vt illi pro te feci, amicitiam vestram perpetuam fore,  
quae literis, quae studiis omnibus haud dubie gratissima semper  
futura est ac vtilissima. Nec huiusce rei auderem sponsor esse, nisi 190  
vos tali prudentia praeditos esse scirem, vt rebus ipsis sitis semper  
magis credituri quam rumusculis, quam obtrectatoribus, quam amicis  
consulentibus, idque prauo aliquo inductis affectu. Sed his de rebus  
satis. Spero vos tam feliciter fausteque fundamenta iecisse vestrae  
amicitiae, vt vi sua stet perpetuo, nec dirui aut labefactari machinis 195  
vllis possit.

Redeo ad peregrinationem meam. Putarunt amici grande piaculum  
fore si quindecim dies cessarem a praelegendo; ita mecum agere  
coeperunt vt et Parrhisiis aliquid clamose nugarer. Placuit. Ac ne  
quid esset serium, Somnium delegimus, in quo si dormitassem, non 200  
viderer discedere a decoro. Itaque iacens ac subinde dormiens  
Somnium illis somniaui Scipionis; a quo excitatus parabam

159. Apologia] See Ep. 597. 32n.

202. Somnium] The reference clearly

is to a book which Vives published at  
this time, consisting of a 'Somnium'

confestim digressum. Multa me illinc auocabant; sed retinuerunt aliquandiu amici tam veteres quam noui, moleste officiosi, qui mihi  
 205 tot conuiuuiis, tot comessationibus cruditatem iam pepererant. Et fuisset res longius progressa, ni reddita mihi peropportune fuisset a Cardinale epistola, qua subito reuocabar. Ea lecta iussi illos cum suis ientaculis, prandiis, merendis, coenis, cum suis pintulis et artocereis paruis magnisque quam optime valere: dieque postquam  
 210 illinc discessi quinto, qui diuiae Trinitati fuit sacer, perueni Brugas essedo vectus, postridie haec ad te scripsi.

Vale etiam atque etiam et salue, mi praeceptor.

1109<sub>1126</sub> FROM HERMANN BUSCH.

Epistolae aliquot eruditorum, App. f<sup>o</sup>. b<sup>6</sup> (a).

Mainz.

Epistolae eruditorum virorum p. 148 (β).

5 June (1520).

F. p. 483: HN: Lond. xii. 14: LB. 513.

[The last letter in the Appendix to EAE: see Ep. 1083 introd. It is noticeable that, as in Ep. 1095, F follows α rather than, as might have been expected, Froben's reprint, Evv (β). The year-date can be assigned beyond doubt from the appearance of Erasmus' replies to Lee (Ep. 1037 introd.); the month-date in Lond. is a mere degeneration.]

ERASMO ROTERODAMO SVO HERMANNVS BVSCHIVS.

CONVENIT me Moguntiae famulus tuus, e Basilea reuersus ac continuo abiturus; a quo intellexi me absente Apologiam tuam cum litteris Spirae mihi redditam, aduersus Eduardum Leum, hominem leuissimum, hoc est improbissimum: qui hoc ista egregia aeditione  
 5 sua consecutus est, vt vniuersis, quibus saltem aliquod hominis est cerebrum, maximo sit ridiculo et in prouerbium venerit; non minus quam scarabeus ille, qui maximo suo malo aquilam quesuiuit. Bis terque habeo gratiam, doctissime Erasme, quod me tuo isto elegantissimo munere dignatus es. Vtinam possem tam vlscisci nebulonem  
 10 istum carnificem tuum, quam te amo, Erasme! Videres procul dubio ex ipsa scriptura non vulgare Buschii odium aduersus hanc furiam, nulla certe alia quam tui causa. Sed o diis graciae, quod

1109. TIT. SVO om. H.  
 isto tuo β.

7. α F: aquilam quaesiuit malo β.

8. α F:

about Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*; then Cicero's text; and finally a 'Vigilia' about it, with a commentary, Antwerp, J. Theobald, s. a.: the preface to Erard de la Marck (Ep. 738) being dated from Louvain, 28 March 1520. This year-date cannot be interpreted as 1527, according to the old style (cf. l. 7n); for by May 1520 More had seen the book (Ep. 1106. 103), and moreover there is a Froben edition of March 1521. The introductory 'Somnium' is

addressed to the students of Louvain; so that Vives was not giving the Parisians anything new.

1108. 208. pintulis] Perhaps drinking cups: see Ducange s. v. 'pinta'.

209. artocereis] Cf. Ep. 761. 20.

210. Trinitati] 3 June 1520.

1109. 1. famulus] Perhaps Hovius (Ep. 867. 177n); or Livinus Algoet (Ep. 1091).

7. scarabeus] Cf. *Adag.* 2601, and Ep. 575. 11n.

tu non Buschii sed nec cuiusuis alius copiis ad tui defensionem indiges, satis superque vnus domesticis auxiliis toti barbarorum factioni, nedum vni Leo, futurus. Christus te nobis sospitet, vir <sup>15</sup> clarissime, publico omnium studiosorum bono natum! quod etiam ita facturum eum tam certo mihi polliceor, quam ille maledicorum omnium certus erit ultor, et maxime eorum qui sub nomine ac specie religionis nihil magis quam vnum id agunt, quo veram omnem religionem evertant. <sup>20</sup>

Duos priores libros tuos iam legeram, forte apud Vuangiones repertos; ex quibus animaduerti te tercium adiecturum. Legam igitur audissime cum domum rediero, et ideo quoque non paulo maturius repetam domum. Ex tempore haec scripsi, alioqui nec meditatus satis probus scribendi artifex; quamobrem hic, quaeso, <sup>25</sup> censuram remitte. Vale athleticce, in Lei omnium bipedum nequis- simi pudorem: si modo ingenuitatis tantum is habet vt pudere possit.

Moguntiae, ex aedibus domini Marquardi de Hattstein, viri nobilissimi, omnium studiorum studiosorumque, et imprimis tui ac <sup>30</sup> Capitonis, amantissimi; qui me rogauit vt quam accuratissime suis tibi verbis salutem ascriberem, seque tibi non secus ac summo cuiquam pontifici reuerenter commendat. Saluta etiam isthic Nesenum mihi et Martinum Dorpium; quem totus nunc amo, postquam intellexi totum te amare. Sed iam satis est ineptiarum. Vale iterum. <sup>35</sup>

Datae nonis Iunii ante exortum solem.

#### 1110. TO JOHN SAPIDUS.

Antibarbari p. 3.

Lond. xxxi. 53: LB. x. 1691.

Louvain.

(c. June 1520.)

[The preface to book i of the *Antibarbari*: for the composition and subsequent fortunes of which see Epp. 30. 16n, 37. 9 seq., 732. 24-6, 887. 3-5, 1210. 18-19, 1227. 1 and *fn.* As the *Antibarbari* is among the volumes represented in

21. a F: Vuangiones β.  
stein a F.

25. hic a F: his β.  
36. Iulii Lond.

29. Hattstein β: Hutten-

21. priores libros] The *Apol. qua respondet* and the first *Responsio*, of April 1520: see Ep. 1037 introd.

apud Vuangiones] at Worms.

23. domum] Seemingly Spires: l. 3.

26. omnium bipedum] Cf. Cic. *Dom.* 18. 48, Plin. *Ep.* 1. 5. 14, Apul. *Met.* 4. 10. Zasius uses the phrase for 'Pestis pacis Lutherus' (ZE. 57).

29. Hattstein] This form of the name has the more authority; but I cannot establish its local identity. Marquard (1489-13 June 1522) was a kinsman of Hutten (HE. 25, 110); and was canon of Mainz in 1509. He was B.A. at Paris 1513, M.A. 1514; and

during that period Faber Stapulensis addressed a letter to him in *Liber trium virorum*, Paris, H. Stephanus, June 1513. In June 1516 he matriculated at Bologna, but left next year (ANGB. pp. 280, 1; Knod p. 187). His only published work is a letter to Colet (Eev p. 139), written from Mainz 26 April 1520, seven months after Colet's death (cf. Ep. 1099. 17n); protesting, like Busch here, against Lee's book. In Nov. 1521 he welcomed Erasmus at Mainz and helped him on his way to Basle (Ep. 1342). At his death he was aged nearly 33.

34. nunc amo] Cf. Ep. 1044. 49n.

Metsys' portrait of Gilles (Ep. 584. 6; cf. Ep. 684. 14n), it is evident that shortly after Erasmus' arrival at Louvain he had already recovered the ms. of book i (cf. Ep. 706. 32n)—which was based (cf. ll. 47–8) on the draft originally composed at Halsteren (see vol. i, p. 588)—, and had formed the design of printing it. On 1 Jan. 1519 he was still desirating the ms. left with Pace in Italy (l. 39n); see *Luc. Ind.*, where among 'nondum aedita et imperfecta' he mentions 'Antibarbari: quod opus pene puer coeperat, mox mutato argumento vertit in dialogum. Denique duos libros Bononiae recognovit ac locupletavit. Exemplar bis descriptum deposuit apud amicum quendam, vnde nondum potuit recipere'. But as nothing more reached him, he proceeded to print book i separately, with the title, *Antibarbarorum D. Erasmi Roterodami liber vnus, quem iuuenis quidem adhuc lusit, caeterum diu desideratum, demum repertum non iuuenis recognovit et velut postliminio studiosis restituit. Ex quo reliquorum, qui diis propiciis propediem accedent, lector coniecturam facias licebit*: Basle, Froben, May 1520 (a). By 1523 he had acquired the beginning and end of book ii, the former from England, the latter from Bruges (l. p. 34. 11–13). But his subsequent researches seem to have been without success: at any rate he published nothing more of the work. That a part of book ii should have come to him from England is in accord with the existence of a much more complete ms., which Ascham saw at Cambridge in 1550: see his letter (iii. 13) to Jerome Froben, 10 June (1551).

The work itself was delivered to the Frobens in Basle c. April 1520 (Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 131: cf. BRE. 165). But this preface is probably to be dated later than the colophon; for by 25 May it had not arrived in Basle, though the rest of the book was set up (BRE. 166); and even on 22 July all was not yet ready for publication (Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 148). This inference is corroborated by the composition of the first sheet (A) where the verso of the title is blank, the preface fills only ff. A<sup>2</sup>, A<sup>3</sup>, and f<sup>o</sup>. A<sup>4</sup> again is completely blank, the book beginning with sheet B—an arrangement which implies that sheet A was set up later, and also in some haste, without any attempt to fill the vacant pages with subsidiary matter. Copies of the book had been sent to Schlettstadt for Beatus Rhenanus and Sapidus before 11 Aug. (BRE. 174); and by 26 Sept. Alciati had seen it at Avignon (*Gudii Epistolae*, ed. C. Burmann, 1697, p. 80). At first it sold so well that Froben reprinted it, without change in this preface, in Dec. 1520; but the only other authorized editions by the Froben firm are of Aug. 1535 (β), and in vol. ix of the Basle, *Opera*, 1540 (γ). BEr.<sup>2</sup> describes also unauthorized issues at Deventer, Cologne, and Strasburg. From Erasmus' statement here (ll. 48–51) that he had taken the book in hand in order to anticipate publication by others, it follows that the Cologne edition of 1518 reported from the Bibliothèque Mazarine, but not now discoverable (see BEr.<sup>2</sup>), must be a figment: arising perhaps from a misreading of the colophon of the edition of 1523.

For criticism of the book from the side of the orthodox theologians see Ep. 1166. 26n.]

ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVVS IOANNI SAPIDO SVO S. D.

MIRAM quandam esse naturae vim atque ἐνέργειαν vel hinc colligo, Sapide charissime, quod cum me puero prorsus exularent ludis literariis bonae literae, cum deessent librorum ac praeceptorum subsidia, cum nullus honos adderet ingenio calcar, imo cum passim  
5 omnes ab his studiis deterrent et ad alia compellerent, me tamen non iudicium, quod mihi tum per aetatem esse non poterat, sed naturae sensus quidam ad Musarum sacra velut afflatum rapiebat. Inuisos habebam quoscunque noueram humanioribus studiis infensos; adamabam quos eadem delectabant; qui in his aliquid opinionis sibi  
10 parassent, eos ceu numina quaedam venerabar ac suspiciebam. Huius animi ne senem quidem adhuc poenitet. Non quod aliorum studia damnem, quae mihi non perinde placuerunt. sed quod intelligam quam frigida, manca caecaque sit eruditio, si quis Musarum detrahat praesidia. Caeterum dictu pudendum quam hanc longe optimam

1. energiam β. 5. me om. β.

doctrinae portionem stolidè contemnant quidam, 'poetria' appel-  
lantes quicquid ad vetustam ac politiore litteraturam pertinet. Hi  
cum mihi puero satis odiose facerent negotium, meque a meis  
amoribus depellerent, institueram vlisci me calamo; sic tamen vt  
nullius nomen perstringerem.

Nondum annum vigesimum attigeram cum hoc operis sum aggres-  
sus. Pauculis deinde post annis visum est idem argumentum in  
dialogum retexere, quo lectio minus haberet taedii. Operis summam  
in quatuor libros digesseram. Primus refellebat ea quae quidam, vel  
superstitiosi vel hypocritae religionis verius quam religiosi, solent  
nobis in os iacere. Secundus subornata persona, qualis est apud  
Platonem Glaucō, summis eloquentiae viribus vituperabat elo-  
quentiam, totamque rhetorices panopliam ex intimis illius arma-  
riis petitam in ipsam rhetoricen expediebat: adeo vt felicis  
memoriae Ioannes Coletus, simulatque librum eum legisset, serio  
mihi dixerit in familiari colloquio, 'Plane liber tuus mihi per-  
suasit neglectum eloquentiae'. Cumque monerem suspenderet  
sententiam donec audiret eloquentiae patrocinantem, negabat a me  
posse dilui quae intendissem. Tertius refellebat secundi volu-  
minis argumenta; verum id nondum absolueram. Quartus agebat  
separatim causam poetices mihi puero tenere adamatae. Hunc  
nondum digesseram; sylua tantum ingens erat congesta operi  
futuro.

Primum librum locupletaram Bononiae, iam meditantem aeditionem;  
secundum emendaram. Relicturus Italiam deposui apud Ricardum  
Pacaeum, virum omni virtutum et ornamentorum genere cumulatum.  
Apud hunc vterque periit, eorum videlicet culpa quorum fidem vir  
syncerissimus e suis moribus aestimabat. Prioris libri iactura me  
sane leuiter mouit, quod nimium resiperet ingenium puerile: et in  
hunc crassissima quaeque congesseram. Caeteros malebam superesse:  
sed aliter visum est fucis istis, qui cum ipsi nihil praeclari moliantur, 45  
insidiantur alienis laboribus.

Louanium vbi commigrassem, comperi primum librum, vt olim  
a me scriptus erat, latius esse sparsum quam vt premi posset: parum  
enim abfuerat quin iam euulgatus fuerit a quibusdam, qui sedulo  
magis quam prudenter fauent Erasmo. Id nequando fieret, ipse  
recognitum librum typographis commisi, cum alioqui perpetuo sup-  
pressum maluissem; praesertim cum hac de re prodiderit opus  
eruditum, acutum et expolitum Hermannus Buschius, cui titulum  
fecit Vallum humanitatis. Sed tamen a nobis vtcunque recognitum

15. poetria] Cf. Epp. 1126. 335, 1153. 215n, 1196. 450, 559.

19. perstringerem] Cf. Epp. 936. 16-18, 950. 10-12.

23. quatuor] This revision must be subsequent to Ep. 37. 11, where only two books are contemplated.

29. Coletus] This conversation must be placed in 1499 or 1505-6; since it preceded Erasmus' visit to Italy. The later date is perhaps the more probable.

39. deposui] at Ferrara, with other compositions, on his way to Rome in the spring of 1509: see Epp. 283. 169

and 1227, also 1, p. 34. 9. On leaving Ferrara Pace distributed some of the papers to friends (cf. Epp. 66, 244), but took the remainder with him to Rome: ultimately leaving them behind there (cf. Ep. 1210. 15-19). For his difficulty in recovering them cf. Ep. 732. 24. Ascham (Ep. iii. 13, 10 June (1551)) describes the *Antibarbari* as 'olim Romae Richardo Paceo surreptos'.

47. vbi commigrassem] in July 1517.

54. Vallum humanitatis] See Ep. 830 introd. The copy presented by Busch to some friend at the Frankfort

55 exire malui quam sic vt erat descriptus, nempe deprauatissime. Addetur secundus, si licebit nancisci. Reliquum operis addetur e pectore nostro, nisi penes quos lateant nostri commentarioli, maluerint esse boni viri quam alienarum vigiliarum furunculi.

Quibus haec pars, quae totius operis deterrima est, non omnino  
60 displicet, aduigilent vt caetera quoque peruestigentur. Eo libentius dabimus et alia quae nobis adhuc in schedis sunt indolata, velut opus De conscribendis epistolis. Interim tibi dicabitur hoc fragmentum, eruditissime Sapide, qui tuae ciuitatis iuuentutem non minus diligenter instituis bonis moribus quam bonis literis. Constanter perge  
65 quod coepisti, neque conquiescito donec omnem barbariem pro tua virili e Germania nostra profligaris. Satis diu nos ipsos ignorauimus, pene pro beluis habiti iis qui sibi nihil non tribuunt. Bene vale. Louanii.

11081111. To JOHN LOUIS VIVES.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 643.  
HN: Lond. xvii. 11: LB. 611.

Louvain.  
{June 1520.}

[The year-date, which has no better authority than H or N<sup>2</sup>, can be corrected from the inhibition of Nesen from lecturing (ll. 61-2; cf. Epp. 1046, 1057); the month-date is indicated by Ep. 1108. In connexion with this letter must be read Ep. 1104; which appears to have been written after the reception of the first news of Vives' arrival in Paris. The present letter treats the same subjects more fully.]

ERASMVS ROTEROD. IO. LODOVICO VIVI, PHILOSOPHO  
ABSOLVTO, S. D.

SVBTRISTEM me ac lassulum mihique non nihil displicentem tua me mirum in modum exhilarauit epistola, Lodouice doctissime, quae felicissimum istud tuum iter sic depinxit atque ob oculos posuit vt mihi tecum viderer peregrinari. Nae te prospero quodam sydere  
5 natum esse oportuit, cui tam feliciter successerit quod perfuga velitatus sis in veteres commilitones tuos sophistas; praesertim Lutetiae, vbi, quod huius disciplinae veluti regnum et arx quaedam esse videbatur, periculum erat ne lapidareris aut crabronum aculeis confodereris. Profecto gratulor publico successui studiorum; sed priuatim  
10 etiam gratulor Academiae Parisiensi ob pristinam consuetudinem illic annis aliquot non insuauiter actam. Quid autem posthac non

1110. 59. deterrima β: teterrima α. 66. e α: α γ. 1111. TIT. PHILOSOPHO  
ABSOLVTO om. H. 4. H: perigrinari F.

fair, 13 Sept. 1518, is now in the British Museum (819. f. 1).

1110. 62. De conscribendis] See Ep. 71.

63. tuae ciuitatis] Schlettstadt: see Ep. 323 introd.

67. nihil non tribuunt] For Northern, and especially German, sensitiveness towards Italian claims to superior-

ity in culture cf. Epp. 112. 11, 321. 10-11, 569. 57-81, 880. 5-6, 1165. 45-7, 1187. 6; BRE. 76, 102, 197, 210; LE<sup>2</sup> 87, 90, 98. 46: and see my *Age of Erasmus*, pp. 264-8.

1111. 1. lassulum] This no doubt marks the beginning of Erasmus' illness; for the course of which see Ep. 1112 introd.



sperandum, posteaquam Sorbona spretis leptologiis solidam ac veram theologiam amplectitur? Gaudeo reuocari Musas antehac prorsus exules a publicis gymnasiis. Quas tamen sic recipi velim vt barbariam ac friuolas tricas tantum discutiant, non etiam obruant 15 disciplinas cognitu necessarias: atque ad has perdiscendas conducent etiam, tantum abest vt officiant. Neque enim solis bonis literis vacandum, quod quidam apud Italos nimis ethnice faciunt; qui posteaquam Iouem, Bacchum, Neptunum, Cinthium, Cyllenium versibus aliquot infulserunt, absolute docti sibi videntur. His literis 20 tum demum suus est honos quum aliis disciplinis grauioribus veluti condimentum admiscuntur.

Caeterum illud saepe mecum admiror, quum omnes ferme totius orbis Academiae veluti resipiscentes ad sobrietatem quandam componant sese, apud solos Louanienses esse qui tam pertinaciter ob- 25 luctentur melioribus literis, praesertim quum nec in hoc sophistico doctrinae genere magnopere praecellant. Narravit mihi ante annos tres R. P. Ioannes episcopus Roffensis, vir vnus vere episcopus, vere theologus, in Academia Cantabrigiensi, cui Cancellarius est perpetuus —sic enim illi vocant summum ac perpetuum scholae antistitem—, 30 pro sophisticis argutationibus nunc sobrias ac sanas inter theologos disputationes agitari, vnde discedunt non solum doctiores verumetiam meliores. Oxoniensis Academia monachorum quorundam opera non-nihil oblectata est initio; sed R. Card. ac Regis autoritate coerciti sunt qui tantum bonum clarissimae ac vetustissimae scholae inuide- 35 bant. De Italia quid attinet commemorare? in qua semper regnarunt haec studia, sed pene sola, si medicinam et iuris peritiam excipias. Academia Complutensis non aliunde celebritatem nominis auspicata est quam a complectendo linguas ac bonas literas: cuius praecipuum ornamentum est egregius ille senex planeque dignus qui multos 40 vincat Nestoras, Antonius Nebricensis. In Germania tot fere sunt Academiae quot oppida. Harum nulla pene est quae non magnis salariis accersat linguarum professores. Coloniae nescio quo fato nunquam in precio fuerunt mansuetiora studia, quod illic, vt audio, regnant examina Dominicalium ac Franciscanorum. Certe semper 45 liberum fuit cui liberet profiteri vel mercede.

19. H: Cyllenium F. 28. R. P. om. H. 30. sic . . . antistitem add. H.  
34. R. Card. F: Cardinalis H. 41. Nebrissensis H.

19. Cinthium] Apollo.  
Cyllenium] Mercury.

28. Roffensis] The reference is perhaps to the comparison with the Cambridge of 30 years earlier, made in Ep. 456. 228-43: written when staying in Fisher's house at Rochester. Cf. also Epp. 457-55-9, 730. 17, 965. 13-16. Such a comparison Erasmus obviously was not in a position to make for himself. The discrepancy between his estimate here and the four years actually past since Ep. 456 was written is not an insurmountable obstacle: for his memory for figures was weak (cf. Epp. 1098

introd. and 1143. 25n). But he was also in England in April 1517 (see Epp. 566, 577 introdd.) and may have had his conversation with Fisher then. In Ep. 1238 Erasmus ranks Cambridge with Paris.

33. Oxoniensis] Cf. Ep. 948. 188n.

34. R. Card.] Wolsey; cf. Ep. 967. 26-8.

38. Complutensis] of Alcala de Henares: see Ep. 541. 37n.

41. Nebricensis] See Ep. 487. 14n. For this form of the name cf. some *Libri minores* corrected by him, Alcala, Mich. de Eguia, 1 April 1525: see BEr.<sup>1</sup> iii. 36.

Louanii quibus tumultibus obstitere procures ne quis quamlibet honestam disciplinam profiteretur vel gratis! Quibus modis conspiratum est aduersus rem magno et vsui et ornamento futuram, non  
 50 solum Academiae sed toti regioni! Proditā est noua vetus constitutio. Adhibita est totius Academiae autoritas, imploratum est praesidium aulae regiae. Acciti sunt auxilio magistratus prophani. Postremo ad lictores ventum est. Nullus non est motus lapis, nihil intentatum relictum est. Ipse huius tumultus non tantum testis sed et pars  
 55 aliqua fuisti. Nec aliud agebatur tanto rerum molimine quam ne quis politioribus literis adiuuaret Academiae studia, praesertim quum et honestissima essent quae docebantur, et professores tam sanctis essent moribus et tam caste profiterentur vt aliquoties in concionibus audiantur minus ad bonos mores facientia. Lutetiae licuit Fausto  
 60 profiteri quoslibet poetas, vsque ad naenias Priapaeas, idque more, ne quid aliud dicam, Faustino. Louanii non licuit Neseño enarrare Geographiam Pomponii Melae. Roma ipsa, Mediolanum, vt de caeteris taceam gymnasiis, ingentibus praemiis ambit et euocat eos qui linguas doceant. Nos Trilingue Collegium ex munificentia Buslidianorum  
 65 institutum, non minus vtilitatis allaturum omni generi studiorum quam ornamenti toti huic ditioni Caesareae, sic machinis omnibus oppugnauimus vt maiore studio fieri non potuerit. Et tamen haud scio an vsquam gentium magis inualescant literae politiores quam hic; vt plane mihi videre videar illud Horatianum, 'Duris vt illex' et  
 70 caetera: nam carmen agnoscis.

Porro quod scribis istis plerosque tam magnifice sentire de lucubrationibus meis, equidem vt agnosco candorem Gallicae gentis erga me, ita vereor ne hic sane nonnihil de tuo in me studio sis admensus. Ac vereor ne quando poeniteat me spreatae Galliae toties tam magnificis  
 75 conditionibus ad se prouocantis. Sed nescio quibus pedicis hic alligor, atque ab his potissimum retineor quorum odiis expelli poteram. Non

52. auxilio *F*: ad suppetias *H*.  
 vereor *F*: metuoque *H*.

59. Fausto *H*: Faustum *F*.

74. Ac

54. pars aliqua] Cf. Ep. 1057 introd. For another matter, arising out of the University troubles, in which Vives had no doubt taken part, through his relation with Cardinal Croy, see de Jongh p. 20<sup>n</sup>.

58. in concionibus] For the amazing devices employed by preachers, especially at Easter, to attract popular attention and fill their churches, see Oecolampadius' *De risu Paschali*, Basle, Froben, 1518. Capito's preface to it, 19 April 1518, states that Oecolampadius was regarded as 'concionator parum serius' for refusing to imitate them. Cf. also the *Ecclesiastes* bk. iii (LB. v. 987<sup>b</sup>), More's letter to Oxford University, 29 March (1518), (Jortin ii. 664); and Erasmus' preface to the reader, 14 Jan. 1522, prefixed to his Paraphrase on Matt.: 'Atque hoc praestaret, opinor, quam populum ineptis

nonnunquam et obsecoenis iocis ad cachinnos concitare. Quem morem nescio quis cacodaemon inuexit in Ecclesiam. Nam etsi populus aliqua voluptate retinendus est atque etiam excitandus nonnunquam, tamen huiusmodi ludicris excitare risum, scurrarum est, non theologorum'. For the note on this passage in the Gouda MS. 1324, f. 9 see vol. i, p. 612. Vives in his notes on Aug. *Ciu. Dei*, Basle, Froben, Sept. 1522 (viii. 27; pp. 266, 7) protests against the unseemly character of the Passion dramas exhibited to the people, and gives some details.

62. Roma] See Ep. 1062. 140n.

Mediolanum] For Francis I's Greek College founded in 1520 by John Lascaris see A. Lefranc, *Hist. du Collège de France*, 1893, pp. 71 seq., 391-2.

69. Horatianum] *C*. 4. 4. 57.

75. prouocantis] Cf. Ep. 994. 11n.

licet harena cedere, nec ullus est pugnarum finis. Nulla me res inuitavit vt Louanium commigrarem nisi coelum salubrius et locus amoenior; et ad rixas inexplicabiles mihi videor venisse.

Budaeum quem tu meritissimo magnificis laudibus vehis, soleo nonnunquam et apud Germanos meos ad inuidiam vsque iactare: qui cum negare non possent eum esse summum in omni literarum genere, solent causificari summum quidem esse sed vnum. 'Atqui hoc' inquam 'nomine Gallia vincit nostram Germaniam, quae nullum habet Budaeo parem, tametsi permultos habet mediocres, nonnullos 85 supra mediocritatem'. Velitationis illius qua conflictati sumus, iampridem oblitus sum, tantum abest vt commouear. Et erga Fabrum eo sum animo vt ingrata mihi narret, qui secus de illo praedicat quam dignum est integerrimo doctissimoque viro.

R. Card. Croium quum aliis multis de causis mihi charissimum, 90 hoc etiam nomine amo, quod et te nobis restituerit et a cruditatis periculo subduxerit. Bene vale, Lodouice doctissime, et cura vt te quam primum hic hilarem ac lubentem videamus.

Louanii. [Anno M.D.XXI].

1112. TO THOMAS WOLSEY.

Paraphr. in Epist. Petri et Iudae, f<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>2</sup>.  
Lond. xxix. 76: LB. vii. 1079.

Louvain.  
<c. June 1520.>

[The preface to the Paraphrases on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude. The first edition is doubtless that of Martens, Louvain, s. a. (a): a rare volume of which there are copies in the Bibl. Nationale at Paris (A. 18182. 5) and the University Library at Ghent (Rés. 155). This preface was reprinted by Froben in an edition of Jan. 1521 without change except for some negligible misprints. Of the subsequent Froben editions (see Ep. 710 introd.) the octavo of March 1521 (8) has an insertion which can only have been made by Erasmus himself. In July 1521 (7) there is a necessary correction; in the octavo of 1523 (8) a corruption which the later texts followed. But apart from these changes the only considerable revision is, as in Ep. 916, in the folio of 1532 (e). There are some slight variations, no doubt unintentional, in the posthumous volumes of 1540 (f<sup>1</sup>) and 1541 (f<sup>2</sup>).

Erasmus had begun these Paraphrases in May (Ep. 1102. 19-20); but while engaged with them, he fell seriously ill. He had probably designed to finish the book for presentation to Wolsey at Calais (see p. 296), in fulfilment of the promise made in February (Ep. 1060. 57). So he worked on, dictating to a secretary; and thus completed what was lacking, the Paraphrase on Jude and this preface (Epp. 1116, 1117). Martens no doubt did his part punctually; but Wolsey was too busy to receive the book at Calais, and Erasmus was obliged to send it later (Ep. 1132). For his illness at this time cf. also Epp. 1111. 1, 1113-15, 1117. 16-17, 126.

The omission of dates in this preface and the book itself was probably intentional, in case the presentation should be delayed; cf. l. 2n and Ep. 284 introd. An approximate date can be assigned for this preface from Ep. 1117. 125-6]

86. qua H: quo F. 90. R. Card. F: Cardinalem H. 94. Anno M.D.XXI  
add. HN<sup>3</sup>: Anno M.D.XIX N<sup>2</sup>.

78. coelum salubrius] For high  
praise of Louvain and its climate by  
Erasmus see Epp. 881. 9-10, 883. 17-18.

81. Germanos meos] Cf. Epp. 1147.  
43-8, 1165. 45-7.  
91. cruditatis] Cf. Ep. 1108. 205.

REVERENDISSIMO IN CHRISTO PATRI AC DOMINO D. THOMAE,  
S. R. S. TT. S. CECILIAE PRESBYTERO CARDINALI, ARCHIEPISCOPO  
EBORACEN., ANGLIAE PRIMATI, AC TOTIVS REGNI CANCELLARIO  
SVMMO, DES. ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVS S. D.

Cvm frequenter circumspectassem quam studiorum meorum  
foetura magnitudini tuae responderem, quae me hactenus sane  
deterruit ne quid lucubrationum mearum auderem tibi dedicare, tan-  
dem mihi visus sum bis ineptus: primum quasi sit aliquid in meis  
5 literis ingenioe quod, etiam si me ruperò, tuam amplitudinem possit  
aequare, siue spectemus dignitatis istius fastigium, siue hoc fastigio  
dignissimas animi tui dotes, siue officia quibus quotidie non tam me  
onerat tua benignitas quam ipsa bonarum literarum ac verae theo-  
logiae studia; aut quasi tu is esses qui librum voluminis magnitudine  
10 magis quam vtilitate soleas aestimare. Quanquam igitur nondum  
perfunctum prouincia Paraphraseon, quibus Epistolas Paulinas, certo  
germanas duntaxat, explicui, fatigatis etiamnum viribus mox excipe-  
ret dimicatio cum obtrectatoribus; tamen illis tumultuario milite  
profligatis, iisdem statim copiis aggressus sum duas Epistolas Apostoli  
15 Petri et vnam Iudae: simul illud mecum cogitans, quod diuis offertur  
aut viris summatibus, aptum esse oportere magis quam aequale; siqui-  
dem olim absurde facere visus fuisset, si quis Musis offerret hecatom-  
ben aut hederaceas corollas Marti. Itaque primum illud mihi visum  
est congruere, vt ad tam eximium religionis antistitem iret Petrus,  
20 incomparabilis ille Christianae religionis princeps: vt quemadmodum  
illo duce nata est ac propagata sincera vereque Euangelica philo-  
sophia, ita tua pietate, quae se magis ac magis indies exerit, nonnihil  
collapsa restituatur; vt est natura rerum humanarum semper in  
deterius prolabantium, ni magno studio nitamur in diuersum.  
25 Quod si quid etiam commendationis adiungit operis difficultas,  
multo plus hic fuit negocii quam pro voluminis modo. Facit hoc  
partim Petri phrasis multo quam Paulina perplexior, partim quod in  
his non perinde subleuamur veterum commentariis. Nam quos hodie  
habet Glossa, quam vocant Ordinariam, ex Bede vestri commentariis  
30 ad verbum desumpti sunt, viri profecto nec indocti nec indiligentis,  
quantum illa ferebat aetas; idque miro artificio factum est. Pars  
commentariorum subducta est in spacium marginis, pars resecta est

TIT. S. R. S(EDIS) a: S. R. E(CCELESIAE) €. DES. add. ζ. 7. non tam . . .  
8. benignitas a: tua benignitas onerat non tam me €. 14. aggressus sum  
a LB: aggres/sum ζ. 19. vt a: si €. 30. desumpta δ.

2. hactenus . . . 3. deterruit] In view of the Plutarch designed for Wolsey at New Year 1514 (Epp. 284, 297, 658; cf. Ep. 657 introd.) Erasmus must mean here that he had made no further dedication since Wolsey's promotion to York in 1514 and to the Cardinalate and Chancellorship in 1515.

12. germanas] Hebrews alone remained to be done; see Ep. 1181.

13. dimicatio] See Ep. 1037 introd.

29. Glossa] A theological commentary on the Bible, based on the writings of the Fathers, including Bede: usually attributed to Walafrid Strabon, abbot of Reichenau († 849). It is printed in the margins of many early texts of the Vulgate. Between the lines is found also the *Glossa Interlinearis*, linguistic notes by Anselm of Laon († 1117). See F. Vigouroux, in his *Dict. de la Bible*, iii (1903), 256, 7.

in interuallum quod versus epistolae dirimit. Titulus in totum fere ademptus est, haud scio quo consilio.

Insunt in omnibus loca nonnulla quae lectorem attentum et cau- 35 tum requirant: velut in prima de Christo, qui in spiritu praedicarit spiritibus in carcere constitutis, qui olim fuissent increduli; item de Euangelio mortuis etiam praedicato. In secunda de daemonibus in iudicium seruatis; de maledico iudicio, quod nec angeli ferunt aduersum se—tametsi nos locum hunc aliter sumus interpretati, a Beda 40 dissimulatum; de terra ex aqua et per aquam condita; de coelis et elementis incendio soluendis: quibus ex locis nonnulli hauserunt occasionem erroris. In epistola Iudae, de iudicio blasphemiae, qui locus desumptus putatur ex apocryphis Enoch; ex quibus et paulo post adducitur vaticinium, cum is non legatur quicquam scripsisse. 45 Hanc autem ideo subieciimus, quod cum epistola Petri posteriore non solum stilo ac sententiis verum etiam verbis mire congruat, quaedam illius velut interpretans: quod genus illud de iudicio blasphemiae.

De priore Petri nunquam fuit dubitatum; de posteriore fuit, etiam si mentionem facit transfigurati Domini, cui rei non plures tribus 50 discipulis testes adfuerunt. Vnde si Petri non est, oportuit esse alicuius qui se Petrum haberi voluerit. Epistola Iudae serius obtinuit auctoritatem, quod adducat testimonium e libro qui inscribitur Enoch, in quo ferunt haberi quaedam non satis consentanea doctrinae catholicae. Sed quid vetat sic ex apocryphis adducere nonnihil in 55 loco, quemadmodum Paulus ex Epimenide citat testimonium? Coeterum cum in priore Petrus testetur se scripsisse per Syluanum, et in posteriore aperte testetur eam esse secundam, 'Hanc' inquit, 'ecce vobis, charissimi, secundam scribo epistolam', non video qui res possit explicari, nisi aut posterior Petri non sit, aut Syluanus eam 60 scripserit iussu Petri. Quod si haec ab ipso Petro scripta est, videtur tres scripsisse, quarum prima interciderit. De tempore ac loco nihil habetur comperti, nisi quod coniectent priorem Rhomae scriptam, quam in fine Babylonem appellauit, imperante Claudio Caesare.

Sed ne longior sit opere praefatio, magnopere cupimus vt hanc 65 industriam nostram, si quo pacto meretur, R. T. D. candido calculo commendet studiosis; non quod ipsi venemur aliquid apud celsitudinem tuam, cum nec hic animus vnquam nec nunc haec aetas faciat ad ambitionem, sed quod ex eorum fauore iudicioque qui summa dignitate praeminent, mirus ardor ac stimulus addatur studiosis. 70 Praeter multos absolute doctos subolescunt in vestra Britannia tuae

34. fere add. €. 40. tametsi . . . 41. dissimulatum add. B. 46. γ: epistolae α. 48. illius add. €. 49. etiam si α: tametsi €. 51. Vnde . . . 52. voluerit add. €. 53. adducit ζ. 58. aperte add. €. Hanc . . . 59. epistolam add. €. 60. eam add. €. 61. Quod . . . 62. interciderit add. €. 63. coniectant B.

40. aliter] In the New Testament (2 Pet. 2. 11) Erasmus follows the sense given here, 'non ferant aduersus sese apud Deum blasphemum (1519, maledicum) iudicium': but in the Paraphrase he has 'non eo sunt audaciae progressi vt sustinuerint Deo

maledicere'.

41. dissimulatum] Bede's interpretation (Migne iv. 77 cd) of this passage is certainly cryptic.

56. Paulus] Tit. 1. 12.

71. subolescunt] See Ep. 967. 26n, and cf. Ep. 1062. 128n.

benignitatis auspiciis complures optimae spei iuvenes, qui olim et maiora praestabunt et felicius, si studium illorum inflammaret aura tui fauoris. Atque vtinam huc incumbant posthac nostra studia, vt ad  
 75 optimas disciplinas animi mortalium et breuitatis et facilitatis illecebra pelliciantur potius quam, dum nos affectata difficultate prolixitateque studemus videri magnifice docti, optima quaeque ingenia a rebus optimis alienentur! Id praestabunt felicius alii permulti, non dubito; at maiore fide quam nos fecimus, non adeo multi.  
 80 Quod si huiusmodi sanctissimis conatibus, ita vt instituit, fauere perget amplitudo tua, tum apud Deum egregiam laudem sibi parabit, tum apud posteros honestissimam sui memoriam relinquet. Eam nobis diutissime seruet incolumem Christus Optimus Maximus.

## 1113. TO PHILIP MELANCHTHON.

Gotha MS. chart. B. 20, f. 25 v<sup>o</sup>.  
 ME. 80.

Louvain.  
 (a. 21 June 1520.)

[From a manuscript in the Ducal Library at Gotha. The volume is written by two or three early sixteenth-century hands, and contains a number of letters and documents, most of which are concerned with Luther, while some have to do with Breslau. The owner was perhaps John Hess, canon of Breslau, a frequent correspondent of Luther and Melanchthon (cf. Ep. 1033 introd.). In any case the orthography is not that of Erasmus. Förstemann's introductory note to this letter in ME. 80 states that Strobel printed it in Henke's *Magazin für Religionsphilosophie*, ii. 2, p. 204. That publication I have not been able to see: but the similarity of some of its readings, as recorded by Förstemann, to those of the Gotha MS.—differing widely from the inaccurate copy of the ms. used by Bretschneider for ME.—suggests that Strobel also had the same ms. for his original.

The date is marked out with some precision by Hutten's visit to Ferdinand (ll. 36-7). This letter must precede Ep. 1115, in which Hutten has left; and as it is written from Louvain, it must in any case be before 25 June (Ep. 1117). Further evidence is that on 5 May both Luther and Melanchthon had written recently to Erasmus (LE.<sup>2</sup> 302): Melanchthon's being no doubt the letter answered here. Later on, at a date which cannot be defined, Melanchthon forwarded to Spalatinus (ME. 87) letters which he had received from Erasmus and Hutten—probably this and HE. 171\* of 4 June (*Hutteni Opera*, iv, p. 689; cf. ZKG. xviii, 1898, pp. 403-4.) On 6 July Erasmus describes this letter as written *nuper*, and as intended for Luther quite as much as for Melanchthon (Ep. 1119. 26-7).

For communication between Melanchthon and Erasmus c. Aug. 1519 see ME. 49.]

## ERASMVS PHILIPPO MELANCHTHONI.

S. P. SANCTIS tuis studiis, mi Philippe, semper in melius gliscentibus magnopere gratulor. Illud vnum eciam atque eciam admoneo, vt valetudinis tue rationem habeas. Hic conspiratio sceleratorum aduersus vere Christianam doctrinam ac bonas litteras non cessat.  
 5 Exoriuntur subinde noua monstra; proxime Leus vt omnium indoctissimus ita virulentissimus, natus ad malefaciendum ac male-

1113. 3. valetudinis] Cf. Ep. 947. 42, 3 and n.

dicendum omnibus. Habet in Anglia duos stolidos Abbates et Minoritam Standicium, nunc episcopum, cuius mencio fit in Prouerbiis meis. Hii subornarunt Cartusiensem quendam, iuuenem simpliciter indoctum, sed dyabolicum hypocritam et prorsus alterum Leum. Is scribit ἐξ ἀμαξῶν in me, in Fabrum insaniore Horeste. Atensis periit, non ob aliud nisi quod impar esset huic tragedie. Precipua pars huius mali fuit Iacobus Latomus; et aduc est, quoniam decreuit hic regnare.

De Luthero varia nunciantur. Homini faueo quoad licet, eciam si ubique meam causam cum illius causa coniungunt. Plane futurum erat ut illius libri exurerentur in Anglia. Hoc certe prohibui scriptis ad Cardinalem Eboracensem litteris; qui idem a me monitus silentium imposuit publica sua voce clamoribus stolidis apud populum, et nominatim Standicio presenti. Fauet bonis studiis. Illum nihil offenderat in Luthero, nisi quod negaret primatum summi Pontificis esse iuris diuini. Qui fauent Luthero—fauent autem ferme boni omnes—vellent illum quedam ciuilius et moderacius scripsisse. Sed id nunc admonere serum est. Video rem ad sedicionem tendere. Precor ut res cedat in gloriam Christi. Fortasse necesse est ut veniant scandala, at ego nolim esse scandali author. Istorum conatus plane video dyabolicos, nec alio spectare quam ut oppresso Christo regnent sub pretextu Christi. Commendabis me D. Luthero et amicis tuis omnibus.

Hec scripsi repente oblato nuncio et valetudinarius.  
Louanii.

30

Erasmus tuus.

Mire placuit hec Responsio Lutheri aduersus condemnationem Colo(niensem) et Loua(niensem). Tandem cepit eos pudere sue prepropere pronunnciationis. Nolueram nomen meum admixtum fuisse; nam ea res me grauat et Lutherum non subleuat. Huttenus

7. Habet scripsi, cf. Ep. 1126. 11, 12: Habeo MS.

29. et Strobel: vt MS.

7. stolidos] This epithet is no doubt based upon their support of Lee: not upon any personal knowledge of them by Erasmus.

Abbates] See Epp. 1061. 150, 152 nn, 1074. 60n.

8. Standicium] See Ep. 608. 14n. in Prouerbiis] *Adag.* 1498.

9. Cartusiensem] Batmanson; see Ep. 1099. 17n.

11. Atensis] See Ep. 670 introd.

13. Latomus] See Epp. 934. 3nn, 1059, 1125. 17n.

14. regnare] Cf. Epp. 415. 11, 529. 78.

17. exurerentur] Cf. Ep. 1102. 13n.

18. litteris] Ep. 967, with a general defence of Luther.

monitus] in Ep. 1060.

20. Standicio presenti] I can find no other mention of this incident. That Wolsey was no friend to Standish is shown by Brewer ii. 4074, 4083, 4089.

21. primatum] Cf. Nos. 3, 5, 25 of the *Resolutiones Disputationum de Indulgentiarum virtute*, 1518.

23. moderacius] Cf. Ep. 1033. 144-5.

26. scandala] Cf. Matt. 18. 7, Luke 17. 1.

30. valetudinarius] See Ep. 1112 introd.

33. Responsio] Cf. Ep. 1030. 16n. Luther's reply was printed together with the Condemnation, Wittenberg, M. Lotther, 1520: an edition which is evidently prior to that of L. Schürer, Schlettstadt, May 1520. See Luther's *Werke*, Weimar, vi (1888), pp. 172, 181-195. Among those attacked by the conservative theologians Luther mentions (ibid. p. 184. 24,5) 'Fabrum Stapulensem et arietem illum haerentem cornibus in vepribus, Erasmus'.

35. Nolueram] For Luther's compliant reply cf. Ep. 1166. 90n.

36. Huttenus] For long he had been cherishing hopes of the unification of

hic adest, mox aulam Caroli petiturus: sed nulla est aula quam non occuparint isti *πρωτοσύβαννοι*. Rursum vale, mi charissime Philippe.

## 1114. TO ALOISIUS MARLIANUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 509.

&lt;Louvain.&gt;

HN: Lond. xiii. 18: LB. 493.

&lt;a. 21 June 1520.&gt;

[Evidently written for Hutten to take to Brussels in June 1520: see Ep. 1113. 36n. Marlianus (Ep. 411. 8n) had just returned from Spain in Charles' train. About Aug. 1516 he had received the bishopric of Tuy in Galicia (Mart. E. 576); and he had rapidly become an influential member of Charles' Council (cf. Ep. 1199. 4-5). Indeed Peter Martyr, who was his kinsman and fellow-countryman (Mart. E. 696, 722), calls him 'Caesaris semi-anima' (ibid. 655, 722); coupling him with Gattinara (p. 359). For Erasmus' communications with him through Barbirius during the Spanish period see Epp. 695. 50, 794. 85, 803. 3-5.]

ERASMVS ROT. R. P. ALOISIO MARLIANO, EPISCOPO

TVDENSI, S. D.

MAIOREM in modum gaudeo, reuerende Pater, amplitudinem tuam nobis esse redditam; ne nullus mihi patronus sit in aula, posteaquam obiit Syluagius nec rediit Barbirius. Neque enim dubito quin eum animum sis praestaturus Erasmo quem hactenus semper praestitisti: 5 quem ipsum non tam mihi praestabis quam optimis studiis; quibus quoniam impense faueo, multos habeo qui mihi non fauent. Mitto Apologiam qua respondeo iis qui me traducebant apud populum, quod vertissem 'In principio erat sermo'. Vel ex hac re licet illorum stoliditatem maliciosam agnoscere.

10 Qui has perfert, est Huttenus ille facundissimus eques et orator bellacissimus, iuuenis candidissimi pectoris et tuo dignus amore, nisi plane fallor. Pro consilio tuo tum amico tum prudenti, quod ex

1113. 38. *πρωτοσύβαννοι* MS.

1114. TIT. ROT. R. P. om. H.

Germany under Charles, and therefore with of emancipation from the dominion of Rome (cf. Epp. 1129. 22-4, 1135. 19n, 1161); and it was even projected by his friends that he should be attached to Ferdinand's court (LE.<sup>2</sup> 300. 226, 7 = HE. 160). In pursuance of this scheme he set out from Mainz on 4 June (HE. 171, 171\*: cf. ME. 78 and Heumann p. 50 = HE. 174) to lay his plans before Ferdinand (cf. Ep. 1055. 2), who was now probably with Charles at Brussels. On his way Hutten hoped to see Erasmus at Louvain (HE. 171\*); and this intention he carried out (cf. *Spongia*, LB. x. 1645A = HE. 333, § 128). Erasmus gave him a letter of introduction to an influential member of Charles' Council (Ep. 1114); and after Hutten's departure to Brussels wrote further in his praise to

another friend at Court (Ep. 1115). But this he subsequently deplored; see his letter of 8 May 1524 to Luther (LE.<sup>2</sup> 792. 63-6 = HE. 364. 41-3). For his friendly feeling towards Hutten at this time see Ep. 1119. 33-4.

1113. 37. aula] Cf. Epp. 1141. 15n, 1148. 9n.

38. *πρωτοσύβαννοι*] The monks and friars; cf. Epp. 998. 59n, 1082. 13n.

1114. 3. Syluagius] † 7 June 1518: see Ep. 410.

nec rediit] On Le Sauvage's death Barbirius had remained in Spain; entering the service of Adrian of Utrecht, who had been left behind as Charles' sole Regent.

7. Apologiam] See Ep. 1072.

12. consilio] urging Erasmus to abstain from further controversy: see Ep. 1198. 7-14.



Barbirii literis accepi, gratiam habeo, et animus est sequi. Adissem ipse R. T. P., sed adhuc tenella est valetudo; nam aestus superior, quem Phaethon, opinor, rursus admotus solis currui nobis inuexerat, 15 me propemodum confecit. Bene valeat R. T. P., cui me modis omnibus commendo. [M.D.XIX.]

## 1115. TO GEORGE HALEWIN.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 495.  
HN: Lond. xii. 26: LB. 510.

Louvain.  
21 June 1520.

[Halewin (Ep. 641) had by this time taken orders, and was at Brussels, preparing to attend Charles to the meeting with Henry VIII at Gravelines and Calais (Ep. 1106. 93n). It was perhaps the hope of seeing Erasmus on that occasion which evoked the letter answered here. The year-date is confirmed by Hutten's visit to Ferdinand (l. 45).]

CLARISSIMO VIRO GEORGIO, HALOINI COMINIQTVE DOMINO.  
ERASMVS ROTEROD. S. D.

MIHI vero vehementer iucundum fuit quod animo nondum excidit amicus Erasmus; quem epistola quoque digneris, vir tantus. Locus qui te mouet in Moria, quo sensu dixerim quaedam vere esse, perspicuus erit si memineris fabulae Platonicae de specu atque in hoc natis, qui rerum vmbras pro veris rebus admirantur. Quae 5 sensu comprehenduntur, vere non sunt, quoniam neque perpetua sunt neque semper eodem modo sunt. Sola vere sunt quae contemplatione mentis comprehenduntur. Id cum Plato multis locis inculcat, tum Aristoteles in libris rerum vltamundandarum testatur. Et Paulus epistolae ad Corinthios 2. cap. 4.: 'Non contemplantibus' 10 inquit, 'nobis quae videntur, sed quae non videntur. Quae enim videntur, temporalia sunt; quae autem non videntur, aeterna sunt'. Vt autem omnium perfectissime est Deus, quia simplicissime est longissimeque abest a crassitudine rerum sensibilibus; ita quae ad illum proxime accedunt, verissime dicuntur esse. Sic verius est 15 anima quam corpus. Quanquam autem philosophus abducens sese a rebus sensibilibus meditatur contemplationem rerum intelligibilium, tamen iis non fruitur perfecte, nisi cum animus, expeditus organis materialibus per quae nunc agit, totam vim suam exerit. Porro tametsi sunt vires quaedam quas exerceat animus per organa minus 20 materiae obnoxia, veluti cum intelligit, cum meminit, tamen dubium est apud philosophos an mens, quam Graeci vocant *νοῦν*, omnino quicquam agat in corpore, nullo corporis organo.

1114. 14. R. T. P. F: te H. 16. valeat . . . 17. commendo F: vale H.  
17. M.D.XIX add. H. 1115. 6. vere F Corrig.: verae F.

1114. 13. literis] Not extant. 1115. 3. in Moria] LB. iv. 500b. The  
14. valetudo] See Ep. 1112. introd. reference to Plato (*Rep.* bk. 7) is given  
aestus] For Erasmus' dislike of ibid. 451b and 500b.  
hot weather cf. Epp. 1117. 16, 1205. 15. 10. Paulus] 2 Cor. 4. 18.

Quod hactenus nemo tuo satisfacit animo, nec inter hos qui  
 25 conscripserunt de ratione parandae linguae Latinae, nec ex his qui  
 nunc complures libris proditis testantur quantum assequuti sint in  
 lingua Latina, fortasse nec ipse Cicero satisfaciet animo tuo, vt non  
 defuerunt quibus Maro visus est soloecus, et barbarus Liuius. Ego  
 nec hos probo qui neglectis in totum praeceptionibus, ex autoribus  
 30 petunt loquendi rationem, nec hos qui praeceptis addicti non  
 versantur in euoluendis autoribus. Praecepta volo esse pauca, sed  
 optima: quod reliquum est arbitror petendum ex optimis quibusque  
 scriptoribus, aut ex eorum colloquio qui sic loquuntur vt illi  
 scripserunt. Haec via si cui non placet, non video quid supersit nisi  
 35 vt ad magicas ineptias et polygraphias ridiculas confugiamus: quas  
 non videmus adhuc cuiquam vsui fuisse. Porro quod eorum qui  
 scribunt hodie, videtur impurior oratio, fortassis in causa sunt aures  
 eorum ad quorum iudicium scribimus; fortassis quod subinde  
 cogimur in barbaris autoribus, quibus plena sunt omnia, versari;  
 40 haud scio an et illud, quod orationi vere Romanae ne apud Romanos  
 quidem honos habeatur, atque ob id segnius huic rei datur opera.  
 Alium anguem in herba latentem ego non video. Citius accederem  
 tuae sententiae, si quis exoriretur qui sine vllis praeceptis mere  
 Latine scriberet.  
 45 Adest isthic Vlrichus Huttenus, linguae Romanae delictum, iuuenis  
 nobilis, eruditus et humanus; cum eo melius hanc quaestionem  
 tractabis. Ipse adero post biduum, si vires sinent: nam a morbo  
 vix adhuc satis firmus sum. Ea res in causa fuit vt hanc epistolam  
 dictauerim, non scripserim. Bene vale, vir clarissime.  
 50 Louanii. XI. Cal. Iul. An. M.D.XX.

## 1116. TO GERARD OF KLOSTER.

Rotterdam MS., Erasmus III. 102, p. 48.  
 Horawitz v. 13.

<Louvain.>  
 <c. 21 June 1520.>

[Evidently written shortly after the completion of the Paraphrases on Peter and Jude (Ep. 1112), and before Erasmus had quite shaken off his illness: also before his departure for Calais (p. 296). For Gerard of Kloster see Epp. 504. 2n, 25; 660. 23, 25; 697. 16; 1140. 2-3. It is clear that he was now on a visit to Louvain.]

37. fortasse H.

25. linguae Latinae] For Halewin's interest in this see Ep. 641 introd.

29. neglectis . . . praeceptionibus] On this ground Erasmus criticized Colet: see Ep. 1211. 519-25.

35. polygraphias] The name of a treatise by Trithemius († 13 Dec. 1516), which 'plures scribendi mores aperit'; first printed at Oppenheim,

J. Haselberg, July 1518. It describes various methods of secret communication by cipher; and shows how to use them for magical incantations. The cipher words produced certainly merit the epithet here applied to them.

42. anguem] Cf. Verg. *E.* 3. 93.

45. Huttenus] Cf. Ep. 1113. 36n.

47. a morbo] See Ep. 1112 introd.

DES. ERASMVS ROTEROD. GERARDO CANONICO, DIVAE AGNETIS  
PRIORI VENERANDO, S. P. D.

(O)ERNATISSIME Prior, arbitrio medicorum viuo, et pharmacis viuo, non cibis. Itaque nec adire te possum nec accipere conuiuio. Si commodum erit nos inuisere, erit mihi pergratum colloquium; et eadem opera geminum prestiteris officium, et amicum inuiseris et aegrotum. Mitto libellum in morbo natum; nam sub finem operis 5 inuasit me subito mali vis tanta vt Epistolam Iudae ac praefationem vix dictauerim. Febris quidem depulsa est, sed corpori vires absunt. Bene vale, Pater honorande.

# 1117. To GERMANUS BRIXIUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 518.  
HN: Lond. xiii. 35: LB. 511.

Antwerp.  
25 June 1520.

[The dates are amply confirmed by the contents.

Erasmus' present purpose in going to Antwerp was perhaps to throw off the effects of his recent illness (see p. 283). He stayed no doubt with the ever hospitable Gilles. Either on this occasion, or when he was at Antwerp again in August (p. 324), he received a visit from two delegates sent by the Bohemian Brethren (Ep. 1021. 95n), who were commissioned to show him a copy of the *Apologia* for their position composed by themselves in 1507, and to ask for his opinion of it. Apart from the brief mention in Ep. 1183. 7, which roughly indicates the date, the only source for this incident is in a *Historica narratio de Fratrum orthodoxorum ecclesiis in Bohemia, Moravia et Polonia*, written by Joachim Camerarius the elder (1500-1574), and edited by his grandson Louis, Heidelberg. Voegelin, c. 1 Jan. 1605, pp. 124-6. As the episode is unknown to Erasmus' biographers, it may be quoted here in full:

'Magna afficiebantur Fratres laetitia, quoties cognoscebant aliquos alicubi esse qui veritatem coelestem ex animo adamarent et odissent huic contrariam falsitatem. Percrebrescente itaque fama de Desiderio Erasmo Roterodamo, huius non solum doctrinam et eruditionem bonarum literarum et artium celebrante, sed summis etiam laudibus extollente pietatis et religionis verae studium atque defensionem et inuictarum superstitionum corruptelarumque odium et oppugnationem: tunc Fratres duos ex suo coetu ad eum ablegarunt, Nicolaum Claudianum, medicae artis peritum optimisque disciplinis excultum, et Laurentium Voticium, multarum rerum cognitione clarum, qui admodum senex mortem obiit anno Christi m.d.lxv. Nam et certi aliquid de professione rebusque omnibus suis ab Erasmo cognosci, et ex illius approbatione atque testimonio consolationis sibi aliquid contingere expetebant.

'Erat edita et typis expressa *Apologia Fratrum Norimbergae anno Christi m.d.xi* (but cf. Ep. 1154. 8n). Erasmo commoranti eo tempore Antuerpiae libellum offerunt, et ab ipso studiose petunt vt diligenter perlegat et attendat nunquid insit de quo admonendi, cuiusque expositio ac perscriptio mutanda corrigendaque esse videatur. Futurum enim vt gratissimo animo hoc Fratres accipiant, et promptissima voluntate sententiae eius obtemperent. Quod si, quemadmodum sperent, scriptum illud ipsi probetur, non dubitare se ostendunt quin suo ipse testimonio hoc sit declaraturus.

'Librum Erasmus recipit, et ait sese velle eum legere. Redeunt hi post aliquot dies et audituri de oblato libello iudicium illius et cognituri quid de eo

TIT. CANONICO] This word is perhaps inaccurate. It seems to have been written into the ms. by Lypsius later, in a space left at his first copy-

ing: as though he had been unable to decipher Gerard's surname, perhaps some Latinization of Kloster.

5. in morbo] See Ep. 1112 intro.

quod orauerant futurum esset. Dicit ipsis Erasmus se esse ita multis et magnis negotiis occupatum ut vix respirare prae illis concedatur. Itaque veniam sibi dari aequum esse si non ea diligentia atque consideratione qua debuisset, totum librum pellegerit. Quem quidem percurri ab se, (quando) inspiciendo studuerit, neque errorem vllum aut quod duceret emendandum sese deprehendisse. Ad testimonium autem suum quod attineret, ita se rem habere ut neque eis hoc ornamento adiumentum esse futurum arbitretur, et inde aliquid sibi periculi creari ac detrimenti posset afferri. "Neque putare vos" inquit "debetis meo testimonio aliorum vobis beneuolentiam gratiamue conciliatum iri, cum mea qualiscunque autoritas patrocinio ipsa indigeat. Quod si tam piis quam honestis caeteris studiis praebent vtilitatis fructum mea scripta, non existimo in hoc illa discrimen adduci consultum esse, ut ob communitatem vobiscum testatam ipsa quoque improbentur vel condemnentur omnino et ex hominum manibus excutiantur". Ignoscerent vel timori vel cautioni isti suae, sibi que persuaderent se eis bene cupere, et ab se aliis rebus officia sua fore paratissima.

'Seniores his auditis, etsi expectauerant aliam responsionem, istam tamen excusationem boni consuluerunt, cum praesertim humanorum testimoniorum fundamentum nunquam statuissent iaciendum supra quod veritatis coelestis aedificium extrueretur.'

Camerarius can hardly have had any personal knowledge of the events recorded; but as he was a student at Erfurt from 1518 onwards, he may very likely have heard the story from Draco, who went to Louvain to pay his homage to Erasmus at the end of July 1520 (Ep. 1127. 1-2), shortly after the visit of the Brethren had occurred—if it is rightly placed in June and not in August.

For communication between the Bohemian Utraquists and Luther in 1519 see *LE.*<sup>2</sup> 195, 196, 223, 232. His verdict on their letters was, 'Erasmisant miro modo, tam sensu quam stylo' (*LE.*<sup>2</sup> 223. 40,1.)]

ERASMVS ROTEROD. GERMANO BRIXIO SVO S. D.

DVM curru vehor Antuuerpian, forte obuius eques quispiam Anglus tuas mihi literas reddidit, quas tu tertias esse significas. Expostulas quod non rescripserim, sed grauius etiam quod isthuc me non receperim; et nisi me purgem grauioribus argumentis, vis in periculum venire me, ne videar exosos habere Lutecianos amicos omnes. Postremo non recusas cum Moro redire in gratiam, me quidem autore, contentus hoc praepudicio meo, quod illum eruditione praecellat: sic enim interpretaris verba quaedam mea nescio quae, quae scripseram ad Beraldum.

- 10 Ad quae ut paucis respondeam—sic enim postulat tempus—: Si vidisses, eruditissime Brixii, quantum negotii mihi fuerit in refellendis tum aliorum tum Lei calumniis, si videres sarcinas epistolarum, quibus legendis aliquoties vix suppetit ocium, si laborem quem assidue colloco describendis, emendandis ac recognoscendis libris, sat  
15 scio, quae tua est humanitas, facile veniam dares nostro silentio. Ad haec accessit aduersa valetudo ex aestu contracta, quae me grauiter afflixit, et adhuc habet imbecillum et aliqua ex parte sui iuris. Deinde nullus occurrit qui se diceret istuc iturum.

Iam finge pigriciam in causa fuisse quo minus scripserim: non

TIT. SVO OM. H.

10. tempus F: temporis angustia H.

1. eques . . . Anglus] Cf. p. 296.

2. literas] Ep. 1045, probably the

first of the three, is the only one extant.

3. me non receperim] In response to the renewed invitations from France: see Epp. 994. 11n, 1080. 3n, and cf.

11. 29-30 *infra*.

9. ad Beraldum] The letter is not extant. It was perhaps contemporary with Ep. 1066. Erasmus refers to it again in Ep. 1131. 11-13: cf. also 11. 36, 74 *infra*.

16. valetudo] See Ep. 1112 introd. aestu] Cf. Ep. 1114. 14n.

statim oportuit colligere mihi exosos esse quibus non respondeo. 20 Omnes redamare possum, rescribere omnibus non possum. Vix alium syncerius amo quam Budaeum; et tamen illius literis semel atque iterum prouocatus, nondum respondi. Caeterum non minus mihi in votis erat frui dulcissima consuetudine Budaei, tua, Beraldi, Deloini, Rusei, Ruilli, Lascaris, Pauli Aemilii, Cypriani, quam vos 25 estis cupidi videndi huius corpusculi, vti scribis. Sed ex transuerso repente incidit Lei tragoedia: cui rei dandus erat fere sesquimensis. Ad haec reditus Caroli nostri, quaedam item negocia Hispanica, coegerunt me vertere consilium, non animum. Nec ita tamen sum pollicitus me venturum, quin huiusmodi casus exceperim; quos 30 semper oportet tacite exceptos esse. Porro quicquid humanitatis mihi decreueratis praestare, non minus libenter debeo, neque minorem habeo gratiam quam si iam vsus essem.

De dissidio quod meo magno dolore tibi cum Moro incidit, decreueram accuratius ad te scribere; nam Moro iam hac de re 35 scripseram non indiligenter. Verum hactenus non licuit. Beraldo paucis scripsi, ne malum vtcunque natum glisceret in peius. Nec tamen id factum est volente Moro; cui videbam vsqueadeo non esse formidabilem tuam Antimorum, vt, quemadmodum scribunt, ipse eam curauerit excudendam formulis, idque suadentibus aliquot 40 optimis simul ac prudentissimis amicis, inter quos nonnullos esse scio qui tibi ante libellum aeditum fauebant: nunc in diuersum mutati, desiderant in te ciuilitatem humanis literis dignam. Neque ideo volui rem inter vos componi, quod existimarem periclitari Mori famam ob huiusmodi libellum—quem hic pene nulli legunt; 45 certe neminem adhuc audiui qui laudaret—, aut quod diffiderem Mori viribus, si veniendum esset in certamen; sed quod existimarem hoc ad publicam studiorum dignitatem pariter atque vtilitatem pertinere, si bonarum literarum mystae inter se consentirent, nec abessent a Musis Gratiae, praesertim cum tam acerbis odiis vndique 50 conspiretur aduersus ordinem nostrum. Ocio Mori consulere volui magis quam famae, siquidem maior est ille omnium eruditorum calculis quam vt eiusmodi cauillatiunculis possit obscurari. Tuae vero famae cum primis consultum volebam; cui faueo non vulgariter, quamque indies in maius ac melius augescere cupiebam. Existi- 55 mabam hoc et ad Galliae quoque laudem pertinere: ex qua nihil adhuc prodiit quod omnium iudicio tantum habeat amarulentiae, quantum tuus in Morum libellus.

25. Ruelli H: Ruellii N.

21. Omnes redamare] Cf. Epp. 786. 8-9, 873. 1-2.

23. nondum respondi] No reply to Ep. 1073 is extant.

24. Beraldi] See Ep. 925 introd.

25. Deloini] See Ep. 494 introd.

Rusei] See Ep. 493. 420n.

Ruilli] See Ep. 346. 111n.

Lascaris] See Ep. 269. 51n.

Aemilii] See Ep. 136. 1n.

Cypriani] See Ep. 768. 2n.

27. Lei tragoedia] See Ep. 1037 introd.

sesquimensis] See p. 110.

28. reditus Caroli] See Ep. 1079. 9n. negocia Hispanica] Perhaps an occasion on which Erasmus was invited to advise as Councillor upon public business. For similar cases cf. Epp. 669. 12n, 1120, 1166. 6-11, 1174. 9-13.

29. sum pollicitus] Cf. l. 3n.

34. dissidio] See Epp. 1045, 1087, 1093, 1096.

Moro] Ep. 1093.

36. Beraldo] Cf. l. 9n.

Prouocauit te Morus, sed prouocatus; sed tamen id fecit longe  
 60 ciuilius quam tu respondes: quod tui quoque fatentur Galli. Et ille  
 scripsit in bello, tu tot iam annis rebus pacatissimis; nec aedidit  
 tamen ille quod scripserat, sed amicis extorquentibus indulsit, si  
 modo recognoscerent. Nec mirum est in homine poetico, si veris  
 affingat aliquid attollendae rei gratia, nec foedum est admodum amore  
 65 patriae hallucinari. Hoc tantum tibi impingit Morus; tu quam  
 atrociter hoc moliris, vt illum apud Regem deferas veluti paternae  
 laudis suggillatorem. Nam quae de carminis viciis notarant, non  
 erant digna tragoedia. Iam non excutio qualia sint quibus illum  
 vicissim taxas; nec enim est animus cum amico Brixio depugnare,  
 70 nec opus est Moro nostris praesidiis: cuius mihi potius est opus  
 suppetiis. Imo ne iudex quidem cupiam esse inter duos amicos, ne  
 alterius iacturam cogar facere.

Proinde magnopere miror, mi Brixii, quid tibi venerit in mentem  
 vt verba nescio quae mea ex meis ad Beraldum literis sic interpre-  
 75 tareris, quasi meo praeiudicio palmam eruditionis tibi detulerim.  
 Ego cupiebam vtrunque perpetuo amicum, nec erat consilium alterum  
 alienare meo calculo, praesertim cum adhuc inter vos ferueret con-  
 tentio. Non satis memini quid scripserim Beraldo; illud ausim  
 deierare, me nihil minus sensisse quam quod tu interpretaris. Illud  
 80 sentiebam, quando de literis certamen erat, non oportuisse aliam  
 captare laudem ex eo certamine quam vt eruditione vinceret vtique,  
 si posses. Ostendi quid tibi conandum fuerat, non quid esses asse-  
 quutus. Quod si ego maxime tuam doctrinam Moricae praetulissem,  
 tamen arbitror te modestiorem ac prudentiorem quam qui velles  
 85 agnoscere. Non pronunciaui vter esset doctior, nec est necesse vt  
 pronunciem, et haud scio an meum sit de Mori tuaque doctrina  
 censorem agere; quid alii censeant scio.

Tua non admodum multa vidi, neque cominus eruditionis tuae  
 feci periculum. Mori plura legi, et cum eo fuit intima familiaritas.  
 90 De illo sentio quod nemo non sentit qui pernoui hominem. In-  
 genium est prorsus incomparabile, memoria felicissima, dicendi  
 facultas promptissima. A puero feliciter imbibit Latinas literas,  
 Graecas iuuenis; idque sub doctissimis praeceptoribus, cum aliis,  
 tum praecipue Thoma Linaero et Gulielmo Grocino. In sacris  
 95 literis eo progressus est vt nec magnis theologis sit contemnendus.  
 Liberales disciplinas non infeliciter attigit. In philosophia vltra  
 mediocritatem progressus est: ne quid interim dicam de professione  
 Iuris, praesertim Britannici, in qua ille vix vlli cedit. Prudentia  
 rara et inaudita. Quas ob res Rex cordatissimus non conquieuit  
 100 donec hominem ad penitissima sua consilia pertraxerit.

99. quas ob res *H*: qua de re *F*.

62. quod scripserat] His epigrams  
 on the ship *Chordigera*: see p. 218.

66. deferat] Cf. Ep. 1087. 22on.

67. notarant] in two couplets on p.  
 246, in the verses *PHOEBVS BRUXIVM*  
*ALLOQVITVR*.

74. literis] See l. 9n.

93. Graecas] More states that he  
 heard Linacre lecture on the *Meteoro-*

*logica* of Aristotle (LB. App. 513:  
 1912A-C): most probably in London,  
 after Linacre's return from Italy in  
 the summer of 1499 (EHR. xviii. 514,  
 15). As Grocin was in London at the  
 same time (Ep. 118. 22n), Erasmus is  
 perhaps recording here facts of which  
 he had personal knowledge.

100. pertraxerit] Cf. Ep. 999. 92.

Itaque, mi Brixii, plane friget caillum illud tuum, quod subinde repetis in 'Morus'. Nullus est illi tam inimicus quin prudentiae laudem affatim tribuat. Nam quod vbique videri vis Morum ex alto despicere ac velut pro delectamento habere, vereor ne parum probaturi sint graues et eruditi viri. Nam vt te numero inter eximios, ita non video qua parte Morus sit tibi contemnendus, siue fortunam spectes, siue naturae dotes, siue ingenium, siue mores, siue quodcunque doctrinae genus. Et quo magis admiror Mori dotes, quod ego non facio solus, hoc magis cupiebam inter vos conuenire, tua magis causa quam illius, imo mea quoque causa, ne qua res nostram amicitiam obnubilaret. Quod factum est, infectum fieri non potest; caeterum optarim hoc quicquid est tumultus aboleri. Quod autem credis vix fieri posse vt tua Antimorus obsolescat, aut ego plane fallor, aut nullus est iterum aediturus, si tu conquiescas. Illud multis displicet, quod Morum rursus attigisti in praefatione quadam, cum ille ad tuum libellum nihil adhuc responderit.

Sed vt finiam, optime Brixii, si vis me hoc agere cum Moro, vt iungat vos amnestia, pergam id facere quod coepi. Sin expectas vt Morus tibi supplex sit, plane falleris. Vt illius animum sentio, feliciter gessero rem si hoc ab illo impetrem, vt nolit te odiosius impetere; idque vt fiat, arbitror et ad communem studiorum dignitatem et ad tui nominis honestatem pertinere.

Quod adiciis animum ad res theologicas, nostrasque Paraphrases habes assidue in manibus, non possum non probare tuum consilium. Aedidimus proxima fetura Paraphrasim in epistolas Petri duas et vnā Iudae. Hoc agentem morbus oppressit, sed paulatim reuiscimus. Bene vale, Brixii doctiss. Saluta amicos omnes nominatim.

Antuuerpiae VII. Cal. Iul. ANNO M.D.XX.

#### 1118. TO RICHARD PACE.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 524.

HN: Lond. xiii. 41: LB. 559.

Antwerp.

(c. 25 June?) 1520.

[From the connexion with the other correspondence of this period a conjectural month-date may be assigned. It is evident that Pace and Erasmus had coincided somewhere, and that Pace, learning this just before he left, had sent a note asking Erasmus to come and see him. It is also clear that Erasmus expected to have another chance of meeting Pace before long. Such a situation would have arisen if Pace, who accompanied Henry to France in May-July 1520 (cf. Ep. 1106. 93n), had been detached on a mission to Antwerp in June: or if he had been sent off from Calais just after Erasmus' arrival there in July (see below). There is no evidence that Pace was in Antwerp at this time: so the

102. Morus] Cf. Ep. 1045. 10 etc.

115. praefatione] N.B.G. xl. 870 mentions a second edition of the *Chordigera*, Paris, 1519; and P. Papillon, *Bibl. des auteurs de Bourgogne*, 1745, i. 109, speaks of Brixius' *Carmina*, 1519, which is probably the same book. I cannot discover any copy of it; but, as Brixius published no other book at this time,

its preface is presumably the one referred to here. He perhaps checked its sale, as More had done with his reply (Ep. 1096. 117-21). The *Antimorus*, too, is by no means common.

116. nihil adhuc responderit] Cf. Ep. 1096. 121n.

125. Paraphrasim] See Ep. 1112.

126. morbus] See l. 16.

latter suggestion should for this reason be the more probable. But, though the dates added in H have usually little or no value, such an adventure as just missing a friend might have remained with some distinctness in Erasmus' memory: so that he could place it correctly, when considering it again after a lapse of years. In favour of Antwerp, too, is the consideration that he would hardly have been sending a letter of More for Pace to see, if More and Pace had recently been together: as they were at Calais. It is noticeable that on his way to Antwerp Erasmus fell in with an English horseman (Ep. 1117. 1,2), who may have been one of Pace's retinue.

Erasmus' visit to Calais was the result of invitations from More (Epp. 1087, 1096, 1106) and Warham (Epp. 1101,2; cf. BRE. 166); who evidently designed that he should take part in the ceremonial meetings of the three sovereigns (cf. Ep. 1106. 92n). He was ready to accept, and finally went; but at first was detained by ill-health (p. 283), and in the latter part of June was at Antwerp (Ep. 1117). His time at Calais is therefore probably to be placed between 6-30 July, when his letters give no guidance as to his movements. During that period he was at Bruges, evidently accompanying Charles (Ep. 1129. 1n): so that it seems a reasonable conjecture that he went to Calais also in the train of the Emperor, who was there 11-14 July.

He had a public interview with Henry (Ep. 1342. 844), and with Wolsey probably at the same time (Ep. 1132. 1-3); but with the latter he had no satisfactory intercourse, and possibly not with Henry either. In any case André Meyer, *Relations d'Érasme et de Luther*, 1909, pp. 44-6, is clearly right in regarding the conversation between Henry and Erasmus reported by O. Myconius, 20 Nov. 1520 (Hess ii. 607,8), as in the main fabulous. With Longland, the bishop of Lincoln, however, he had more talk, and was invited to undertake a commentary on the Psalms, one fruit of which was the *In Psalmum quartum concio*, Basle, Froben, Feb. 1525: see Epp. 1535, 1570. More, too, he saw, of course (Ep. 1184. 21-2), and was shown a copy of the *Epistola ad Brixium* (Ep. 1096. 121n). Also he chanced to meet Lee (cf. Ep. 1132. 18n), and shook hands with him as a sign of the reconciliation that had recently been effected (p. 111).]

ERASMVS ROTEROD. RICARDO PACAEO S. D.

SERO mihi redditum est tuum epistolium, iam te conscedente equos. Cupiebam tecum colloqui, et fortassis adhuc dabitur. Ex animo gratulor tibi noua dignitate aucto; cuius meritis nunquam par fortuna responderit.

- 5 Si non dabitur colloqui, commendo tibi negocium non tam meum quam literarum. Quod enim molitur Leus ὁ κατάπατος, non ad me proprie pertinet, fortassis ad vestram Britanniam pertinet; cuius nonnihil refert, opinor, vt laudum suarum praeconem habeat honestum. Scio perpusillum esse laudis quod illi ex meis lucubrationibus accessit;

10 tamen hoc ipsum illi Leus inuidere videtur.

Theologi nouum *μνησάνημα* commenti sunt aduersus Collegium Trilingue. Id cuiusmodi sit ex Mori literis cognosces. Bene vale, patrone singularis. Antuerpiae. M.D.XX.

12. H: trilinguae F.

13. Antuerpiae. M.D.XX add. H.

3. noua dignitate] Cf. Ep. 1103. 18n.  
6. Leus] For the continuance of Erasmus' trouble with Lee at this time see Epp. 1098-9, 1102-3, 1113, 1123,

1126, 1128-9, 1132, 1134, 1139, 1165: but cf. Ep. 1132. 18n.

11. nouum *μνησάνημα*] Cf. Ep. 1113.3-4.

12. Mori literis] Not extant.



## 1119. TO GEORGE SPALATINUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 523.  
HN: Lond. xiii. 40: LB. 512.

Louvain.  
6 July 1520.

[As the Imperial Election is over (l. 8), only 1519, 1520, 1521 are possible. For various reasons 1519 is unlikely: in 1521 at this time the breach between Hutten (l. 33) and Erasmus had begun. 1520 is corroborated by Erasmus' projected return to Germany (ll. 22-3) and by the letter to Melancthon (l. 26).]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS INCORRVPTISS. THEOLOGO D. GEORGIO  
SPALATINO, ILLVSTRISS. SAX. DVCIS A CONSILIIIS, S. D.

ALEXANDER, iuuenis longe candidissimus, reddidit mihi tuas literas exoptatissimas, vna cum duobus nomismatis, optimi Principis tui viam imaginem nobis referentibus. Quo sane dono magis sum exhilaratus quam si mihi misisset auri talentum Atticum. Ille se mihi misit argenteum et aureum, ego me vicissim illi mitto aereum. 5 Vtriusque meritis respondet materia. Quid enim in isto Principe non aureum? qui pro magnitudine animi plusquam heroica contempsit vltro delatum imperium; qui pro singulari fide et integritate sua nullis praemiis vinci potuit, quo minus ei decerneret imperium, quem oneri ferendo iudicasset vnum omnium huius aetatis Principum 10 maxime idoneum; qui tantam auri vim a nostris oblatam pertinacissime respuit; qui mira quadam prudentia dexteritateque inaudita ditionem suam ornat ac locupletat, idque nulla finitimorum iniuria, sed omnium potius publico bono; qui noua schola rem Christianam auxit, quam annis perpaucis ex rara frigidaque, omni linguarum ac 15 literarum genere florentissimam reddidit, ea moderatione fauens optimis studiis, vt tamen non sit veteris doctrinae patronis quod de illo querantur. Ingratissimae literae, nisi huius herois merita monumentis consecrent nunquam intermorituris. Debeo illi priuatim permultum, sed multo plus publico studiorum nomine. Atque vtinam 20 ea felicitas mihi contingat in vita, vt inclytum Principem cum Academia florenti videre liceat! Ni fallor, hoc autumno sum aditurus Germaniam: adnitar inuisere vos, si modo tuto liceat. Interim

TTT. INCORRVPTISS. THEOLOGO D. om. H. ILLVSTRISS. . . . CONSILIIIS om. H. 8.  
qui pro H: quo F.

1. Alexander] Perhaps Schweiss; see Ep. 1192 introd.  
literas] One of these perhaps answered Ep. 1001: cf. l. 2n.

2. nomismatis] Cf. Ep. 1101. 6n. The specimens now sent were no doubt intended to compensate for the loss of the one sent in 1518; see Ep. 1001. 41n.

Principis] Duke Frederick of Saxony.

4. talentum Atticum] Erasmus uses the same figure in writing to Duke

George: see Ep. 1125. 52.

5. aereum] See Ep. 1092. 2n.

7. contempsit] Cf. Epp. 1001. 58-9, 1030. 53-64.

14. noua schola] Wittenberg University; cf. Ep. 1125. 14-15.

22. hoc autumno] In execution of his plan formed earlier in the year: cf. Ep. 1078. 62n.

23. inuisere vos] This must be taken literally, not as an intimation (cf. Ep. 964 introd.) that he would like to be invited to settle at Wittenberg. Such

optimi Ducis imaginem inter ea reponam quae mihi sunt charissima,  
 25 mecumque circumferam, semper in delitiis habiturus.

Scripsi nuper Philippo Melanehthoni, sed sic vt eadem opera  
 putarim me scripsisse Luthero. Precor vt Christus optimus maximus  
 Lutheri stilum et animum ita temperet vt plurimum adferat fructus  
 Euangelicae pietati, mentemque meliorem det quibusdam qui cum  
 30 ignominia Christi suam quaerunt gloriam, qui cum illius iactura  
 suum quaerunt lucrum. In castris eorum qui Lutherum oppugnant,  
 multos video qui mundum spirant magis quam Christum. Et tamen  
 vtrinque peccatur. Vtinam Huttenus temperasset stilo suo! cuius  
 ingenium amo vnice. Optarim Lutherum ab istis contentionibus  
 35 aliquantisper conquiescere, ac rem Euangelicam tractare pure, non  
 admixtis affectibus: fortasse res aliquanto melius successerit. Nunc  
 et bonas literas degrauat inuidia nobis exitiabili, ipsi infrugifera. Et  
 periculum est ne publica morum corruptela, cui nemo non fatetur  
 opus fuisse publico remedio, ceu pestis exagitata magis ac magis sese  
 40 confirmet. Nec semper est proferenda veritas; et magni refert  
 quomodo proferatur. Bene vale, vir optime, meque Principi tuo  
 commendatum facito. Louanii prid. nonas Iulii. ANNO M.D.XX.

Erasmus ex animo tuus.

1120<sub>1148</sub> FROM CONRAD FRICK AND LAURENCE ESINGER.

Basle MS. C. VI<sup>b</sup>. 3, f. 246.

Freiburg.  
 12 July (1520).

[This letter was discovered by my wife in July 1908 in a volume of Zasius' papers among the treasures of the University Library at Basle. It illustrates an episode in Erasmus' life hitherto only dimly intelligible through Ep. 1148: to which an incorrect year-date was subsequently appended in H. The manuscript is an autograph rough-draft, in Zasius' hand throughout, and follows two other rough-drafts by Zasius, of the same date and on the same business; the second addressed to John Hannart, chancellor of Charles v, the first to John Salius Austriacus de Steyr, 'artium et medicine doctor, Ferdinandi physicus' (l. 10n), with a postscript adding that Schuttern had been founded by Offo, an Englishman of royal blood, and that in consequence it might be hoped that Henry VIII would intervene on its behalf. The present letter was no doubt composed by Zasius at the request of the two Abbots.]

For the business in hand see l. 12n. The appeal to Charles, even with the support of Erasmus and the other councillors addressed, was doomed to disappointment; as appears from a letter written by Zasius in 1530, when asked to advise in a similar case, 'Verenda manus Principis, quam experti sunt Abbates Schutern et Etenmünster in Carolo, qui exclusi ab omni audientia, exclusi a iuris exhibitione, coacti sunt parere mandatis' (ZE. 234).

The two monasteries concerned lie to the East of the Rhine; Schuttern in the plain, on the river Schutter, between Lahr and Offenburg, Etenheimmünster

26. FN<sup>2</sup>LB: Melanchtoni N<sup>1</sup> Lond.

43. Erasmus ex animo tuus om. H.

a move would have brought him into closer connexion with Luther than he could possibly have desired at this time. His credit there as a theologian soon declined: see BRE. 206.

26. Scripsi] Ep. 1113.

33. Huttenus] For Erasmus' recent

relations with him see Ep. 1113. 36n; and, for subsequent developments, Epp. 1135 introd., 1184. 25-6, 1195. 136-41, 1202. 274-5.

40. veritas] For this principle see also Epp. 1167. 164-7, 1195. 106-9, 1202. 126-7, 1219. 100-1, 1331. 20-4.

some distance up the valley of the Unditz, which debouches into the plain at Ettenheim, s. of Lahr. Among the hills to the e. of Lahr lay the strong castle of Geroldseck on the Schönberg, dominating the upper waters of the Schutter to its w. and the Kinzig on its e. The situation of all three is carefully described in a letter from Ottelinus of Lahr to Beatus Rhenanus, 27 Feb. 1531 (BRE. 272; but on p. 383. 31 for *occidentem* read *orientem*).

Conrad Frick († 3 April 1535) was elected Abbot of Schuttern on 12 July 1518; but not much is known of him. In Feb. 1522 he was visiting Nuremberg (ZE. 266). In 1523 he was present at the election of an abbot for the Benedictine house of Alpirsbach, high up in the valley of the Kinzig (GC. v. 1065). Luscinius (Ep. 302. 16n) speaks of him as an old friend and tells a story of his humour in letting a house in Strasburg (*Ioci ac sales*, Augsburg, S. Ruff, 13 Feb. 1524, no. 82). In May 1525 he took up arms with the nobles for the suppression of the Peasants (ZE. 243), and in April 1526 was negotiating with the Austrian authorities at Ensisheim for the restoration of the monks of Hügshofen (BRE. 255). He had sufficient interest in history to promote the continuance of the Chronicle of Schuttern begun by P. Volz (Ep. 368): see F. J. Mone, *Quellensammlung der badischen Landesgesch.* iii, 1863, pp. 42, 56. The abbey of Schuttern owned a house in Freiburg, at which Botzheim was staying in 1519 (ZE. pp. 492, 494). For mss. formerly belonging to Schuttern see L. Dorez in *Mélanges Emile Châtelain*, 1910, pp. 293-9.

Laurence Esinger († 1544) of Villingen, near Donaueschingen, was elected Abbot of Ettenheimmünster 4 July 1500, and ruled there for more than 43 years (GC. v. 866). He was present with Abbot Conrad at Alpirsbach in 1523; but beyond this I have found nothing about him.

In the manuscript volume this letter is bound up so tight that the last figure of the year-date cannot be read: but it can be supplied without hesitation from Zasius' other two letters mentioned above as written on the same day. It is noticeable that there is no allusion to this affair of the two Abbots in Ep. 1121.]

S. P. D. Animauit nos, magne Erasme, doctissime heros, praesentium exhibitor, vir ex solido laudatus et industrius, quatenus ad vestram praestanciam vel modicis scriberemus. Subiecit calcar Zasius ille, vestri nominis prece indefectus, qui ignem vos esse de celo sumptum et non minore quam quemcunque ex vetustis Ecclesiae cardinibus honore venerandum praedicat. Inuitabat porro singularis necnon admirabilis vestra tum comitas tum benignitas; quae duo prae innumeris aliis diuinis vestris dotibus praecipua in vobis praedicantur. Ausi igitur vel inciuilius vos appellare, nostrarum vobis necessitatum condicionem, quam ex domini Iohannis Salii declaracione facile intelligetis, synceriter commendamus.

10. Salii] John Saltzman (Salius or Salianus) of Steyer in Upper Austria. His first known work is a poem on the Annaberg (Ep. 1122. 12n), addressed to the town-council of that young settlement, 19 June 1507; and first printed, apparently from the original ms., by Michael Barth in his *Annaeberg*, Basle, Jo. Oporinus, March 1557. In his preface Salius speaks of receiving the poet's laurel from Maximilian, in 1506, in reward for a poem on Carinthia; and describes himself as M.D. Next he wrote *De praeservatione a pestilentia*, Vienna, H. Vietor, 16 Nov. 1510; with a preface dated 12 Aug. from

Nagy-Szeben in Transylvania. A German version of this, Vienna, Jo. Singren, 1521, styles him physician to Ferdinand, and his preface is dated from Gratz, 15 Sept. I have not seen the book in either Latin or German: but M. Denis, *Wiens Buchdruckergeschicht*, 1782, p. 339, states that he had experience of the plague in Bohemia and Moravia 1506-7, in Transylvania 1510.

He was a friend of Reuchlin, and brought news of him to Erasmus just about this time: see Ep. 1129. 1n. Aschbach (*Gesch. d. Wiener Univ.* ii. 98) states that he was at one time Professor of Medicine at Vienna.

Impetiit nos hactenus Baro de Geroldsegk, non iure, et, ne grauius queramus, vim aliquando et nostris iniecit subditis et nobis comminatus est; et cum iure contendere deprecetur, insultare nobis, nos  
 15 traducere, infamare aggreditur. A cuius insolencia nisi nos illustrissimus Rex noster ad iusticiae gradum, et quidem potenter, id quod iam cepit, defenderit, nobilium factionem qui ei herent concussionisque ipsorum diutius sustinere non posse veremur. Hac in re, amplissime heros, si alia non potestis, voce certe, sermone,  
 20 suasionem, hortatu, scripto res nostras foueatis; et, vt estis ad omnia optima, ad omnia sublimia, necnon ad salutem mortalium natus, nostris calamitatibus, quas insontes patimur, benigno salubrique succursu ad iusticiam duntaxat adserendam quam expetimus, cui stare parati sumus, consulatis.

25 Erimus quacunque remetiendi officii occasione exhibita in omnia vestra vota pro viribus paratissimi. Valete.

Ex Fryburgo iiii<sup>to</sup> idus Iulii Anno &c. x(x)

Conradus Schuterani et Laurentius Ethonis

monasteriorum Abbates, prouinciae Brisgautiae.

30 Venerabili et amplissimo viro domino Erasmo Rhoterodamo, theologie doctori eminentissimo, omnium meliorum doctrinarum facile principi, domino et amico nostro quam maxime obseruando.

# 1121. FROM ULRICH ZASIUS.

Zasii Opera, 1550, v. 490 = 590 (a).  
 ZE. 200.

Freiburg.  
 13 July 1520.

[From Zasius' *Opera omnia*, Lyons, S. Gryphius, 1549-50, edited in six volumes by his son J. U. Zasius and Joachim Mynsinger, with a royal privilege dated 10 Sept. 1548: apparently the first issue. Rieger, ZE. p. (179), mentions a Lyons edition, apud Sennetonios fratres, 1548; but about it there seems to be some doubt. At one point the text of *a* is difficult and has been corrected by Rieger.

The year-date is confirmed by the reference to the controversy with Budaeus; see l. 31n. As this letter is thus contemporary with Ep. 1120, some reference

12. Geroldsegk] The ancient family of this name, with dominions extending from the Rhine into Swabia (see introd.), claimed the jurisdiction of an *aduocatus* and *defensor* (Kastenvogtei) over Schuttern and Ettenheimmünster, which they had held from 1393 to 1486. It had passed then through war to the Palgrave Philip; but in 1506 Maximilian acquired it by arms, and restored it to the Geroldsecks in 1512: though the Abbots claimed to remain under Austrian control, and tried hard to throw off their restored masters. On Maximilian's death they renewed their endeavours, as this letter shows, but were compelled to an agreement

with Gangolf I († 1523) of Geroldseck in 1522. See F. J. Mone, *op. cit.*, iii. 61-5. For the severity of the struggle see a letter of Zasius to A. Blaurer, 3 Aug. 1518: 'Plura scripturum interrupit Geroldeccianus turbo, quo misera monasteria concuciuntur' (Bl. E. 14). For correspondence in 1520 between Erasmus and another member of the house of Geroldseck—Theobald, son of Gangolf I, who was Administrator-abbot of Einsiedeln 1513-25, but later joined the Reformers, and fell at Kappel 1531—see BRE. 144, 180 = Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 114, 156, perhaps also Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 146 (but see Ep. 1033 introd.).

16 Rex noster] Cf. Ep. 1121. 36.

might have been expected in it to the important business there laid before Erasmus. The subject—a dispute which may well have lasted through more than one generation—was perhaps omitted in printing, for reasons of prudence.]

ZASIVS ERASMO S. P. D.

QVID censes, magne Erasme? Eduardus Leus nonne mortem sibi vel ciuilem consciuisse videtur, qui suis istis vanis in te insectationibus bonae existimationis famam enecuit? cum Pauli iureconsulti quoque sententia maior sit famae quam vitae interitus. Deum immortalem, quam dispar est hominum conditio! Tu salutem mortalium 5 saluberrimis tuis doctrinis adiuuare pergis: Eduardus contra ita incommodat ac si communi saluti inuideret. Caius Caligula olim vnam populo Romano ceruicem optabat, vt iugulare rem Romanam vel momento posset. Quid absimile Leus molitur? Erasmum Leus suggillare pergit. Cui igitur alii quam Christianae fidei plebisque 10 Christum professae velut ceruici imminet, (et) literatorum omnium qui ex te pendemus, iugulum petit? Verae synceraeque theologiae germen, per te meliori cultura pastinatum, nondum iusta radice inualuit; et crescentem iam foeturam Eduardus praecidere aggre-

ditur? 15 Sed dii meliora. Insurgit contra publicae vtilitatis infestorem totus literatus ordo; populari actione opprimendus populi inimicus. Credo enim ex doctis, si sint boni viri, si in publicum prodesse cupiunt, neminem in toto esse orbe cui non vehementer Eduardi tam insalubre consilium displiceat; quique litem contra eum pro communi 20 literarum patrono, tutore, parente non sit subscripturus. Sumus in Germania non pauci qui, vt olim cum Mutio Scaeuola nobiles Romani contra Porsenam, ita pro repub(lica), id est Erasmo, contra Leum coniurauerimus. Tu ergo, vt coepisti, magne heros, procede: ridiculum hominem, hominem semissium non morator. Sicuti enim aquila 25 muscas non insequitur, ita non curant magni viri puluerariam fecem. Denique et Dominus a latere tuo erit custodietque pedem tuum ne capiaris.

Sed haec hactenus. Qui viuas scire cupio, qui mihi numen es. Dorpius ille, vir, si vita respondeat, cum paucis conferendus, an 30 adhuc noster sit, id est verae theologiae assertor, fac sciam. Budaeus

10. quam Riegger: vel a. plebique Riegger, perperam. 11. et addidi: qui add. Riegger.

1. Leus] Zasius had expressed himself fully on Lee in a letter to Beatus, 5 June (BRE. 168), which is printed in EEV; see p. 210.

7. Caligula] Cf. Suet. *Calig.* 30.

27. Dominus] Proverbs 3. 26.

30. Dorpius] In the recent reconciliation Zasius had taken some part: cf. Ep. 1044. 49n.

31. Budaeus] He wrote to Zasius (ZE. p. 466: BE.<sup>4</sup> 39) on 25 July (1519) commenting on the first item in Zasius' recently published *Lucubrationes* (Ep. 862), and defending himself against criticisms made therein upon his own

works. Zasius' reply (ZE. p. 471) is dated 1 Sept. 1519; cf. ZE. 6 for his views on the question a few days earlier. He adhered to his intention of not publishing it (cf. ZE. 13). Contemporary ms. copies of the two letters are not uncommon; e.g. at St. Gallen, Vadiana xi. 205 and i. 165. Boniface Amerbach wrote from Avignon on the same date as this letter, asking for his own copies of them which he had left behind (Basle MS. C. VI.<sup>a</sup>. 73.47). Stintzing, who gives some account of the dispute (Zasius, pp. 195-201), states that they are in the Library at Basle.

nugis meis quas in l. ii de orig. iur. pro nouitiis congeSSI, nimium quam intentus, parum amice ad me scripsit: cui non segniter respondi. Exemplar vtriusque mitto: quae tamen edere non est  
35 consilium, quod officio quam conuiciis cum bonis viris certare malim.

Regis nostri humanitati qua mihi nunc frui datum est, pro virili respondere conabor. Senex enim quamuis sim, difficillimas tamen iuris ciuilis lectiones non sine fama mei et nouo et eleganti modo profiteor. Nam vtut vires deficiant, ingenio nihilo magis destituor.  
40 Cuperem vero a regentiae onere ferari, vt eo quietior studiis in auditorum meorum vtilitatem possem intendere. Qua in re si me adiuueris, te me beasse lubens confitebor. Vale ad salutem mortalium diu sanus.

Ex Frib. III. Id. Iulii. Anno M.D.XX.

# 1122. TO MATTHIAS MEYNER.

Epistolae selectae, 1520, f<sup>o</sup>. M (a).

F. p. 510: HN: Lond. xiii. 20: LB. 514.

Louvain.

30 July 1520.

[For the first source see App. 12 in vol. iii. The year-date given in the text is probably correct, but I cannot establish it as certain. It is corroborated by Ep. 1125, and by the fact that neither letter appears in the *Farrago* (E). But Erasmus was at Louvain at the end of July in 1517 and 1519 also. The date of Barland's volume precludes any later year than 1520.

The person here addressed omitted to add his surname (cf. ll. 19-20) in writing to Erasmus; and in consequence he has hitherto, so far as I know, eluded identification. The title *decimarius* shows that he was one of the superintendents appointed by the dukes of Saxony to control the silver mines; cf. the *Bermannus* (l. 12n), p. 131. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that he was a certain Matthias Meyner of Chemnitz, superintendent of the mines at Schneeberg, to whom on 5 Nov. 1522 Mosellanus dedicated an edition of Prudentius' *Cathemerina*, Leipzig, N. Faber, s. a. (see O. G. Schmidt's *Mosellanus*, 1867, p. 72); and who was a friend of Eppendorff (*N. Arch. f. sächs. Gesch.* xxiii, 1902, p. 142). He was in office in 1515, but by 1523 his successor had been appointed. It does not follow, however, that he was dead; for the opening lines of this letter seem to indicate that he was now retiring and settling in one of the Saxon university towns, probably Leipzig, where he had matriculated in 1493, and was B.A. Sept. 1494, proceeding later M.A. His widow married Geo. Agricola (l. 12n) in 1543, bore children to him in 1550 and 1552, and was still living in 1580: so that she was perhaps Meyner's second wife. See C. Meltzer, *Historia Schneebergensis*, 1716, i, p. 383; and a translation of Geo. Agricola's *De re metallica*, by H. C. and L. H. Hoover, 1912, p. vii.

36. Regis nostri] Charles v. It appears that since landing in the Netherlands he had conferred some honour on Zasius, perhaps a renewal of the councillorship which Maximilian had bestowed in 1508 (Schreiber, *Gesch. d. Univ. Freiburg*, i. 203).

37. Senex] Cf. Ep. 1103. 24n.

40. regentiae] The governing body of

the University, to which since 1503 Zasius had been legal adviser. For several years now there had been constant disputes with the Town Council about dues and privileges. See Stintzing's *Zasius*, pp. 46, 243-4. On 5 Dec. 1520 the University decided to release Zasius from some part of these duties; see ZE. pp. (63,4).

The whole packet of letters, 1122-8, was probably sent by the same hand, Draco (Epp. 1124, 1127; cf. JE. 43); whose journey back to Erfurt would lie through Mainz, and perhaps Würzburg, and who would have facilities for forwarding to Leipzig and Dresden.

Henry of Eppendorff (l. 10), near Freiberg in Meissen, matriculated at Leipzig in 1506, and was B.A. 11 March 1508; and c. 1511-12 Melancthon had formed an ill opinion of him (cf. ME. 267 with Ep. 1496). Little else is known of him before his visit to Erasmus at Louvain in July 1520 (Epp. 1122, 1125). He claimed to be of knightly rank; but this was disputed by both Mosellanus (Ep. 1437) and Emser (Ep. 1551). The change in l. 11 made in F is, however, noticeable. Duke George of Saxony gave him money to carry on his studies (Ep. 1437); and from Louvain he went to Freiburg, where he can be traced in June 1521 (Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 222: H. Schreiber, *Gesch. Univ. Freiburg*, ii. 193) and March 1522 (App. 14). At one time there he was involved in a suit for debt (Schreiber, *op. cit.*, ii. 100). By May 1522 he had been for some while at Basle (Ep. 1283). He attached himself to Erasmus (Basle MS. G. II. 13. 123<sup>a</sup>), whom he accompanied in Sept. to visit Botzheim at Constance (cf. BRE. 226, 7). In Dec. Erasmus could still write of him with approbation to Duke George (Ep. 1325); but when the breach between Hutten and Erasmus began, Eppendorff followed Hutten and quickly drew away from his former friend (cf. App. 14). In the present letter may be seen signs of growing coolness. For letters of Eppendorff at this period see Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 253 and *N. Arch. f. sächs. Gesch.* xxiii, 1902, p. 142.

On Hutten's death Eppendorff withdrew to Strasburg, where he communicated his dislike of Erasmus to Otho Brunfels (HE. 334, p. 350) and others (Ep. 1466); among whom, to Erasmus' disgust, was Capito (Ep. 1485; cf. Epp. 1459, 1496). As a result of the attack upon himself Erasmus wrote to Duke George denouncing Eppendorff. The letter was never published; but it reached Eppendorff and supplied him with a handle against Erasmus which he was not slow to use (cf. Epp. 1448, 9). For some years he repeatedly threatened an action for defamation (Lond. xix. 72, 58; LB. 906, 927); and at length, as there was no abatement of Erasmus' language, he came to Basle to carry out his threat (Horawitz i. 11, ii. 8). Proceedings were only averted by the intervention of Boniface Amerbach, Beatus Rhenanus, and L. Ber; who on 3 Feb. 1528 established a sort of peace between them (LB. App. 346; cf. Hess ii. 603, 4). But the settlement was not satisfactory (LB. 058) and Erasmus was tardy in fulfilling his part (cf. LB. 1087, 8; and Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 89). Early in 1529 he sent a written account of the position to Duke George (cf. LB. App. 348, 9); and in the colloquy, *Ἰννεὺς ἀντιπρὸς*, first printed in the Froben edition of March 1529, the chief character was so lightly disguised as to be easily recognizable (cf. Ep. 1168. 19n and EE. 111). For a time the move to Freiburg seemed to give relief (Lond. xxiv. 4, LB. 1060). Next year Eppendorff went to Augsburg to meet the Duke at the Diet and expound his side of the case (EE. 128, 137; cf. Lond. xxv. 30, 42, LB. 1118, 1208); and on return visited Erasmus at Freiburg with some degree of amity (BRE. 275; cf. Lond. xxx. 53, LB. 1146). But neither was satisfied. Erasmus produced for publication a statement of his position, *Adversus mendacium . . . utilis admonitio*. Freiburg, s.n., 1530; and Eppendorff replied with a *Iusta Querela*, Hagenau, J. S. cerius, Feb. 1531. After this, through the mediation of J. Pflug, sent by Duke George (J. p. 60, and Lond. xxvi. 1, LB. 1168), the quarrel was happily allowed to lapse; though Erasmus' apprehensions continued (Lond. xxx. 56, LB. 1205).

The accusations made against Eppendorff by Erasmus are mitigated by what is otherwise known of his life. He appears as a friend and patron of men of letters (BRE. 239: EE.<sup>2</sup> 69). Even so firm an adherent of Erasmus as Boniface Amerbach treated him with respect (Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 89, 124). Between him and Volz there were close ties (BRE. 343. 348; cf. App. 14). Huttich (Ep. 550 introd.) speaks well of him in the preface to *Imperatores Romani*, Strasburg, W. Cephalaeus, 1526, f<sup>o</sup>. A.<sup>3</sup> From 1523 onwards he lived quietly at Strasburg, occupied largely in literary pursuits. Schott printed for him translations into German of Plutarch's *Apophthegmata*, 1534, and *Moralia*, 1535, and of some books of Pliny N. H., 1543; of A. Krantz's *Chronicon Daniae*, 1545, and of various writings about the Turks, 1550: also a short History of Rome in German, 1536 (cf. SE. 246, 256), and in 1551 a collected volume of some of these. The date of his death is unknown.

See an excellent life by Chr. Saxius, Leipzig, 1745: BEr.<sup>2</sup> *Admonitio*, with a detailed account of the quarrel with Erasmus; and ADB.]

ERASMVS ROT. ORNATISSIMO VIRO MATTHIAE, SERENISS. SAXONIAE  
DVCIS GEORGII DECIMARIO, S. D.

- FELICITATEM istam tibi gratulor, vir ornatissime, qui tandem manu-  
missus ab ociosis et odiosis aulae negociis decreueris in optimis studiis  
consenescere. Alberti Ducis bellicae rei peritia clari quondam ado-  
lescens nomen duntaxat accepi in Hollandia. Pridem cum apud  
5 Anglos agerem, Georgii Ducis mirificam quandam imaginem mihi  
depinxit illius Cancellarius: atque cum huius oratione mire con-  
sentiebant publicae famae suffragia. Porro Friderici Ducis virtutes  
plusquam heroicas non solum ex nostrorum Principum praedicatione  
verum etiam ex ipsius ad me literis ac xeniis nuper cognoui.  
10 Reddidit mihi Henricus ab Eppendorff, rara indole iuuenis et ipsa  
fronte mentis ingenuitatem prae se ferens, tuo nomine tres argenti  
infecti massulas, vt e vestris vaenis sunt effossae: quarum minima  
rubebat, maxima liuebat, media pallescebat. Maiorem in modum me  
delectabat rei nouitas nunquam antea conspectae. Tametsi, quod  
15 scribis me percupidum fuisse vaenarum vestrarum, scito mihi nun-  
quam antehac in mentem venisse vestra metalla. In praesentia nihil  
est ad manum quo tuamensem munificentiam, nisi quod tibi mitto  
Erasmum plumbeum, ipse plusquam luteus aut si quid luto vilis.  
20 Porro cur mihi tuum nomen inuideris, admiror; quod in literis  
tuis nusquam adscriptum repperi. Hoc vbi nactus ero, inter amicos  
haud quaquam postremae sortis asseribam. Bene vale.  
Louanii. Tertio Cal. Aug. An. M.D.XX.

TIT. ORNATISSIMO VIRO a: EXIMIO D. F: om. H. SERENISS. a: ILLVSTRISS.  
F. DECIMARIO a: A DECIMIS F. 10. ab Eppendorff add. F: Eppendorpius  
H. 11. mentis ingenuitatem a: generis sui nobilitatem F. 20. reperi F.

3. Alberti] Duke Albert of Saxony (27 Jan. 1443—12 Sept. 1500), named for his courage 'animosus', was appointed Statthalter of the Netherlands by Maximilian in Nov. 1488. See ADB. i. 314-18; and, for his interest in Schneeberg, *Bermannus* (l. 12n), p. 80.

6. Cancellarius] Simon of Reischach, LL.D., who was Duke George's Chancellor in Friesland. He was sent to England with instructions from Dresden, 29 March 1511, to renew the treaty made by Henry VII in 1505; and achieved this by 9 June (Rymer xiii. 295, 298; Brewer i. 1565, 1717-18). From the dates of Erasmus' movements at that time (Epp. 218, 222) it is difficult to see when they can have met in England: unless Reischach travelled very quickly, arriving early in April, or stayed on after his negotiations were completed

Reischach was also sent to meet the English ambassadors in Brussels, Nov.-Dec. 1514, and ask for aid against Count Edzard in East Friesland (Brewer i. 5598-600, 5675-6).

9. literis] Ep. 963.

xeniis] Perhaps cf. Ep. 1001. 41.

10. Eppendorff] See introd.

12. vaenis] The silver mines in the Erz Mts., sw. of Dresden; the most reputed of which were Schneeberg, opened in 1470, Annaberg 1491, and Joachimstal 1516. For a contemporary account of them see Geo. Agricola's dialogue, *Bermannus, siue de re metallica*, written in 1528, and first printed, with a preface by Erasmus (Lond. xxviii. 22, LB. 1014: 18 Feb. 1528), Basle, Froben, 1530; also the poem by Salius (Ep. 1120. 10n).

18. Erasmum plumbeum] Cf. Ep. 1092. 2n.



## 1123. TO PETER MOSELLANUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 504.

HN: Lond. xiii. 5: LB. 515.

Louvain.

31 July 1520.

[As this falls between the appearance of Ep. 1033 in print and the publication of F, only 1520 and 1521 are possible. The year-date given in F is amply confirmed by the contents.]

ERASMVS PETRO MOSELLANO S. D.

REDDITAE sunt mihi literae quibus deploras aeditam epistolam tuam. Ego vero non hanc tantum aeditam doleo; plus officit mihi studium quorundam Germanorum quam odium hostium. Quaeso, quorsum attinebat euulgare epistolam quam scripseram Archiepiscopo Moguntino? Plus nobis sapiunt hostes, qui caelant omnia et clam 5 conspirant; nos nihil tegimus. Adornamus alteram aeditionem Epistolarum omnium, ne quis rursus excudat vt excusae sunt; quaedam abiiciemus, quaedam molliemus. Epistola quam Luthero scriptam isthic ediderant, delata est ad Leonem: alia quaedam loca ad alios descripta sunt, vt eos in me prouocarent. Quis docuit istos cacodae- 10 mones hanc artem conspirandi? Honorem istum tibi gratulor, et auctam fortunam gaudeo. De Oecolampadio sciebam ex ipsius literis. Principi tuo scribam, si dabitur ocium.

Adorno profectionem in Germaniam. Leus nihil intentatum reliquit quo me subuerteret, sed nihil illi successit: nemo probus 15 apud Anglos mihi non fauet. In superioribus literis tuis videbare nonnihil blandiri Hephestio. Sed is est vnus qui Noxum instigauit, quique nunc est huius tragoediae caput, homo mire virulentus ac pertinax: tales esse solent qui emergunt e sterquillinio. Vidi quaedam Epigrammata scripta in Leum. Sit sane dignus ille vel sus- 20 pendio; sed tamen malim argumentis per graues viros oppugnari hominem quam istiusmodi conuiciis. Bene vale.

Louanii. pridie Calen. Augusti. Anno M.D.XX.

21. per graues H: per-/graues F.

1. literae] Not extant.  
epistolam tuam] Ep. 911; which had been printed in E.

3. Germanorum] Cf. Ep. 967. 105-12.

5. Moguntino] Ep. 1033.

6. alteram aeditionem] F: for which see Ep. 1206 introd.

8. abiiciemus] In Ep. 911. 59, 60 (cf. l. 1n) a sentence uncomplimentary to Duke George is omitted in F.

Luthero] Ep. 980.

9. ad Leonem] Cf. Ep. 1143. This information reached Erasmus through Aleander: see Ep. 1167. 120-2.

11. Honorem] His admission to the Fürstencollegium: see Ep. 560 introd.

12. De Oecolampadio] About his retirement into the monastery; for which see Ep. 1095. 173-4nn. Oecolampadius' letter, answered by Ep. 1102, is not extant.

13. Principi tuo] Duke George: see

Ep. 1125.

14. in Germaniam] Cf. Epp. 1078. 62n, 1119. 22n.

16. literis] Not extant.

17. Hephestio] de Jongh (p. 176n) explains this name as a Grecized form of Latomus' vernacular name, Masson: apparently *ἐπείτριος*, *domesticus*, representing *maison*. The identification is corroborated by Ep. 1113. 12-14, and is interesting in comparison with Ep. 1029. 2-4: for thus Erasmus' view of the origin of his troubles at Louvain is carried back a stage further.

For Mosellanus' connexion with Latomus in the controversy about the study of languages see Epp. 934. 3n, 948. 7-9.

Noxum] Atensis: cf. Ep. 1029. 3n.

20. Epigrammata] Evidently the Erfurt volume: for which see Epp. 998. 66n, 1128. 1.

## 1124. TO CONRAD OF THUENGEN.

Copenhagen MS. G. K. S. 95 Fol., f. 246.

&lt;Louvain.&gt;

F. p. 493: HN: Lond. xii. 22: LB. App. 422.

&lt;c. 31 July 1520.&gt;

[An autograph rough-draft in the Copenhagen MS.; for which see App. 13 in vol. iii. The dates can be assigned from Ep. 1127, which also was carried by Draco (Ep. 871).

Conrad of Thuengen, 10 ms. n. of Wurzburg († 16 June 1540) came of an ancient Franconian family. As a young man he studied in Italy, making the acquaintance of Pirkheimer at Padua or Pavia, c. 1490-7; and there doubtless imbibed that interest in learning which led men of letters to hail him as a patron in the days of his power. He returned to a canonry at Wurzburg, and for some time had been marked out as a suitable coadjutor to his predecessor in the see, Laurence of Bibra († 1519); on whose death he was within nine days elected to succeed. As Bishop he was also Duke of Eastern Franconia. In politics he was a strong supporter of the Emperor, and he took an important part in the Diets of 1520-30; opposing the new movements. But within his own diocese he worked hard for conservative reform, and dealt severely with misconduct among his clergy. When his castle of Marienburg, opposite Wurzburg, was besieged by the Peasants, May-June 1525, he did not play a heroic part; leaving the defence to his Hofmeister, Sebastian Rotenhaen (Ep. 1134), and retiring to Heidelberg, but returning to participate in the exaction of bitter vengeance. See ADB. xvi. 632-4; and, for his political activities 1521-3, Planitz's *Berichte*, ed. E. Wülcker and H. Virck, 1899.

From his first accession to the bishopric he began to receive dedications: of Hutten's dialogue, *Fortuna*, 1 Jan. 1520 (HE. 149); of Plutarch's *De Garrulitate*, translated by Pirkheimer, Nuremberg, F. Peyp, 1523 (P. p. 243); of the fifth edition of Eck's *Enchiridion locorum communium adversus Ludderanos*, Ingolstadt, 12 May 1529; of Guimundus' *De Eucharistia*, edited by Aug. Marius, Freiburg, J. Emmeus, 1530; of Erasmus' commentary on Psalm 33, Basle, Froben, March 1531; of Alex. Trallianus' *De corporis vitiis*, translated by Alban Torinus, Basle, H. Petri, March 1533.

The present beginning of correspondence with Erasmus does not seem to have been followed up; but friendly letters passed between them in 1529-31, and in 1534 the Bishop was one of Erasmus' strong admirers (EE.<sup>2</sup> 116).]

REVERENDO IN CHRISTO P. AC PRINCIPI CLARISSIMO D. D.

CONRADO, PRAESVLI WERTZENBURGENSI.

S. P., ornatissime Praesul. Cum sim et natura verecundior quam  
vt plebeiis etiam hominibus vltro soleam litteris meis negocium  
facessere, et nunc occupatior quam vt vacet cuiquam omnino scribere,  
tamen huius Draconis improbitas extudit hanc a me epistolam ad  
5 amplitudinem tuam; quam accipio cum semper optimis ac sanctissi-  
mis studiis delectatam, tum in presentia singulari fauore prosequi  
litterarum honestarum cultores. Inter quos vtinam me iure queam  
connumerare! Certe videor inter hos posse referri qui sua quali-  
cunque industria aliis addunt animos, quemadmodum faciunt qui in  
10 acie classicum canunt, ipsi tamen interim a praelio semoti; quiue in  
certaminibus suffundunt frigidam, cum ipsi cursu non certent.

TIT. Pro titulo Erasmus prius CONRADO HERBIPO. EPISCOPO scripserat, mox am-  
pliores reddidit. REVERENDO . . . D. D. om. H (REVERENDIS. F. D. D. MS.: D. F.).  
VVIRTZENBURGENSI N. 1. S. P. MS.: ERASMVS ROTEROD. S. D. F. 3. cui-  
quam MS: quicquam H. 6. H: delectatum MS. 8. connumerare scripsi:  
connu<sup>2</sup>/morare MS.: commemorare F.

Hactenus sane feliciter successit prouentus ingeniorum, si modo absit discordia aut certe esset ciuiliior. Si vetera studia cum his nouis mutua comitate coalescerent, possent vtraque alteris esse vsui. Nunc dum vtrique sic agunt vt alterutra factio prorsus profligetur, 15 fit vt vtrisque sit male. Coniuratum est a stolidissimis agminibus in perniciem optimorum studiorum. Pars deterior numero superior est, melior causa vincit. Et periculum est ne iuxta Liuium verbum pars maior superet meliorem, ni tuo tuique similium fauore subleuemur. Ego non solum publico studiorum nomine gratias ago tue 20 benignitati, verum etiam meo priuatim, qui candore quodam amico non aspernaris nostras qualescunque naenias.

Si quid offendit hoc epistolum meum plusquam extemporarium, Draconi fac imputes; quo iuvene vt nihil adhuc vidi melius, ita nihil vidi pertinacius. Celsitudinem tuam incolumem ac florentem nobis 25 quam diutissime tueatur Christus Opt. Max.

## 1125. TO DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 509.  
HN: Lond. xiii. 19: LB. 517.

Louvain.  
31 July 1520.

[Contemporary with Ep. 1122. For Erasmus' correspondence with Duke George see a dissertation by O. Lehmann, *Herzog Georg von Sachsen im Briefwechsel mit Erasmus von Rotterdam und dem Erzbischofe Sadolet*, Neustadt i/S, 1889.]

## ILLVSTRISS. SAXONIAE DVCI GEORGIO ERAS. S. D.

ILLVSTRISIME Dux, Alberti patris tuae celsitudinis laudem in re bellica non vulgarem olim apud Batauos etiamnum adolescens accepi; verum vniuersas ingenii morumque tuorum dotes, animi celsitudinem vero dignam Principe, raram prudentiam, sobrietatem, moderationem, mentis incredibilem vim, iudicium perspicax, breuiter 5 amabilem quandam omnium virtutum harmoniam, sic mihi pridem apud Anglos depinxit vir optimus ac modestissimus, Cancellarius tuae celsitudinis, vt protinus in amorem tui sim inflammatus. Non potuisti paterni nominis gloriam magis illustrare quam superando quicquid ille praeclarum habuit et eximium. Neque vero mediocre 10 decus adiunget tuis laudibus apud posteros, quod nunc cum illustrissimo duce Friderico certamen longe pulcherrimum susceperis, cuius auspiciis feliciter efflorescunt apud Germanos optimarum literarum studia. Quam paucis ille annis ex quam frigida Academia quam celebrem reddidit! Aut ego plane fallor, aut haec erit apud posteros 15 inter illius laudes non minima portio, quod linguarum ac politioris literaturae praesidiis rem Christianam cum ornarit tum iuuerit.

Atque in hoc gloriae stadio non committis vt patrule videaris inferior. Tuis nimirum auspiciis tuaque munificentia Lypsiensis Aca-

1124. 13. esset MS.: sit H.

1125. 1. tuae celsitudinis F: tui H.

1124. 18. Liuium] 21. 4. 1.

1125. 14. Academia] Wittenberg.

20 demia, iam olim celebris ac solennibus illis studiis florens, nunc  
 politioris literaturae ac linguarum accessione per te sic est ornata vt  
 vix vlli caeterarum cedat. Tua benignitas excitauit atque euexit in-  
 genium Petri Mosellani, iuuenis magnae iam eruditionis sed spei  
 longe maximae. Eadem Henricum Stromerum, virum integritate  
 25 summa singularique prudentia iam pridem spectatum, allexit in  
 istam urbem, vt et scholae decus esset eximie doctus medicus, et  
 ciuitatis senator grauissimus. Eadem Simonem Pistorium, ordina-  
 rium iuris professorem, ornat ac fouet; eadem Georgium a Brey-  
 tenbach, virum non minus clarum iuris professione quam generis  
 30 imaginibus. Atque optimi Principis exemplum imitatur senatus  
 pene vniuersus cum magistratibus caeteris, optimis studiis ac virtuti-  
 bus honorem modis omnibus habens: quos omnes tam procul semo-  
 tos a nobis, tamen ex amicorum literis publicaeque famae praeconio  
 cognoui.

25. summa singularique FN<sup>3</sup>: summaque singulari N<sup>1</sup> Lond.

23. Mosellani] See Ep. 560 introd., and cf. Ep. 1123. 11-12.

24. Stromerum] See Ep. 578 introd.

27. Pistorium] Simon Pistorius (28 Oct. 1489—3 Dec. 1562) or Pistoris (probably Becker: cf. LE.<sup>2</sup> 3332) was the son of a noted Leipzig physician. After proceeding B.A. at Leipzig in 1505, LL.B. 1509-10, with an interval at Wittenberg in 1507-8 (SE. 32), he studied law for two years at Pavia (cf. SE. 64); but returned home because of the wars. He was LL.D. at Leipzig c. 1515, and in 1519 was appointed Ordinarius: in which capacity he delivered an oration of welcome to the combatants in the Leipzig Disputation, June 1519, and made the acquaintance of Luther (LE.<sup>2</sup> 197. 163). In 1523 he reluctantly resigned this office to become Chancellor to Duke George of Saxony; but on the Duke's death in 1539 he at once resumed it from his successor, Breitenbach (l. 28n), and held it in spite of a flattering invitation from Ingolstadt (VZE. 111). In 1541 he was compelled to re-enter political life as Chancellor to Duke Maurice; but in 1549 he escaped to his estates on the Elbe, below Meissen, where he passed his remaining years in retirement (cf. VZE. 153).

His acquaintance with Erasmus probably began at this time; and though they never met, their relations were always cordial. Pistorius supported the scholar's frequent applications to Duke George; and when assured of his orthodoxy (cf. Lond. xviii. 4, LB. 848; and Horawitz ii. 8), proved a strong champion (EE. 56), protecting him also against Eppendorff.

His influence was always exerted on the side of moderation (cf. LE.<sup>2</sup> 1702. 20-3 = ME. 766). But Luther in 1541-3 found him too orthodox, and a hindrance to schemes of reform (LE.<sup>2</sup> 3076, 3258, 3332); so also Jonas (JE. 637, 878). Melancthon in 1547 wrote to him with intimacy (ME. 4048, 4055). He possessed a good library; but wrote little except some *consilia* published, with those of his son, Modestinus, by a grandson, at Leipzig in 1587-8.

See ADB. xxvi. 186-90. In *N. Arch. f. sächs. Gesch.* xxxi, 1910, pp. 134-41, O. Clemen prints for the first time a *Ratio discendarum legum* written by Pistorius from Breslau, 13 May 1527.

28. Breytenbach] († c. 1541) matriculated at Leipzig in 1501, and by 1509 was in the confidential service of Duke George (Ranke, *Hist. of Reformation*, tr. S. Austin, 1905, p. 98n). He succeeded Pistorius (l. 27n) as Ordinarius of the Law Faculty, 1524-39; and was Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1520 and 1535. On Duke George's death he became Chancellor to the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, 17 May 1540: in whose service he died.

He was one of the friends to whom Stromer (l. 24) dedicated an edition of Aen. Sylvius' *Libellus aulicorum miserias copiose explicans*, Mainz, J. Schoeffer, 6 July 1517. In Nov. 1519 he was on friendly terms with Luther (LE.<sup>2</sup> 246); but later was obliged to oppose him, in helping Duke George to check the Reformation. Cf., however, JE. 429.

See F. Gess, *Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen*, 1905, p. 442; and G. Loesche, *Analecta Lutherana*, 1892, p. 136.

Prorsus iudicarem felicissima studia, nisi discordia nonnihil vitia- 35  
rentur. Ita visum est fatis, ne quid sit in rebus humanis tam vndique  
felix vt non aliquo neuo contaminetur. Vtrinque video peccari. Qui  
veterem studiorum rationem mordicus tenent, parum comiter exci-  
piunt haec noua studia, et pro hostibus ducunt eos qui summam  
adferunt vtilitatem. Rursus veterum literarum instauratores malunt 40  
irrumperere, velut omnia depopulaturi, quam ciuilitate sese in hospi-  
tium et amicitiam insinuare. Sed vt vtrosque peccare fateor, ita  
multo inciuilius agunt qui rabiose depellunt meliora studia, suis  
ipsorum commodis inuidentes; neque quicquam habent in ore  
praeter haereses, schismata et Antichristos, in nugis atroces tragoe- 45  
dias excitantes. Erit igitur hoc quoque tuae prudentiae, Princeps  
illustrissime, hoc studiorum dissidium tua prudentia componere.  
Id fiet si suam quisque professionem ornet citra contumeliam  
alienae.

Henricus ab Eppendorff, rara indole iuuenis, reddidit mihi massam 50  
argenti rudem e tuis metallis effossam, quae mihi non minus fuit  
grata quam si mihi talentum Atticum auri misisses: quanquam mihi  
nihil non erat preciosissimum futurum quod a tali Principe venisset.  
Enitar ne penes hominem ingratum hoc beneficii collocasse videaris.  
Celsitudinem tuam quam diutissime florentem nobis ac bonis studiis 55  
seruet Christus Opt. max.

Louanii. Pridie Calend. Augusti. Anno M.D.XX.

11031126. TO HERMANN BUSCH.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 483.  
HN: Lond. xii. 15: LB. 516.

Louvain.  
31 July 1520.

ERASMVS ROT. HERMANNO BVSCHIO S. D.

MISERET me tui, doctissime Buschi, qui bonas horas in Lei meisque  
nugis male contriueris. Inter tot futiles libellos quos nobis euomunt  
typographorum officinae, dispeream si quicquam adhuc prodiit indo-  
ctius aut etiam stolidius, denique virulentius. Rident hominem cum  
suo glorioso diuque iactato libello docti omnes; execratur optimus 5  
quisque etiam apud Anglos; nec ipsis germanis, quos habet eleganter  
eruditos, probatur. Displicet etiam his quorum gratia hanc agit  
fabulam. Exsibilatur ab vniuerso theatro; et tamen homo sibi  
pertinacissime placet, vnus sibi plaudit, imo putat aleam pulchre  
cecidisse, quod cum Erasmo sit congressus, quod doctis ac bonis viris 10  
stomachum mouerit, quod subito innotuit orbi. Habet Abbatem

1125. 39. eos *add. H.* 50. ab Eppendorff *F*: Eppendorpius *H.* 52. mihi  
*om. H.* 1126. 6. quos *N<sup>1</sup> Lond.*: quod *FN<sup>2</sup>*.

1125. 52. talentum Atticum] See Ep. 130n.  
1119. 4. 11. Abbatem] See Epp. 106r. 150,  
1126. 6. germanis] Cf. Ep. 1053. 152nn, 1074. 6on.

vnum egregie stolidum, habet Standicium multis titulis insignem, primum Minoritam, deinde theologum, postremo episcopum; horum duorum suffragio contentus est. Abbatis nomen adhuc silebitur.  
 15 Porro Standiciani ingenii gustum tibi dabo. Non cupit, opinor, ipse celari quod publice magna hominum celebritate designauit.

Concionabatur in cemiterio diui Pauli Londini. Cumque sermonem exorsus esset a charitate, subito pudoris omnis simul et charitatis oblitus, coepit debacchari in nomen ac famam meam; testatus  
 20 imminere Christianae religionis *παρολεθρίαν*, nisi nouae translationes omnes subito de medio tollerentur. Negauit rem diutius ferri posse, posteaquam Erasmus ausus esset corrumpere Euangelium diui Ioannis; qui, cum Ecclesia tot annis legisset 'In principio erat  
 25 verbum', nunc nouam lectionem induceret, 'In principio erat sermo'. Hic existimabat sibi datum esse telum quod nullo pacto mihi liceret effugere. Addebat Augustinum alicubi magis probare vocem 'verbi' quam 'rationis', et rationes adducere cur ita sentiat: 'verum eas' inquit 'rationes Graeculus iste non intelligit'.

In hanc sententiam cum multa stolidi et *ἀπροσδιόνιστα* deblaterasset, coepit homo facundus mouere affectus, deplorare sortem suam, se, cum esset tot annorum doctor, et hactenus semper legisset 'In principio erat verbum', nunc huc redigi, vt cogatur legere 'In principio erat sermo'; suspicans fore vt hac tam flebili querimonia lachrymas excuteret populo. Mox magnis obtestationibus obsecrauit  
 35 vrbis Praefectum—nam is ex more aderat—, magistratus omneis et vniuersam ciuium multitudinem, adessent in tanto discrimine religioni Christianae. Credebat se diuinitus dicere, et tamen nulli placuit. Quotquot aderant vel mediocriter eruditi, demirabantur hominis stulticiam; e vulgo quibus erat ingenium festiuus, ridebant  
 40 illius nugas, nihil ad thema propositum pertinentes; qui natura erant seueriores, indignabantur quod talibus blateramentis impleret aures plebis, multo aliud expectantes.

Euenit vt eodem, opinor, die pranderet in aula regia. Id simul atque senserunt duo quidam—quorum alter coelebs est, et sic lingua  
 45 rum trium ac veteris doctrinae gnarus, vt in Scoticis argutiis nemini cedat eorum qui nihil aliud didicerunt aut tractant in omni vita; alter coniugatus est, sed ingenio coelesti, aulicus vterque—, protinus accumbunt in eadem mensa, haud satis commodi commensatores Standicio. Nomina silebuntur ad tempus. Continuo ne quid tem-  
 50 poris periret, sic ingressus est alter: 'Mihi pericundum est quod tua

29. multa *F* Corrig.: multo *F*.

12. stolidum] Cf. Ep. 1113. 7n.  
 Standicium] See Ep. 608. 14n.

17. Concionabatur] This episode is also related in the *Apol. de 'In principio erat sermo'*, Feb. 1520 (p. 194). It must be dated between the arrival in England of the New Testament of March 1519, in which the change to *sermo* was made, and the publication of the *Apologia*.

26. Augustinum] *Trin.* 15. 16: where the word is *cogitatio*, not *ratio*.

35. Praefectum] The lord mayor of

London in the year beginning 9 Nov. 1518—in which this episode may probably be placed (cf. l. 17n)—, was Sir James Yarford.

44. coelebs] Probably Stokesley, Henry VIII's chaplain and almoner, who is described in similar language in Ep. 855. 43-5.

47. coniugatus] The descriptions given here and in ll. 106-7 agree well with More, who was now at Court; cf. Ep. 999. 217-18.

50. alter] More; cf. l. 72.

pietas coepit operam dare legendis Erasmi commentariis'; nimirum captans hominem, qui si negasset se legisse, statim obiecisset, 'Cur igitur publice damnas quod non legeris?' Id praesentiens Standicius 'Fortassis': inquit, 'tantum legi quantum mihi in animo est legere'. Tum alter 'Non dubito' inquit 'quin legeris. Nam hodie nomina- 55 tim etiam locum quendam taxasti in Annotationibus illius in Ioannem'. Ille rursus ambigue respondit, subindicans tamen se legisse. 'Euge,' inquit, 'aueo scire quibus argumentis aut quibus autoribus nitatur Erasmus. Nec enim dubium est quin huiusmodi rebus fretus sit ausus mutare locum'. Hic cum ille teneretur 60 medius, sic elusit impudens. 'Nihil moror' inquit 'illius autores aut rationes. Mihi satis est quod scripsit Augustinus, Dei Filium aptius explicari per verbum quam per rationem, cum λόγος vtrunque significet Graecis'. 'Assentior' inquit alter 'de ratione; sed quid istud ad sermonem? Nec enim Erasmus vertit "In principio erat ratio", sed "In principio erat sermo"'. Tum ille 'Eadem' inquit 'est vis sermonis et rationis'. 'Imo longe diuersa ratio est', inquit alter, 'et tu parum pudenter facis qui nec lecto loco nec intellecta re sic debaccharis publicitus in famam viri de studiis benemeriti'. Hic deierat Standicius, quicquid dixisset, bono zelo dixisse se; verum 70 non meminisse vbi Dei Filius in sacris literis dictus esset sermo. Mox alter 'At ego' inquit, 'qui nec theologus sum nec sacerdos, tibi redigam in memoriam, proferens illud, "Omnipotens sermo tuus, Domine", &c.' Fassus est homo legi 'omnipotens sermo', sed non legi 'In principio erat sermo'. Risit omne conuiuium hominis 75 acumen.

Post haec deflexit sermonem ad argutiam sophisticam, in qua statim ab altero exceptus est, qui Standicius non minus superat hoc doctrinae genere quam ille bonis literis est inferior. Ab hoc quoque cum esset deiectus in sua ipsius harena, vide quo deflexerit: 'Si tibi' 80 inquit 'tantum est animi, age, conscendito suggestum et aduersum me concionator'. Tum ille 'Non sum' inquit 'tam stultus vt haec apud stultas mulierculas et indoctam plebeculam velim effutire. Quod si mihi videretur, non dubitarem publicitus docere, quod hodie concionatus es tu, semihaereticum esse. Hanc vocem cum abomina- 85 retur Standicius, alter pergens, 'Quod summus' inquit 'Pontifex bis approbavit suo diplomate, id palam haereseos insimulare, vtrum hoc haeresim sapit an non?'

Cum ad hunc modum acceptus esset homo, tamen neque puduit neque resipuit. Verum aliquanto post apud Regem vnice cordatum, 90 apud Reginam foeminam iuxta prudentem ac piam, astante frequenti corona doctorum ac nobilium virorum, religiose procubuit in genua. Expectabatur aliquid magni a monacho, a tot annorum theologo, ab episcopo, denique a sene. Ibi vernacula suae gentis lingua, qua

61. ille post inquit F: om. F Corrig.

68. prudenter H.

87. H: aprobauit F.

57. Ioannem] I. I.

62. Augustinus] Cf. I. 26n.

73. Omnipotens] Wisd. 18. 5.

78. altero] Stokesley.

87. diplomate] See Epp. 338. 25 nn, 864.

90. apud Regem] This incident is narrated less fully in the *Apol. de loco* 'Omnes quidem resurgemus' (cf. I. 129n), in Ep. 1162. 150 seq., and in Lond. xix. 91, xxii. 31; LB. 746 (866f-7A), 979 (1108E-9A).

95 nonnihil valet, collaudatis Regis ac Reginae maioribus quod semper  
Ecclesiam catholicam aduersus haereticos ac schismaticos religiose  
defendissent, hortatus, imo per omnia sacra obtestatus est eos, vt  
pergerent suorum progenitorum esse similes: adesse tempora longe  
periculosissima, prodisse nouos Erasmi libros, quibus ni fortiter  
100 obsisteretur, deploratam esse Christi religionem. Hic sublatis in  
coelum et manibus et oculis, coepit obsecrare Christum, dignaretur  
ipse suae sponsae opitulari, si nemo mortalium succurreret.

Haec atque huiusmodi cum mira religionis specie dixisset, et forte  
astarent vtrique a quibus ante sic fuerat acceptus in conuiuio,  
105 hunc ad modum ingressus est prophanus ille. Collaudauit r. patris  
tam piam ac religiosam orationem, et faceta imitatione nonnihil  
etiam de gestu Standiciano referens, precatus est Deum optimum  
maximum vt quemadmodum loqueretur, ita et sentiret, nec animus  
ab oratione dissideret. 'Sed vereor' inquit 'ne si res attentius  
110 excutiat, comperiamus illum longe aliud agere quam prae se ferat  
oratio'. Simulque iussit vt posteaquam iniecisset eam sollicitudinem  
animis tantorum principum, simul etiam indicaret quatenus essent in  
Erasmi libris, vnde metueret exitiales haereses et perniciose schismata.  
Hic protinus homo confidens pollicitus est id se facturum. Et rem  
115 in digitos porrectos dispartiens, 'Primum' inquit 'Erasmus tollit  
resurrectionem. Deinde nihili facit sacramentum matrimonii. Post-  
remo male sentit de Eucharistia'.

Haec oratio cum prima specie nonnihil commouisset animos  
religiosissimorum principum, patronus ille meus ampliter collaudauit  
120 Standicium, quod distincte simul ac dilucide rem oculis subiecisset:  
nunc nihil aliud restare quam vt probaret ea quae belle proposuerat.  
Ille nihil etiam contatus, hoc quoque se praestaturum esse confirmauit.  
Et exorsus a pollice, 'Primum' inquit, 'quod tollat resurrectionem,  
probo sic: Paulus in Epistola ad Colossenses' (nam adeo versatus est  
125 senex theologus in Paulo, vt quod habetur in Epistola ad Corinthios  
priore, somniaret esse in Epistola ad Colossenses) 'scribit hunc in  
modum, "Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur";  
sed Erasmus hanc ecclesiasticam lectionem sustulit, et e suis Graecis  
legit hunc in modum, "Omnes quidem non dormiemus, sed omnes  
130 immutabimur". Palam est igitur ab illo tolli resurrectionem'.

Quis crederet huic homini esse cerebrum? In Annotationibus  
recenseo diuersam lectionem, nec vllam reiicio, quum autorum pro-  
batissimorum aliam alii sequantur, iidem nonnunquam diuersas. In  
contextu id verto quod solum reperiēbam in libris Graecorum. Iam  
135 cum resurrectio tot locis apud Paulum comprobetur, quid insanius  
dici poterat quam sublatam esse resurrectionem, si vno in loco mutata

126. H: Collossenses F.

95. nonnihil valet] An indication  
that Erasmus was not blind to the  
possibilities of the rising national  
literatures of his own day: cf. Ep.  
1211. 278n.

104. vtrique] Cf. ll. 44, 47nn.

125. Corinthios] 15. 51.

129. Omnes] This is Erasmus' trans-

lation from the Greek in the notes  
of both 1516 and 1519: in both texts  
he has, with slight difference, 'Non  
omnes quidem dormiemus, omnes  
tamen immutabimur'. He subse-  
quently wrote an *Apologia* on the sub-  
ject; first printed in the *Apologiae*  
*omnes*, Basle, Froben, Feb. 1522.



fuerit vox resurrectionis? Nam symbolum fidei Christianae dum profitetur resurrectionem mortuorum, num ideo cogit omnes mori, vt resurgant? Quasi vero lex pontificia dum iubet deponere officium, cui contigit episcopatus, illud senserit; 'Cuicunque contigerit episcopus 140 patus Romae, ei si non habeat, parandum esse officium quod possit deponere'.

Verum vbi patronus ille meus, re tota dilucide explanata, sic hominis stoliditatem oculis omnium subiecisset vt idiotis quoque et mulierculis esset perspicuum nihil esse peccatum a nobis, nec ipse 145 theologus, quamuis effrons, haberet quod contra hisceret; tamen quoniam iuxta Luciani praeceptum arbitrabatur *αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾶν*, ne tacitus omnino porrigeret herbam, fassus est esse verum, et hanc lectionem recenseri a veteribus orthodoxis, et nominatim ab Hieronymo: 'sed hoc' inquit 'Hieronymus reposuit ex Hebraeo'. 150 Audierat vir egregius Hieronymum quaedam ex Hebraeorum fontibus restituisse in Vetere Testamento, et putabat idem habere locum in Paulinis Epistolis.

Eam vocem Standicii non passus est perire coelebs ille theologus, cuius supra memini. Sed flexis nonnihil genibus ac praefatus 155 honorem, idque praeter morem suum, 'Quaeso, reuerende Pater' inquit, 'ne graure repetere nobis quod modo dicebas. Nam eram parum attentus'. Ille stolidam vocem clarius etiam ac pluribus verbis deprompsit, laudem opimam ex eo dicto sibi pollicens. Hic alter, quo redderet omnes magis attentos, 'Haud leue' inquit 'proposuit 160 argumentum R. P. Sed tamen conarer nonnihil respondere, si modo regiae maiestati non esset molestum audire'. Mox Regina vellicans Regem iussit auscultare. Tum ille sic vultu composito vt cogitabundus et nonnihil perplexus videretur, 'Profecto' inquit, 'non satis video quibus rationibus isti argumento possit occurrere, aut quid 165 responderi debeat pro ipsius dignitate. Neque enim opinor R. P. vsqueadeo delirare vt existimet eas epistolas primum Hebraice scriptas fuisse, cum pueri quoque sciant a Paulo Graece scriptas esse. Quod autem fuisset illud Hieronymi consilium ex Hebraeis voluminibus mutantis publicam lectionem, cum ex fontibus id fieri soleat, 170 cumque nemo testetur has epistolas vlli visas Hebraice descriptas?' Atque eam rem satis per se stultam atque absurdam sic iterauit, sic impressit, sic infixit, sic inculcauit, vt Rex pro sua nobili humanitate, misertus tantae stoliditatis apud tales viros proditae, sic hominis pudori succurreret vt alio versus diuersum sermonem iniecerit. Sic 175 triumphauit Standicius in primo capite. De reliquis nulla mentio.

Dic mihi per Musas, optime Buschi, an putas vllum facinus esse quod isti non sint ausuri, cum non vereantur perfrecta fronte sic

157. graure N.  
H: Hebraicae F.

167. H: Hebraicae F.

168. H: Graecae F.

171.

147. Luciani] Cf. *Adag.* 1604, citing Cic. *Att.* 6. 8 and *de Orat.* 3. 35. 141: from which the words have been ascribed to Eur. *Philoct.* fr. 8. Lucian, *Rhet. praec.*, 18-20, gives the sense but not the words.

151. vir egregius] In this connexion A. G. Little (*The Grey Friars in Oxford*,

OHS. xx, 1891, p. 273) remarks of Standish: 'His bequest of £5 to buy books for the Oxford Franciscans, and his appointment of two executors to distribute his own library, should make us hesitate to accept unreservedly the charge of gross ignorance which Erasmus brings against him'.

calumniari de nihilo, idque apud summos principes, apud quos omnis  
 180 obtrectatio debebat esse capitalis, tum in corona non vulgariter  
 eruditorum hominum? Quisquis enim audiebat sublatam a me  
 resurrectionem, imaginabatur a me negari quod ego tot locis testor  
 basim et caput esse nostrae fidei. Nec enim vlla in re diligentius  
 versor quam in asserenda corporum resurrectione. Non deerat  
 185 homini nocendi voluntas, sed iudicium non erat. Haec tria tela sibi  
 stulte delegerat, vt si persuasisset me male sentire de Eucharistia,  
 clerum vniuersum in me concitaret: si de matrimonio, maritos et  
 vxores, imo totum laicorum ordinem, ad lapides animaret: si de  
 resurrectione, principes ac populos omnes Christiani nominis in meum  
 190 exitium armaret. At de resurrectione quod calumniabatur, res ipsa  
 loquitur non modo vanum esse verumetiam insanum. Porro matri-  
 monio adeo non detraho, vt apud Louanienses in publica schola  
 theologorum satis odiose notatus sim, quod in declamatiuncula qua-  
 dam generis suasorii plus satis tribuerim matrimonio. Nam quod  
 195 alicubi disputo an diuortio possit succurri male coherentibus infelici  
 coniugio, nihil facit contra matrimonii dignitatem. De Eucharistia  
 nunquam, ita me Deus amet, quiui diuinare quid sibi voluerit  
 Standicius, cum mihi nulla vnquam cogitatio venerit in mentem,  
 nisi digna sacrosancto illo mysterio, tantum abest vt quicquam secus  
 200 dixerim aut scripserim. Atque haec audet sacerdos in sacerdotem,  
 theologus in theologum, senex in senem, praeterea professor apo-  
 stolicae vitae, postremo reuerendus in Christo pater.

Caesareae leges ita statuunt, vt calumniator qui falso crimen  
 intendit, iisdem poenis obnoxius sit quas daturus erat delatus, si  
 205 commeruisset. Hic tria crimina simul intendit, vt atrocissima ita  
 falsissima, idque apud eos principes apud quos etiam de rebus com-  
 pertis religiose loquendum esset. Ex quo facile est conicere qualia  
 sint quae apud suos sodales in computationibus deblaterant. Si quis  
 Aiace mimitus in porcos conuiciis ac telis seuiat, hunc Agamemno-  
 210 nem appellans, illum Vlysem aut Menelaum, nemo post haberet  
 fidem homini qui tam luculenter insanisset semel. At hic qui tot ac  
 talibus viris testibus sic insanierit, quasi re bene gesta, plaudit etiam  
 sibi, magnaue autoritate de causis fidei pronunciat. Quid autem refert  
 vtrum a morbo corporis an ab animi vicio profisciscatur insania? hoc  
 215 est ab humoribus viciantibus organa animi, an ab odio, stoliditate,  
 superbia, inuidia caeterisque malis viciantibus animi iudicium. Et  
 tales fere comperimus omnes istos qui bonas literas impugnant, nunc  
 Capnionem, nunc Lutherum, nunc Romanum Pontificem, nunc alia  
 atque alia praetexentes nomina, sed eandem agentes fabulam licet  
 220 variatis personis ac scenis, non solum indoctos verumetiam dementes.

In Standiciana fabula ne syllabam quidem affinxi, quaedam etiam  
 prudens reticui. Et huius generis sexcentas possem referre. Sed  
 vnam addam in praesentia, quae nonnihil ad hanc rem facit. Nomen  
 interim tacebitur, etiam si ille monitus a me vt desisteret in meum

208. deblaterant *H Lond.*: deblaterāt *FN*<sup>s</sup>: ? deblaterat *an* deblaterarit.

192. apud Louanienses] See Ep. 670  
 introd.

195. alicubi] Cf. Ep. 1006. 171n.

208. deblaterant] *sc.* bonarum litera-

rum hostes. But cf. critical note.

223. Nomen] Ep. 1196 makes it easy  
 to identify this person with Vincent  
 Theodoricus.

nomen deblaterare, perrexerit sui similis esse. Tacebitur et ordo; 225  
est enim ex hoc genere quod vulgo dicunt mendicantium. Nam  
video totum ordinem commoueri, si quis Carmelitam aut Praedi-  
catorem attingat; haud etiam scio stultiusne an iniquius. Nam  
qui minus totus sacerdotum ordo commoueat, si quis narret se  
laesum a sacerdote, suppresso etiam nomine? Atque in hunc ordi- 230  
nem isti quotidie seditiosissime declamant apud populum, et suos  
ordines non patiuntur nominari sine honoris praefatione, vt, si  
querar mihi pecuniam furto sublatam a Carmelita, totus ordo mecum  
agat iniuriarum. Atque haec faciunt quidam, etiam si quis verum  
dicat, imo veri partem aliquam, nec omnia referens quae nouit, et 235  
nomini interim ciuilitate parens.

Sed vt ad rem redeam: Cum apud hunc theologum ac religionis  
professorem (ipse tacitus agnoscat me nihil mentiri) narrasem me  
maiores in modum admirari quid Standicio venisset in mentem, cum  
me de Eucharistia calumniaretur, cum nihil esset in libris meis vnde 240  
posset ansa prehendi calumniae, pollicitus est se locum indicaturum.  
Qua quidem ex re protinus intellexi negotium hoc inter istos ex com-  
posito geri. Ego vicissim pollicitus sum, id quod praestiti, me  
demonstraturum locum non intellectum, si ille lectum ostendisset.  
Perlegit ille curriculo, sic vt sibi duntaxat legeret. Ac mox librum 245  
occlusum semouit, veluti iam constaret me scripsisse, non esse  
definiendum in synaxi esse verum Christi corpus. Coepit mecum  
argumentari, testans sese nescio quid libelli etiam super hac re con-  
scripsisse, vnde speraret optimam gloriam. Negavi me aduersus  
inanem aerem agere velle pugilem, nisi prius docuissem illi locum 250  
non intellectum. Iurauit sic esse vt aiebat. At tanto minus ego  
credebam, maxime cum iam argumentis certissimis hominis insignem  
stoliditatem comperissem.

Eorum vnum atque alterum recensere fortasse non ab re fuerit.  
Multis coniecturis suspicor huic a sui ordinis sodalibus datum nego- 255  
cium vt ex omnibus meis libris enotaret quae possent arrodii. Id  
saedulo conatus est homo prorsus ignarus Latini sermonis, et in  
litteris theologicis sane quam tenuiter eruditus, iudicio nullo, arro-  
gantia magna, ingenio tali vt, ni cuculla commendaretur, etiam  
vulgo pro morione posset haberi, toto vultu naturae stoliditatem 260  
clamitante. Quodam igitur in loco cum excusans Thomae lapsum,  
adiecissem virum indignum esse qui in ea incidisset tempora, signifi-

227. Praedicatorem *F*: dominicanum *H*.

233. *H*: quaerer *F*.

248. libelli] It was never printed, and does not seem to exist. It is not to be confused with the book mentioned in Epp. 1582, 1608.

255. negotium] Cf. Ep. 1053. 34n.

262. indignum] Erasmus is so free in quotation that he is perhaps referring here to his note (1519) on 1 Cor. 13. 4, which speaks of Aquinas as 'vir indignus qui ex tam indoctis autoribus huiusmodi naenias sacris commentariis admisceret'. See also his note (1516)

on Rom. 1. 4; and cf. Epp. 1171. 73-6, 1196. 194-8. For Dominican jealousy for Aquinas' honour see Vinc. Theodoric's preface to Petrus de Palude (Ep. 1196 introd.), 'Quid diu Tho(mae) doctrina in veri iudicio sanius, gratius sublimius deprehendi potest? Gaudeant alii suis honorum titulis, nos sancti Tho(mae) solida, inconcussa, equabili atque sincera gloriemur veritate'; and cf. Epp. 858. 89-90, 1033. 222-3, 1140. 14, 1183. 121, 1196. 151-201.

cans videlicet atque etiam exprimens Thomam dignum fuisse feliciori saeculo, cum ipsi nec ingenium nec industria defuisset; noster theol-  
 265 logus grauissime de me questus est, clamitans blasphemiam non ferendam, qui Thomam tantum ac tam sanctum virum appellassem indignum. Opinor, si ipsum dixissem virum pistrino dignum, sibi laudi vertisset, quod virum dignum appellassem. Nec erat querimoniarum finis, donec incideret in theologum quendam qui, cum  
 270 Latine sciret, suspicatus id quod erat res, postularet sibi demonstrari locum, ac tandem ostenso loco risit affatim. Eaque res pene in vulgi fabulam exiit, et adagionem.

Sed mecum coram expostulauit serio, quod alicubi viderer agnoscere libellos famosos. Id cum mihi videretur absurdum, qui sic abhor-  
 275 ream ab hoc genere vt nemo magis, et flagitarem quonam argumento id diceret, protulit locum ex epistola ni fallor ad Thomam Lupsetum mea, in qua scripsi quod libellum famosum aliquoties excuset necessitas. Existimabat me defendere libellum famosum praetextu necessitatis, sed tamen pro sua ciuilitate fassus est hoc aliquo praetextu  
 280 defendi posse, quod addiderim 'aliquando'. At non intellexit stolidus ille censor me illic exaggerandae rei gratia conferre detractionem quorundam, qui priuatim et publice mendaciis etiam incessant famam alienam, cum libellis famosis veluti cum facinore atrocissimo et plusquam capitali: et ex circumstantiis demonstro illorum oblationem  
 285 aliqua ex parte minus mereri veniam quam libellum famosum, quod hunc aliquando excuset necessitas; veluti cum monendus aut territandus est tyrannus, quem monere coram non sit tutum, cum tamen id sit e republica. Sed isti cum tuto possent admonere, tamen nec monito nec audito me, famam incessant mendaciis. Itaque non illic  
 290 magis faueo libellis famosis quam faueret homicidio qui stuprum cum homicidio conferret, et ita conferret vt diceret hac parte grauius esse cede, quod homicidium non lederet nisi vnam hominis partem, eamque deteriore, stuprum et animum et corpus conspurcaret.

Mox pollicitus est sese locum indicaturum in quo pronunciarem  
 295 Virginem matrem conceptam absque peccato originali. Rursum promisi me declaraturum locum non intellectum, si ille lectum ostendisset. Et indicat locum, in quo cum adduxissem vnum atque alterum testimonium ex Chrysostomo et Augustino, in quibus videntur aliquo modo peccatum actus tribuere Virgini, his verbis  
 300 claudio sermonem, 'Et nos facimus eam immunem prorsus ab omni peccato'. Hoc illi visum est pronunciatore dictum, cum intulerim nos non recte liberare eam ab originis peccato, si tanti viri recte tribuunt illi peccatum actionis. Atque hic errorem suum lubens agnouit, videlicet dissentiens a Scoti sequacibus.

305 Post haec ventum est ad locum longe periculosissimum; is est

265. *H*: quaestus *F*.

272. et *F* *Corrig.*: vt *F*.

283. et *om. H*.

276. epistola] Ep. 1053.

280. aliquando] A loose quotation: really 'nonnunquam'. See Ep. 1053. 447.

294. locum] The note (1519) on Matt. 12. 47. The quotation here is not

verbally accurate. Cf. Ep. 1196. 51-7; and, for the Dominican position, see Ep. 1173. 129n.

305. locum] An addition to the note on 1 Cor. 11. 24, 'Hoc est corpus meum': made in the edition of 1519.

epistolae ad Corinthios prioris capite vndecimo. Vix tandem extudi  
vt mihi liceret videre locum. Ostendit, sed marginem manu praete-  
gens. Ea depulsa scriptum repperi: 'Vide quam perniciose scribit  
hic de re de qua toties pronunciauit Ecclesia'. 'Vide' inquam,  
'quam tu stulte scribis ista in locum non intellectum'. Multaque 310  
cum admiratione sciscitari coepi quid illum offenderet. Prima pars  
habebat, Thomam opinionem eorum qui negabant sub Eucharistia esse  
verum Christi corpus, haeticam appellare: caeterum eorum senten-  
tiam qui negabant Christum his verbis consecrasse 'Hoc est corpus  
meum', refellere quidem, at non appellare haeticam. Rogabam 315  
nunquid hac in parte displiceret; negabat. Sequitur autem 'In  
omnibus accedendum est iudicio Ecclesiae, licet hic sermo videatur  
non consecrantis, sed panem iam consecratum porrigentis'. Rogabam  
ecquid hic improbare; negabat. Sequitur 'Mihi in totum videtur  
consultius de rebus huiusmodi, quae certis Scripturae sacrae testi- 320  
moniis doceri non possunt, sed ab humanis pendent coniecturis, non  
adeo fortiter asseuerare vt nostram opinionem oraculi vice haberi  
velimus'. Rogabam nunquid hic reprehenderet; haerebat. Vrgenti  
tandem respondit venenum subesse in his verbis, 'in totum'. Demi-  
ratus causam, vix tandem percontando exsculpsi illum non intellexisse 325  
quid Latinis sonet 'in totum'. Cum enim ego sensissem abstinendum  
esse a temeraria asseueratione, non solum in hac materia  
verumetiam in omnibus caeteris, ille somniabat 'in totum' significare  
'in vtraque parte quae praecesserat', meque suggillare sententiam  
Ecclesiae, quae definisset in Eucharistia verum esse corpus Christi. 330  
Ego videns insignem hominis stoliditatem, admonui literas vt  
disceret, nec pergeret taxare libros a quorum intellectu procul  
abesset.

Huius generis fere sunt qui oblatrant melioribus studiis, qui quic-  
quid ipsi non didicerunt, 'poetiam' appellant. Insignis naturae 335  
stupor, magna literarum inscitia, iudicium nullum; quod si qua  
scintilla sit ingenii, si quid eruditionis, sic liuore odioque sunt obcae-  
cati, vt minus videant quam talpae. Et hi sunt reuerendi rabini,  
'sal terrae', 'lux mundi', quorum arbitrio sumus Christiani aut  
secus: qui nobis post Apostolos, nouos dictant articulos fidei, qui sic 340  
nobis pronunciant oracula, veluti dii, nec dignantur nobis homunculis  
reddere suae opinionis rationem. Sat habent dixisse 'Error est',  
'Suspectum est', 'Haeresis est'. Et haec audent freti coniuratis suis  
phalangibus, freti populi stulticia, freti temporibus his, in quibus  
adeo licet audacia pro sapientia vti vt non alias magis, freti corruptis 345  
animis vtriusque ditionis principum, quorum magna pars quoniam ad  
tyrannidem spectat, blanda mauult audire quam salubria; mauult  
suis affectibus accommoda quam recta consilia. His praesidiis  
regnat istorum stoliditas; atque vtinam in literarum exitium tantum!  
Si succedit istis suus conatus, actum fuerit de doctrina Euangelica: 350

308. reperi *N.* 315. *H*: haeticum *F.* 324. in his *H*: in / in his *F.*  
338. vt *F* *Corrig.*: ne *F.* 339. aut secus *add.* *H.*

308. scriptum] Evidently in manu-  
script, in Vincent's own copy of the  
*Annot.* 1519; cf. *Ep.* 1196. 76-8.  
316, 319. Sequitur] These two quota-

tions are not quite verbally accurate.  
The second was removed in the *Annot.*  
1527.  
335. poetiam] Cf. *Ep.* 1110. 15.

populus Christianus seruiet istorum libidini quibus neque frons est neque mens.

Ab hospite tuo non minus claro quam humano libens accipio salutem, non vt summus Pontifex, quemadmodum tu ludis, sed vt  
 355 infortunatus homuncio, verum qui prodesse Christianis studiis velit magis quam possit. Nesenus taedio stolidissimarum tragoediarum, quas hic quidam agunt sine fine, ad vos se recepit. Dorpius optimis studiis semet oblectat. Idem nos agimus, quod quidem licet. Bene vale, doctissime Buschi.

360 Louanii pridie calend. August. ANNO M.D.XX.

# 1127. TO LOUIS PLATZ.

Leipzig MS. (a).

F. p. 494: HN: Lond. xii. 23: LB. 325.

Louvain.

31 July (1520).

[An original letter in the Burscher collection belonging to the Leipzig University Library: written by a secretary (a<sup>1</sup>), but with the heading, part of the subscription, and one insertion by Erasmus (a<sup>2</sup>). The verso is blank and the address-sheet missing. In the Town Library at Zurich (MS. F. 52. 122,3) are copies of this and Ep. 1278, made by Seb. Ramspek (fl. 1665-76). Variants show that they were derived from the Leipzig originals, and not from the printed texts.

The person addressed, and therewith the year-date of this letter, are shown by an entry in the Erfurt matriculation register against the name of the Rector from May to Oct. 1520, Louis Platz: of whom, after opening with ll. 6-9 of this letter, the writer proceeds to say, 'delectus est in Erfurdiensis Academie presidem et inclyte familie litterarie moderatorem, prius id ipsum factis strenue et pro virili moliens quam ad debita sue functionis regimina a magno Erasmo Roterodamo, in epistola quapiam inter laboriosas sui muneris curas ad illum scripta, adhortaretur, atque propensissimam animi sui voluntatem erga nobilissime huius vrbs scholas publicas in eadem epistola attestaretur'.

Louis Platz (†1547) of Melsungen, 10 ms. s. of Cassel, matriculated at Erfurt in 1497-8, and was M.A. there in 1504. Subsequently he was licentiate in theology, rector, and member of the Great College; and in 1530 and 1533 he was Dean of the Philosophical Faculty. He held the living of Walschleben, near Erfurt; but c. 1 Feb. 1536, being 'pene septuagenarius', he married (cf. EHE. p. 142). With Eobanus (Ep. 874), who dedicated to him an Easter hymn in 1515, he was on terms of intimate friendship; of which there are indications in EHE. pp. 231, 155, 230, 185, 175. See C. Krause's *Eobanus*, 1879.

For Erasmus' ties with many other members of Erfurt University during these years, before their adhesion to Luther, see Epp. 870-6; and, for a volume of verses recently printed there in his defence, Ep. 998. 66n. An extract from its preface, 1 May 1520, expressing unbounded admiration there for Erasmus, is printed by F. W. Kampschulte, *Univ. Erfurt*, 1858, i. 255n.: 'Cum publicum totius aetatis dedecus interpreter, esse quibus displiceat Erasmus, esse qui mordere audeant tot modis pietati iuxta ac optimis studiis vtilem, vt si omnium qui annos abhinc sexaginta vixerunt labores conferas, aequilibrium non sint facturi'.]

MAGNIFICO D. N., RECTORI INCLYTE SCHOLE ERPHVRDEN.,

ERAS. ROT. S. D.

VIR eximie, non possum non amare te, quod, vt ex Dracone iuvene minime vano cognoui, doctissimus ipse studiis melioribus impense

1127. TIT. add. a<sup>2</sup> (MAGNIFICO D. N. om. H. ERPHVRDIENSIS F').

1126. 356. Nesenus] See pp. 154-5. of Epp. 917, 1183, and Ep. 964. 28.

1127. TIT. N.] The common abbreviation. Dracone] See Ep. 871, and cf. Ep. 1124. 4, 24.

faueas; atque horum accessione Erphurdiensem Academiam, cui tu felicibus praesides auspiciis, exornandam expoliendamque cures. Illa tuae prudentiae laus est peculiaris, quod hoc absque tumultu facis, 5 quem alibi videmus excitari quorundam imprudentia. Bonae litterae sic debent irrepere in Academias, non vt hostes omnia depopulaturi videantur, sed hospites potius paulatim in ciuilem consuetudinem coalituri. Mihi nunquam placuit tumultus, et aut ego parum perspicio, aut plus efficitur moderatis consiliis quam viribus impo- 10 tentibus. Ac bonorum virorum esse reor sic velle prodesse vt quam paucissimis noceatur, atque adeo nullis, si modo liceat. Eo vanitatis processerat frigida illa disputatrix theologia vt necesse fuerit ad fontes reuocare. Sed tamen illam quoque corrigi malim quam explodi, aut certe tolerari donec potior aliqua theologiae ratio fuerit 15 parata. Multa preclare monuit Lutherus, sed vtinam ciuilius admonuisset! Plures haberet et fautores et propugnatores, et vberiore messem demeteret Christo. Et tamen impium sit illum in his quae recte dixit prorsus indefensum relinquere: ne posthac nemo sit qui verum ausit proloqui. Non est nec huius conditionis nec huius 20 ingenii de illius doctrina pronunciare. Haec certe profuit mundo. Nonnulli sunt adaecti ad euoluendos veterum theologorum libros, alii quo sibi consulerent, alii quo Luthero negotium facesserent.

Draconem tibi commendarem, nisi iis esset moribus, ea ingenii 25 suauiute puritateque, vt non possit non esse optimo cuique gratissimus. Scimus quam nihil possumus. Tamen si quid erit in quo queam isti Academiae vel vsui esse vel ornamento, sic agam vt intelligas mihi quiduis defuisse potius quam propensam animi voluntatem. Bene vale. Louanii prid. Cal. Augusti [M.D.XVIII]. 30  
Erasmus Roterodamus  
meapte manu subscripsi.

## 1128. TO JOHN LANG.

Wilhelmshafen MS.  
Horawitz i. 23.

Louvain.  
2 August (1520).

[The manuscript is autograph throughout, and has been reproduced in facsimile twice; in a collection of specimens of handwriting, *Die Männer der Reformation*, Leipzig, 1860, and from there in Prof. Emerton's *Erasmus*, 1899, p. 342. When Horawitz produced his first *Erasmiana* in 1878, it was in the possession of Prof. Höhne of Dresden; but the writing had been somewhat 'improved', perhaps on account of fading ink, and *Louanii* (l. 14) had been changed into *Lugduni*. In June 1908 Frau Prof. Höhne was kind enough to have a tracing of it made for me by the skilful hand of Prof. C. A. Rollfuss of Dresden. In Jan. 1911 she informed my friend, Sir Aurel Stein, that she had committed the manuscript to the care of Capt. Meurer of the German Navy, Adalbertstr. 4, Wilhelmshafen.

17. et vberiore messem demeteret Christo *add. F.* 18. in his quae recte dixit *add. a<sup>2</sup>.* 20. Non est . . . 23. facessero *add. F.* 27. possimus *F.* quid *a H:* qui id *F.* 30. M.D.XVIII *add. H.* 31. Erasmus . . . 32. subscripsi *om. F* (32. meapte manu subscripsi *add. a<sup>2</sup>.*).

7. Academias] Cf. Ep. 1021. 115n.

14. corrigi] Cf. Ep. 1002. 8n.

As the original exists, it is unnecessary to take detailed notice of three copies which are in the Ducal Library at Gotha: one by Vitus Warbeck (c. 1490-4 June 1534), canon of Aldenburg and an intimate friend of Spalatinus, chart. B. 26, f. 17 v<sup>o</sup>; another by Siegfried Asterius in his volume of letters to Lang, chart. A. 399, f. 222 v<sup>o</sup> (cf. Ep. 872 introd.); the third, chart. A. 379, f. 44, more modern. From one of these Horawitz gave some corrections in his second *Erasmiana*, p. 38. The text was first printed by E. S. Cyprianus, *Tabularium Ecclesiae Romanae*, 1743, p. 566, 'ex autographo'.

This letter is no doubt one of those carried back into Saxony by Draco (Epp. 1124, 1127) at this time. Further confirmation for the year-date may be obtained from Erasmus' attitude towards Lee—of whom in 1519 he could not have spoken so charitably—and the news about Melancthon and Oecolampadius.]

S. P., vir optime. Lei me miseresceret, ni tam virulente rem gessisset: ita tractatur, etiam a suis Anglis. Habet et Hispania Leum alterum. Zunega quidam edidit librum, vt audio, satis virulentum aduersus Fabrum ac me. Vetuerat Card. Toletanus defunctus.  
5 Eo mortuo prodidit sua venena. Opus nondum vidi. Id cauent, ne liber veniat in manus meas.

Nescio quem finem hic tumultus sit habiturus. Nam omnino res ad seditionem spectat; a qua semper abhorruī. Si necesse est vt oriantur scandala, certe a me proficisci (nolim). Deuotis animis

9. nolim add. Horawitz.

1. miseresceret] Knaake pointed out, in his ms. notes, that Erasmus had just seen the Erfurt volume of epigrams about Lee: see Epp. 998. 66n, 1123. 20.

3. Zunega] See App. 15. His *Annotationes* against Faber, Alcalá, A. G. Brocario, 1519, were criticisms, moderate in tone, of Faber's new translation of the Pauline Epistles, 1512 (see Ep. 304. 89n); and maintained against him Jerome's authorship of the Vulgate. His *Annotationes* against Erasmus, in *defensionem translationis Noui Testamenti*, ibid., 1520, deal with the *Nouum Instrumentum*, 1516, on the same lines, but show great acrimony. The tone may be judged from his preface to the reader, which begins: 'Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, ex his quae ex Luciano et Euripide quondam traduxerat, et ex eo libro in quem antiquorum Paroemias congererat, inter studiorum humanitatis cultores non nihil iam nominis assequutus, non contentus sorte sua quae pro ingenio et eruditione satis ampla homini obtigerat, sacras Noui Testamenti scripturas, ne non omnia experiretur, e Greco in Latinum nouissime traducere aggressus est, ac librum Annotationum in eadem condere; Laurentium Valam imitatus, quem primum fuisse constat qui eiusmodi genus scribendi attigit. Quod opus apud Basileam, inclytam Germanie urbem, abhinc triennium impressoris excussum formis

per totum est orbem diuulgatum. Peruenit tandem ad manus meas Erasmus ille codex, numeroso proemiorum ambitu veluti satellitio premunitus, perpulchris litterarum figuris Graece et Latine deformatus, ac titulum in fronte gestans qui et auctoris nomen et operis argumentum magnificis quidem verbis et admiranda quedam ac pene *παράδοξα* pollicentibus preseferre videbatur. Vt autem librum cepi voluere, traductionemque illam nouam et Annotationes a vertice, vt aiunt, ad calcem diligentissime transcurri, audaciam hominis, qua ille pro sapientia eo in opere vsus est, vehementer sum admiratus. Cum enim in gentilium auctorum lectione fuerit semper versatus, secularemque eloquentiam ex parte inde didicerit, elegantia illa dicendi qualicunque confusus omnia sibilicuisse existimauit. Quoniam vero non ex charitatis affectu, vt res ipsa plane indicat, neque vt sacrarum Scripturarum studiosis quoquomodo prodesset, ad id operis Erasmus videtur accessisse, sed laudis potius cupiditate ductus . . .'

4. Vetuerat] This information evidently had come from Vergara; see his letter to Stunica, No. 1 in App. 15. Cf. also Ep. 1216. 16-19.

Toletanus] Ximenes; see Ep. 541. 37n.

5. nondum vidi] See Ep. 1216. 1n.

9. scandala] Matt. 18. 7, Luke 17. 1: cf. Ep. 1113. 26.



conspirant isti, ac summorum regum aulas oppugnant; ac vereor ne 10 expugnent.

De Philippo Oecolampadioque iam cognoueram ex aliorum litteris. Vtranque epistolam tuam recepi. Bene vale, vir in Domino mihi colende. Louanii. postrid. Cal. Aug.

Erasmus ex animo tuus. 15

Eximio theologo Io. Langio.

### 1129. TO JOHN FISHER.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 495.  
HN: Lond. xii. 25: LB. 449.

Louvain.  
2 August (1520).

[The year-date added in H is clearly wrong. It can be corrected from Reuchlin's settlement at Ingolstadt in Nov. 1519.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS R. P. IOANNI EPISCOPO ROFFENSI S. P.

REVERENDE pater ac patrone singularis, Brugis doctor quidam vtriusque iuris, Caesaris Maximiliani consiliarius quondam, vir eruditus et grauis, narrauit mihi Reuchlinum nostrum Ingelstadii agere, atque illic ducentorum aureorum salario Graece et Hebraice praelegere. Hac ratione illi consultum est ab amicis, quod tutum non esset agere in patria. Causa, si vera narrant, haec erat: cum periculum esset ne Dux Vuertenbergensis, in quem scribit Huttenus, Stockgardiam reciperet, Reuchlinus ciuibus aliquot erat autor vt alio demigarent, ipse comes illis futurus. Profugerunt illi: Reuchlinus

1129. TIT. R. P. om. H. IOANNI add. H. S. P. F: S. D. H. 8. Stockardiam H. 9. H: Reuchlinus F.

1128. 12. Philippo] In June 1520 Melanchthon had been invited to Ingolstadt, at the suggestion of Reuchlin, who was now established there (cf. Epp. 986. 45n, 1129), but had declined: cf. LE.<sup>2</sup> 319 and ME. 87, which Enders dates in July.

Oecolampadioque] Cf. Ep. 1123. 12. aliorum] Cf. Ep. 1095. 173n.

13. Vtranque epistolam] Not extant.

1129. 1. Brugis] This visit was evidently made in the train of Charles (cf. p. 330), who was at Bruges 25-29 July (Gachard ii. 28): it is referred to also in Ep. 1141. 1. Ep. 1145. 5-7 shows that Erasmus was accompanied by More.

doctor quidam] The description fits Peutinger (Ep. 318. 2n), whom Erasmus met at Bruges (Ep. 1247). But in the *Spongia*, written c. Aug. 1523 (LB. x. 1642A-43A = HE. 333, §§ 102-12), after discussing ll. 6-14 of this letter, Erasmus states that he had

the information from John Salius (Ep. 1120. 10n) at Louvain, 'quum illic adesset Carolus Caesar'. As Charles was not at Louvain till 23 Aug. (Gachard ii. 28), it is clear that Erasmus' memory played him false at some point.

3. Reuchlinum] He left Stuttgart for Ingolstadt on 9 Nov. 1519 (RE. 285n). Hutten in his *Expostulatio* (HE. 310, § 97) objected to this whole passage as insulting to Reuchlin (cf. Ep. 413. 14n). Erasmus' reply in the *Spongia* (see l. 1n) is rather lame.

Ingelstadii] During his residence there Reuchlin lived in Eck's house: see Eck's *De ratione studiorum suorum*, Ingolstadt, A. Weissenhorn, 1543, f<sup>o</sup>. B. Cf. ME. 66.

4. salario] Cf. RE. 290.

7. Vuertenbergensis] Duke Ulrich; cf. Epp. 923. 23n, 986. 45n, 1030. 65n.

10 mutato consilio mansit, consulens suae suppellectili. Deinde rursus profligato Duce, per quosdam amicos impetratum ne victor exercitus saeuiret in domum Reuchlini. Sed ciues illi quos fefellerat, reuersi exhibebant seni negocium. Nunc sua omnia eduxit salua, et Ingelstadii tranquillam agit vitam. Haec nolui nescire te.

15 Germania prorsus insanit in Leum: tantum libellorum prorumpit. Etsi Leus nullo non malo dignus est, tamen optarim eos conquiescere. Scribunt aperte se non aliter mihi obtemperaturos, nisi quatenus abstineant a conuicio gentis Anglicae. Minatus sum me posthac Gallum futurum, nisi desinant me tam moleste amare. Adnitar  
20 equidem quod erit in me. Sed Leus consulto fecerit si ipse aliquo scripto aedito studeat illos delinire quos irritauit.

Audio bellum parari Praedicatoribus et Romanensibus. Vereor ne ex hoc ludo nascatur incendium maximum. Bellum indicetur Praedicatoribus et Romanensibus, et interim saeuietur in omnes sacerdotes,  
25 exemplo Bohemorum. Bene vale.

Louanii postrid. Cal. Augusti. [Anno M.D.XIX.]

# 1130. TO JOHN MERLIBERCH.

Brussels MS. 4850-7, f. 151 v<sup>o</sup> (a).

<Louvain.>

Rotterdam MS., Erasmus III. 102, p. 48 (β):

<August 1520 ?>

Horawitz v. 14.

[In α Lypsius prefixes this argument: 'Efflagitante quodam e senioribus canonicis collegii diui Martini, cui nomen erat Ioannes Merliberch de Diest, Erasmus subiectum edidit carmen; suffigendum scilicet tabulae, in qua Magdalena depicta erat et effictus Ioannes, non prorsus contemnendo artificio'.

A date can only be conjectural. Some suggestion may be gathered from Faber's book (l. 13n), and from some verses by Erasmus on the meetings of amity between Francis, Henry, and Charles (cf. Ep. 1106. 93n) and 'In substructionem Caletensem' (cf. Ep. 1118 introd.), which follow this letter in β: printed in

22. praedicatoribus F: Dominicanis H.  
canis H. 26. Anno M.D.XIX add. H.

23. praedicatoribus F: Domini-

- 10. suppellectili] Cf. Ep. 986. 46n.
- 12. saeuiret] Cf. Ep. 986. 46-9.
- 14. nescire te] For Fisher's interest in Reuchlin cf. Ep. 457. 1-20.
- 15. libellorum] Cf. Ep. 1128. 1n.
- 18. gentis Anglicae] Cf. Ep. 1083. 33n.
- 19. Gallum] Cf. Epp. 321. 13-15, 534. 31, 1111. 81, 1147. 28n; and, for a practical interpretation of the words, Epp. 994. 11n, 1080. 3.
- 22. bellum parari] For the feeling now rising in Germany against the Roman domination, under the leadership of Luther on the theological, of Hutten on the political side (cf. Ep. 1113. 36n), see Creighton v. 126-30, quoting Agr. E. ii. 54 = HE. 175. As the agents of the Inquisition, and thus the persecutors of Reuchlin, the

Dominicans were the objects of special animosity. For Erasmus' attack upon them see Ep. 1033.

25. Bohemorum] As at the time of Ziska, c. 1420, when there was a widespread destruction of monasteries (see Hutten's *Monitor Secundus*, 1520, §§ 24-7, in *Opp.* iv. 354-5; and cf. Creighton ii. 42); or in the riots at Prague in Sept. 1483, when the Utraquists massacred many Catholics (see E. Denis, *Fin de l'indépendance bohème*, i, 1890, pp. 204-5, and cf. LE.<sup>2</sup> 400. 43-5). The decay of religion and of the ecclesiastical order in Bohemia is emphasized in a remarkable letter from Bohuslaus Hassenstein to King Ladislas, 22 April 1497 (Boh. E. i. 60). For Erasmus' recent intercourse with the envoys of the Bohemian Brethren see pp. 291-2.

Horawitz v, p. 30, and not otherwise known. The picture for which the verses in this letter were written, had perhaps been erected on St. Mary Magdalen's day, 22 July: but just then Erasmus was away from Louvain (cf. Ep. 1129. 1n). Of John Merliberch of Diest I can find nothing.]

D. ERAS. RO. IOANNI MERLIBERCHIO DIESTENSI, CANONICO  
AD MARTINENSES, LOVANII.

CARMEN est trochaicum, tetrametrum, catalecticum. Cape litteras in singulis versibus primam et vltimam in cesura, quam notat virgula, rursum in altera parte primam et vltimam, atque ita de caeteris; et habebis, vt optas, Iohannes Merliberch Diest.

IN LAVDEM DIVAE MARIAE MAGDALENAE.

Impotenti amoris oestro | Haec beata percita  
Nardicum profudit vngueN, | Eluit lacrymis pedeS,  
Mox capillis tersit . eccE, | Rex Olympi, qui semeL  
Illecebras spreuit ac suB- | Egit, istis ampliteR  
Capitur oblectaculis . procH, | Daemonis technis malI  
Eua capta est: ista lacrymIS | Tineta culpas diluit.

Ineptii in tuam gratiam, malens in hanc peccare partem quam parum humanus videri. Mitto simul et tres Magdalenas ab Iacobo Fabro depictas. Bene vale, vir optime, et in tuis praecibus nostri quoque nonnunquam memineris.

Erasmus.

# 1131. TO HAI0 HERMANN.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 566.  
HN: Lond. xv. 9: LB. 609.

Louvain.  
(c. August 1520.)

[A reply to a letter from H. Hermann (Ep. 903. 12n), which is not extant. It is clearly of the same period as Ep. 1117, but after Erasmus' meeting with More at Calais (p. 296). The dates added in H have no value; but if the place-date is accepted, this letter must be put after Erasmus' return from Calais to Louvain. With both dates discarded, it might be taken as contemporary with Ep. 1133 (cf. l. 5 with Ep. 1133. 8-9); which, like this, is addressed to Paris.]

ERASMVS ROT. HERMANNO PHRYISIO S. D.

ERVDTISSIME iuuenis, ostendi Moro in literis tuis locum qui ad illum attinebat: ille simul atque gustarat phrasim, totas perlegit, et

1130. TIT. add. β. 1. tetrametron β. 2. singulis om. β. et add. β.  
3. et habebis . . . 4. Diest add. β. 5. IN . . . MAGDALENAE add. β. 9. istis  
α: illis β. 16. Erasmus om. β.

1130. 6. oestro] Cf. Ep. 1132. 13.  
13. tres Magdalenas] Faber's first book on this subject (Ep. 766. 22n) had been reissued in 1518 and 1519. In reply to Fisher's attack (Epp. 936. 7-8, 1030. 2) he wrote *De tribus et vnica Magdalena Disceptatio secunda*, Paris, H.

Stephanus, 1519; which Fisher countered with a *Confutatio* written in Aug. 1519 (Ep. 1030. 3n). There is nothing to show which edition Erasmus sent here; he had doubtless chosen the book as suitable to the occasion.

1131. 1. ostendi Moro] Cf. l. 15n

amare coepit ingenium tuum. Amo Brixii ingenium non vulgariter, phrasim admiror; sed vtinam exerceret vtrunque in argumento  
 5 plausibiliore! Contemnit, vt scribis, ille Morum: atqui vereor ne sero sentiat illum sibi non fuisse contemnendum. Illud curandum Brixio, ita stilum temperet vt non solum eruditus verum etiam vir bonus et aequus habeatur. Consulat amicos suos graues et eruditos, Budaeum, Deloinum, Ruseum et Ruellum potius quam iuuenilem  
 10 animi impetum. Brixius interpretatus est dictum nescio quod ex meis ad Beraldum schedis, quasi ipsi priores tribuerim in eruditionis laude. Nec sum adeo indoctus nec adeo Moro amicus, vt non perspiciam quid inter eos intersit: imo volebam illum Musarum praesidiis certare, non conuiciis. Et confido me hoc a Moro impetraturum, vt  
 15 et ille premet quae iam adornauit dentatiora quam vt vel a Moro vel in Brixium scribi velim. Etiam atque etiam te rogo, hortare Brixium vt in alio potius argumento suum ingenium exerceat: ita rectius consulat suae famae. Bene vale. Saluta Beraldum meo nomine diligenter. Louanii, [M.D.XXI.]

## 1132. To THOMAS WOLSEY.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 539.  
 HN: Lond. xiv. 10: LB. 518.

Antwerp.  
 7 August 1520.

[The year-date is confirmed by the mention of Erasmus' visit to Calais: see p. 296. For what purpose Erasmus had gone at this time to Antwerp (cf. Ep. 1133) is not clear. P. Kalkoff points out (*Repertorium f. Kunstwissenschaft*, xxviii, 1905, pp. 474-85) that he probably met there Sebastian Brant (Ep. 302. 12n), who was then on an embassy from the town of Strasburg to the Emperor, and Albert Dürer; both of whom were in Antwerp at this time. Dürer notes in his *Tagebuch* (ed. F. Leitschuh, 1884, p. 54): 'Mehr hat mir herr Erasmus geschenkt ein spanioleins mentelle vnd 3 conterfettisch man'. This gift was very likely in acknowledgement for Dürer's first sketch of Erasmus, to which he alludes in mentioning the second (p. 330). The earlier sketch appears to have served as the basis for the finished engraving of 1526; for a copy of that exists on which Nic. Kratzer (Ep. 515. 12n) has recorded that he was present at the sitting (see B. Hausmann, *Dürer's Kupferstiche*, 1861, p. 39). Kratzer was in Antwerp at this time, and between 5 and 19 Aug. Dürer took his portrait (*Tagebuch*, p. 54. 34-5). By 13 Aug. Erasmus was back again in Louvain (Ep. 1134).]

ERAS. R. D. D. THOMAE CARDINALI EBORACENSI SVMMOQVE  
 TOTIVS ANGLIAE CANCELLARIO S. D.

TANTO itinere me contuleram Caletium, tot dies illic commoratus sum, vt celsitudinis tuae colloquio fruerer; verum hoc mihi inuide-runt occupationes: quas tametsi semper scio esse maximas, tamen id

1131. 9. Ruellium N. 19. Louanii, M.D.XXI add. H. 1132. TIT. R. D. D.  
 om. H. SVMMOQVE . . . CANCELLARIO om. H.

1131. 11. ad Beraldum] Cf. Ep. ad Brixium, which More had shown to  
 1117. 9n. Erasmus at Calais: cf. Epp. 1087 introd.,  
 15. quae iam adornauit] The *Epistola* 1096. 121n, 1184. 21-2.

temporis maiores esse videbam quam vt auderem a prima salutatione prolixiore colloquio interpellare. Pro singulari fauore quo me<sup>5</sup> hactenus prosecuta est R.T.D., habeo gratiam: quanquam hoc officii non tam mihi praestat quam bonis studiis, quibus meae desudant vigiliae. Cupiebam aliquo monumento testari animum et memorem et gratum, sed hactenus voluntati nostrae defuit commoditas. Et tamen interim qualicumque libello vteunque declaravi<sup>10</sup> propensionem animi mei. Eum spero pro solita tua mansuetudine non aspernaberis.

Germania velut oestro percita fremit ac saeuit in Leum sexcentis libellis. Obsisto literis quantum possum. Negant se vnquam parci-<sup>15</sup> turos Leo, genti parci-turos, atque hactenus tantum mihi morem gesturos. Mihi consultum videtur vt Leus aliquo scripto placet Germanos, quos odiosis in me conuiciis irritauit. Ego vicissim adnitar vt huius tragoediae sit finis.

Qui has reddit Christophorus Palaeologus, monachus est montis Sina, vir probatorum hominum testimonio claro genere natus ac<sup>20</sup> mere Christianus, atque, vt ipse ex familiari consuetudine comperi, probus, modestus, nec infacetus. Cupit nonnihil nummorum colligere subleuando monasterio suo, quod nimirum vere dictum experitur Hesiodo, noxam esse malum vicinum: adeo a Sarracenis finitimis expilatur. Hic messis illi fuit admodum sterilis, vel quia tenaciores<sup>25</sup> sumus, vel quia vehementer vbique frigere coepit res indulgentiaria. Sperat isthic fore aliquanto vberiore: nec dubito quin futura sit, si tua celsitudo dextro nutu fauerit. Et fauebit, vti spero, vel causae piaae vel homini probo: non enim ausim postulare vt apud tantum heroa huius homunculi commendatio pondus vllum habeat. Bene<sup>30</sup> valeat E. T. R. D.: cui me summo studio commendo.

Antuuerpiae septimo Idus August. Anno M.D.XX.

### 1133. TO WILLIAM BUDAEUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 593.  
HN: Lond. xvi. 2: LB. 519.

Antwerp.  
9 August 1520.

[Clearly in the same year as Epp. 1087, 1117. For the place-date cf. Ep. 1132.]

ERASMVS BVDAEO SVO S. D.

AMICORVM optime simul et eruditissime. Si Morus et Brixius essent a me alienissimi, tamen vehementer dolerem literarum nomine

1132. 6. R. T. D. *F*: tua benignitas *H*. 31. valeat . . . commendo *F*: vale *H*.

1132. 10. libello] See Ep. 1112.

13. oestro] Cf. Ep. 1130. 6.

14. libellis] Cf. Ep. 1128. 11.

18. sit finis] Erasmus' readiness for reconciliation is further shown by his description in the *Spongia* (LB. x. 1649 c = HE. 333, § 169) of his meeting with Lee at Calais in July (see p. 296): 'Salutauit hominem Caletii forte obuium, et

dextram dextrae iunxi: quid ni, cum iam inter nos debellatum esset?' Lee was perhaps then upon his way home: cf. Ep. 1140. 17.

19. Palaeologus] Cf. Ep. 594. 6, 9nn. He evidently brought an indulgence to help him in his collection: but I have not been able to trace a copy of it.

24. Hesiodo] *Op.* 346.

quod duo tam insignes Musarum mystae tam virulentis libellis sese  
 conscinderent, magno studiorum incommodo, magno gaudio eorum  
 5 qui iampridem cum melioribus literis bellum gerunt. Nunc quum  
 vterque sit amicus, alter etiam coniunctissimus, dici non potest  
 quam acerbe feram hoc dissidii inter eos incidisse, quorum vtriusque  
 et ingenium adamo et gloriae faueo. Vterque strenue contemnit  
 alterum: verum ex mutuo contemptu quid oriri potest nisi simultas  
 10 semper gliscens in peius? Egi studiosissime cum Moro vt silentio  
 rem dissimularet; et persuaseram, ni Brixius tam seditiose exagi-  
 tasset eum locum de Rege laudato, non sine suggillatione filii, vt  
 quidem interpretatur Brixius. Non est res ludicra rem habere cum  
 Ioue, quem euocasse parum rite conceptis precibus exitio fuit. Non  
 15 quod Moro quicquam sit ab hoc suo metuendum, cui ob eximias  
 dotes vnice charus est; tamen Brixius declarauit animum perdendi  
 Mori cupidum.

Quod Brixius scripsit in Morum, cum omnium iudicio sit plusquam  
 satis, tamen odio illius non satis facit. Nusquam non arripit occa-  
 20 sionem insectandi Morum. Neque quicquam exit illius in quo non  
 multis verbis illum impetat, cum ille tamen nihil adhuc responderit.  
 Demiror quis sic instiget animum Brixii. Obsecro te per Musas vt  
 vestra autoritas iuuenilem istum *ἐνθουσιασμόν* coerceat. Non hic  
 ago Mori mei negocium; nam si pergat haec contentio, crede mihi,  
 25 fortasse famae nonnihil auferet Brixius, at gloriae nihil. Bene vale,  
 Budaee charissime.

Antuuerpiae pridie Laurentii. ANNO M.D.XX.

#### 1134. TO SEBASTIAN ROTENHAN.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 557.  
 HN: Lond. xiv. 24: LB. 521.

Louvain.  
 13 August 1520.

[The year-date is confirmed by the mention of Erasmus' reply to Lee: see Ep. 1061 introd. In August 1521, the only other year possible, he was at Anderlecht.

Sebastian Rotenhan (Rubrigallus) of Rentweinsdorf, 10 ms. x. of Bamberg (1478—c. 25 June 1532), was of noble birth. He matriculated at Erfurt in the summer of 1493, and on 2 Feb. 1496 at Ingolstadt. From 1499 to 1504 he studied law at Bologna; where in 1501-2 he was Proctor of the German nation, and in 1500-1 delivered an oration to the nation which was copied into their *Acta* (ANGB. p. 254). He was a pupil of Philip Beroaldus (Ep. 256. 137n), who mentions him in the preface to an edition of Gellius, Bologna, Bened. Hectoris, 1 Feb. 1503. His doctor's degree in law he took at Siena, 31 Oct. 1503.

On returning to Germany he became an assessor in the Imperial Chancery, 1507. A letter from him to Sebastian Brant, dated Worms, 14 July 1511 (see J. Wenker, *Collecta archiui iura*, 1715, p. 142) and asking for mss. of medieval chroniclers, shows that he was already interested in the history of Germany. About 1512 he began travelling, to Spain, France, and England; and on 25 Sept. 1514 was created Kt. of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. In Eck's *Orationes tres*, Augsburg, Miller, 5 Dec. 1515, f<sup>o</sup>. B<sup>4</sup>, he is mentioned as one of the glories of Germany, 'in Imperiali consistorio inter eruditissimos iudicatus'. By 1519, and perhaps earlier (cf. l. 1n), he had become Councillor to the Abp. of Mainz;

12. locum] Cf. Epp. 1087. 220n, 1117. error for *patris*.  
 66-7: which show that *filii* here is an 16. charus] Cf. Ep. 999. 217-18.

whom he served till the end of 1521, when he took up very actively the duties of a member of the Council of Regency meeting at Nuremberg, serving many times on its embassies. On 1 Jan. 1523 he entered the service, as Hofmeister, of Conrad of Thuengen (p. 307); for whom he successfully defended the episcopal castle of Marienburg during the Peasants' Revolt, May-June 1525. In 1530 he was the Bp. of Bamberg's representative at the Diet of Augsburg (ME. 690): during which Eobanus (Ep. 874) addressed some verses to him.

Whilst at Mainz he continued his historical studies, editing the Chronicle of Regino of Prüm, Mainz, J. Schoeffer, Aug. 1521, with a dedication to Charles v. The volume contains also a portrait of himself, and a letter to Capito, 15 July 1521, projecting more such work. For the continuance of this interest see two letters of 1530-1 in Aventinus' *Werke*, i. 651 and vi. 94; and BRE. 258 (1532: Leidinger). He also produced a tiny volume, of a single sheet, *Prisci Germanie populi*, Augsburg, John of Erfurt, s.a. (Proctor ii. 10934); four pages of which contain the names of German tribes, whilst three are filled with a selection of eight phrases, translated into French, English, Italian, Bohemian, Danish and Swedish, Portuguese, and German.

He was brother-in-law to Hutten, who dedicated to him the *Vadiscus* (HE. 152, 192: cf. Ep. 1135. 2n). Though inclined towards reform of the Church he could not support Luther without reserve; and in fact remained conservative. In founding an annual mass for his own soul at the Ritter-Kapelle in Hassfurt, near Bamberg, in 1522, he speaks of himself as knowing four languages.

See a life by L. S. Eyring, Jena, 1739; Knod 3134; *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, jüng. Reihe, i-iv; G. Bauch, *Univ. Erfurt*, 1904, pp. 135-6; P. Joachimssen, *Geschichtschreibung in Deutschland*, 1910, pp. 186, 282; and ADB.]

ERASMVS ROT. CLARISS. EQVITI AVRATO SEBASTIANO DE  
ROTENHAEN, R. CARD. MOGVNTINI A CONSILIIS, S. D.

CONSVETVDINIS multo iucundissimae quae mihi tecum fuit Monguntiae, memoriam tua mihi renouauit epistola non abhorrens a tuis moribus, vir omni doctrinae genere multo clarior quam maiorum imaginibus, quibus tamen es cum primis clarus. Siquidem hoc ipsum visum est eximii cuiusdam candoris argumentum, quod inter 5 tot principum negocia, inter armorum strepitus, in mentem venit amicus Erasmus. Sed vtinam argumentum auspicatus tibi contigisset ad me scribendi quam Eduardus Leus! qui cum tibi videatur impudens, sibi videtur pulchre fortunatus, qui paulo negotio sibi famam pararit: quam adeo misere sitiebat vt, si non aliqua nocuisset, 10 mortuus esset. Ego magis admiror quorundam pertinax studium, qui rebus omnibus omissis nihil intentatum relinquunt, nullum non mouent lapidem, quo literas meliores sat feliciter subolescentes obruant, atque interim nec sua vetera sat gnauius tuentur nec discunt noua. Porro miris technis et cuniculis rem agunt, nunc 15 hunc, nunc illum histrionem subornantes. Quanquam nec hi Leo fauent, nisi quod quocunque pacto mihi male volebant. Ad eam rem nullus displicet satelles. Quid mihi philosophia praestet nescio, illud certe mihi praestat animus bene conscius, vt huiusmodi mortali- 20 um insanos conatus perpeti malim quam imitari.

Iam quod vir tantus tuo quoque nomine mihi suppetias aduersus Leum polliceris, si Germanorum desint auxilia, vt humanitatem tuam

TIT. CLARISS. *om. H.* ROTENHAN *N.* R. F: REVERENDISS. *H.*

1. Consuetudinis] For Erasmus' visits to Mainz see the introductions to Epp. 301, 337, 410, 843; and Ep. 867. 34 seq. On the first occasion Rotenhan

was in Palestine.

2. epistola] Perhaps brought by the bearer of Ep. 1109.

10. nocuisset] Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 3. 15.

incredibilem amplector, ita officium plane recuso. Absit vt Leo tales viri tantum habeant honoris vt agminatim illum impetant stilo suo.  
 25 Opto illis magnificentius aliquod argumentum. Nos in ea re totum sesquimenssem perdidimus, idque mihi videtur plus satis: sic enim ille scripsit vt nullis aequae displiceat atque iis qui maxime consultum volebant eius honori. Hanc laudem tulit etiam ab iis qui mihi male volunt. Nemo fuit arrogantius indoctus. Et tamen hoc  
 30 ille certamen appellat.

Quod mihi Senecae versibus ominaris nominis immortalitatem, de mea apud posteros opinione viderint superi, modo bene sit iis studiis quae nos Christo commendant. Quis enim non perspicit mundum paulatim ad barbaram quandam tyrannidem tendere? Parturit  
 35 iampridem, quid pariturus sit nescio. Nos vt (si liceat) prodesse cupimus, ita tumultus autores esse nolumus. Bene vale, nosque tuo Principi commenda. Louanii Id. August. ANNO M.D.XX.

## 1135. FROM ULRICH HUTTEN.

Basle MS. Frey-Grynaeus I. 19. 38.  
 HE. 184.

Steckelberg.  
 15 August 1520.

[An original letter, actually sent; seemingly by a secretary. It was first printed by Hagenbach in 1832: see HE. 184n. The dates need no confirmation.

It marks the beginning of Hutten's animosity towards Erasmus: but too much acerbity must not be read into the admonitions. There is ample evidence of good feeling in Ep. 1055 and in HE. 166, 171<sup>a</sup> (*Hutteni Opp.* iv. 689); and as recently as 8 Aug. in communicating to Capito the news from Rome, he had written quite simply, 'Scribe Erasmo et reliquis nostris vt res agantur' (HE. 183). In Ep. 1161, too, good feeling has not disappeared. For Erasmus' side cf. Epp. 1113. 36n, 1195. 136-41.]

## V. HVTTENVS ERASMO ROTEROD. SALVTEM.

AVDISTI vnquam maiori amentia ferri quenquam aut furiosius insanire quam Leonem x qui se vocat hodie? Is repetitis literis mandat principi Moguntino, vehementibus etiam interpositis comminationibus ni faciat, vt vinctum Romam mittat me. Quo in homine  
 5 magisne demirer quod hoc petere ausit, si speret impetrare etiam, quam a tali tantoque viro quod deposcat? Atque igitur nunc demum coecus ille iudicandus est, sed mentis lumine qui careat. Habet et legatum apud Carolum, nostri periculi molitorem longe officiosissi-

1134. 26. sesquimenssem] See p. 110; and cf. Ep. 1139. 41.

31. Senecae] Perhaps *Oed.* 504-8, partly quoted in Ep. 39. 45, 6.

1135. 2. repetitis literis] In succession to a letter from Tetleben (HE. 176; 5 July) Leo had written to the Abp. (HE. 179; 12 July: cf. HE. 181) to complain of the publication in Mainz of Hutten's *Vadiscus siue Trias Romana*, J. Schoeffer, April 1520. The Abp. replied that he had dismissed Hutten from his service and had no more con-

trol over him; but that Schoeffer had been imprisoned (HE. 180). Some details about the demand for Hutten's apprehension are given in Brunfels' *Pro Hutteno Defensio* (HE. 334, pp. 337, 8). Hutten also mentions it in writing to Luther (cf. LE.<sup>2</sup> 347. 23-8), Capito, Charles v, Duke Frederic of Saxony, Rotenhan, and in his appeal to the German nation (HE. 183, 188, 189, 192, 193: Aug.-Sept. 1520).

8. legatum] Aleander; charged, conjointly with Eck, with the publication



mum. Hoc illud est quod parturire istos audiebamus, homines acutos. Me quidem valde arbitrantur timere, quanquam auditi sunt 10 nuper esse condiciones admodum honestas, si de pace agi mecum patiar. Hoc tentant post quam vident elapsam. Nam Moguntia excesseram paulo ante quam forte constitutum erat illis quod se dignum esset facere, monitus ab amicis, simul ipse quiddam sus-  
picans. 15

Te iubeo quiescere penitus ac stilo temperare, vt te nobis serues. Atque hic audi quid amicitia fretus nostra moneam. Negocium Capnionis cum arderet, videbaris imbecillius quam te dignum esset 20 metuere istos. Et in Luthero nuper, quantum potueras, aduersariis persuadere conatus es a communi reipublicae Christianae causa 20 tuenda longissime abhorrire te; qua de tamen sciebant illi quod sentires multo aliter. Hoc non admodum decore visus es agere. Scio enim cui amico scribam, et quam te non deceat mali consulere hanc monitionem meam. Inuitus hominum sermones audiui, sed tunc defendi amici famam, cum nonnihil ibi displiceret ipsi mihi. 25 Nunc quia agitur mea causa, nihil te caelo. Atque igitur sine hoc abs te impetrare eum qui te maximi semper fecit, et nunc etiam demereri optime velit, siqua forte possit, nequid eiusmodi sinas excidere tibi quale in Luthero et Capnionem perspeximus. Scis quanto cum triumpho circumferant epistolas quasdam tuas adhuc 30 illi, in quibus cum fugis inuidiam, sat odiose aliis eam concilias. Sic Obscurorum Epistolas iugulasti, olim valde probatas tibi; et in Luthero quod non mouenda mouerit damnas, cum tu ipse eandem Camerinam tractaueris in tuis passim libris. Neque tamen adse-  
queris vt isti credant non summe istiusmodi velle te. Ita et nos 35 ledis et illos non placas tibi: imo irritas magis et inuidiam prouocas, rem tam apertam dissimulans.

Quare de mea causa, etsi huic posset magnificentius contingere nihil quam si scriptis tuis probetur, tamen siqua inuidia ne te oneres metuis, saltem hoc concede mihi, quo ne cuiusquam terror extorqueat 40 tibi vt eam eleues, potius altissimo silentio praeteri: scio enim quantum nocere mihi possit vnum verbum abs te scriptum, quo videaris aut arguere institutum meum aut certe non probare.

Haec vt amico libere scripsi. Tu optime vale ex propugnaclo 45  
Huttenico xviii. Calen. Septemb. 1520.

Des. Erasmo Roterodamo, theologo, amico summo.

of the Bull against Luther. See Pastor vii. 404 seq., Paquier, *J. Aléandre*, 142 seq. The instructions to Aleander are dated 18 July: he left Rome 27 July.

12. Moguntia excesseram] See Ep. 1113. 36n.

18. cum arderet] Leo's judgement had just been given, on 23 June: cf. Ep. 622. 32n.

imbecillius] Cf. Ep. 636. 26n; and, for reason for his alarm at that time, Ep. 1006. 153n.

19. in Luthero] With such letters as Epp. 939, 961, 967, 1033. To Hutten Luther stood for the liberation of Christendom, especially Germany, from Rome. Cf. Epp. 1129. 22n, 1161. 40 seq.

26. caelo] i.e. celo.

30. epistolas] Epp. 622, 939, 1033, 1041.

32. iugulasti] Cf. Epp. 622, 636.

probatas] Cf. Ep. 363. 4-6.

33. damnas] e.g. in Ep. 1033. 46-8.

## 1136. TO LEONTIUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 565.

Brussels.

HN: Lond. xv. 6: LB. 560.

&lt;c. 29 August ?&gt; 1520.

[Erasmus was not often at Brussels. For him to have assigned this letter to a stay there, when he was adding the dates for H in 1520, perhaps indicates, therefore, that his memory on such points was clearer than usual here. A visit to Brussels in 1520, after Charles' return from Spain in June, is mentioned in Ep. 1198; cf. I, p. 33. 4, for his meeting with the brothers Lasky there about this time. Very likely he went thither in the train of Charles; who, after spending 23-4 Aug. at Louvain, moved to Brussels on 25 Aug. till 17 Sept. (Gachard ii. 28). He was certainly there about the end of August; for Dürer, who was at Brussels from 26 Aug. to 3 Sept., wrote in his *Tagebuch* (ed. F. Leitschuh, 1884, p. 59. 27-8), 'Ich hab den Erasmus Roterodam noch einmahl (cf. p. 324) conterfet'. So this letter may be conjecturally placed at that date. Dürer's drawing of him, which was made in preparation for a painting (cf. Lond. xxx. 29, LB. 631 of 19 July 1523), was bequeathed to the Louvre by the late M. Bonnat. It is reproduced here with the permission of the French Government. For a large reproduction of it see the publications of the Dürer Society, vi (1903), no. 12; also C. Ephrussi, *Albert Dürer et ses dessins*, 1882, p. 277. In 1882 the drawing was in the possession of M. Jean Gigoux.

Of Leontius I can discover nothing; but he appears to have been a school-master. Among the learned men of Lower Germany enumerated in Geldenhauer's *De Bataurorum insula*, 1520 (p. 69, ed. P. Scriverius, 1611), is a Nicolaus Leontius Leidensis, grammaticus, of whom little seems to be known: cf. A. Buchellius, *Diarium*, ed. Brom and van Langeraad, 1907, p. 86, where he is described as Rhetor. It is possible that he is the person addressed here.]

ERASMVVS LEONTIO SVO S. D.

BONI consulam audaciam tuam qui ignotus ad ignotum scripseris, si tu vicissim boni consulueris quod occupatissimus tam parce respondeam vt prope nihil respondeam. Quod Musarum cultor es, magnopere laudo; quod assidue depugnas cum amisis, non probo.  
 5 Negligendi sunt qui vinci non possunt: et ita sunt haec studia commendanda, ne tamen odiose damnentur quibus alii magis capiuntur. Certe non expedit irritare crabrones. Caeterum quae nos scripsimus, non in hoc scripsimus vt inuehantur templis, sed vt domi legantur. Atque isto tuo studio immodico nihil aliud mihi  
 10 quam inuidiam paris. Ego nihil honoris istiusmodi promereor; alioqui ne promeritis quidem aperiuntur templa, nisi a rogo, vt aiunt. Ac mea quidem sententia plus efficies si quod operae sumis in rixando cum aduersariis, fortasse deploratis, id insumas erudiendae publi aut iuuenibus spei melioris. Felicius irrepent bonae literae quam  
 15 irrumpent; ac facilius coalescent, si ciuilitate semet insinuent vt hospites quam si irruant vt hostes. Nos quod possumus, gratis ac libenter impartimus; si quis adferet meliora, non grauante cedimus. Porro cum clamoris rabulis certamen non nisi coacti suscipimus, imo ne coacti quidem. Porro vita nostra nihil habet memorabile,  
 20 nisi quod opinor fortunam nulli constantius infensam fuisse. Proinde tu, si me audies, aliud argumentum tibi quaeres; imo quoduis aliud citius tibi sumes quam hoc. Bene vale. Bruxellae, M.D.XX.

22. Bruxellae, M.D.XX add. H.

11. a rogo] Cf. Ep. 867. 273.

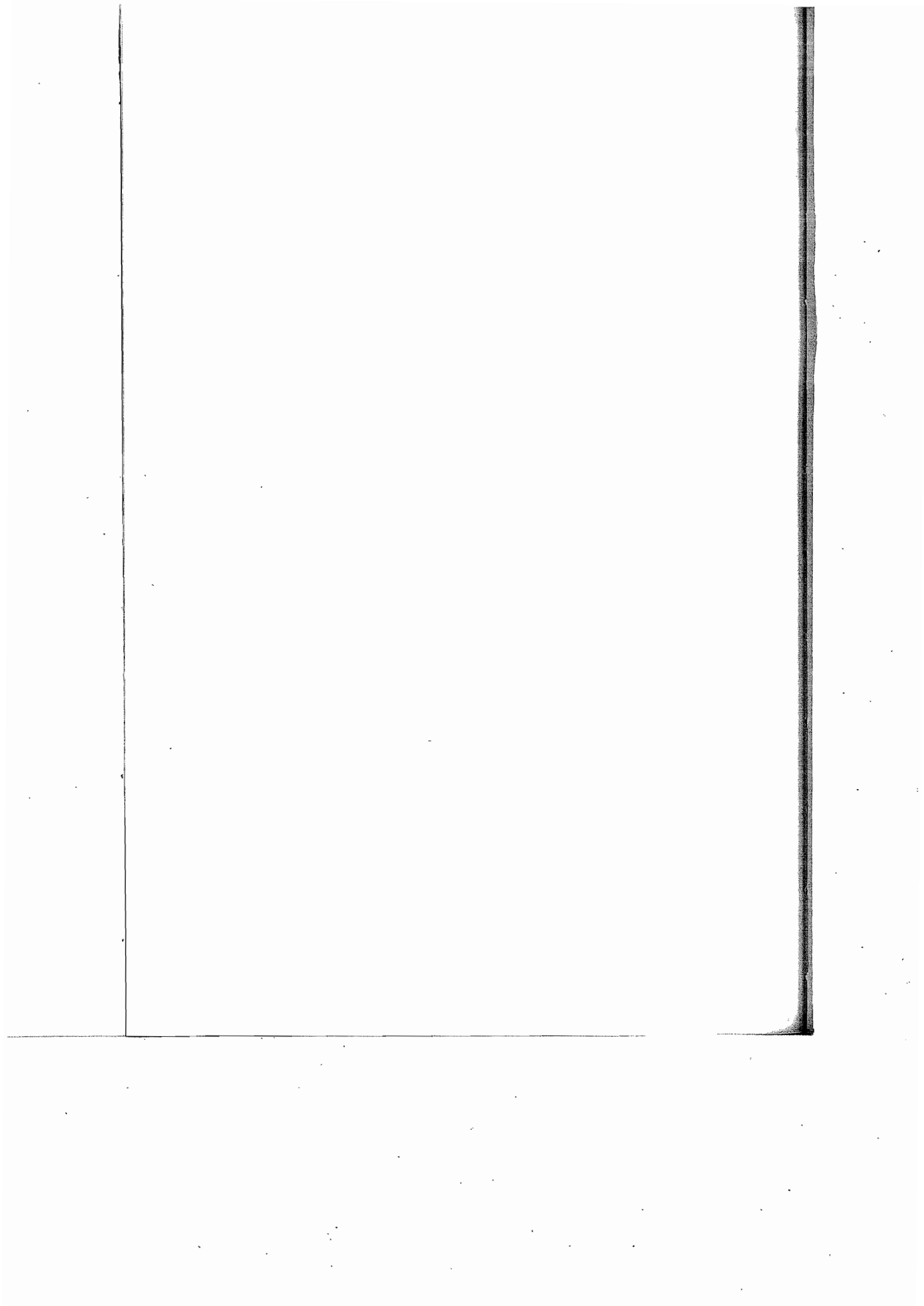
13. deploratis] Cf. Ep. 994. 211.

18. clamoris] Cf. Ep. 1078. 58.

20. fortunam] Cf. Ep. 1102. 6n.



Drawing of Erasmus by Dürer, 1520.



## 10471137. TO JOHN TURZO.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 560.  
HN: Lond. xv. 2: LB. 524.

Louvain.  
31 August 1520.

ERASMVS ROT. R. P. IOANNI TVRZONI, EPISCOPO  
VRATISLAVIENSI, S. D.

CVR ita visum est superis vt tanto interuallo disiungant montes et flumina quos tanta copulat charitas animorum? Epistola tua post sextum demum mensem mihi reddita est vna cum munusculis. Quorum nihil non fuisset gratissimum, etiamsi minimi precii fuisset, vel hoc nomine, quod a tali Praesule, sed multo magis quod a tali animo profisceretur: nunc et precii magnitudine et ipsa nouitate et autoris titulo commendabantur. Sed in his tamen nihil mihi tam charum est visum quod epistola tua non superaret; quam iam alteram accepi, tuis istis articulis descriptam, tuo isto ingenio conditam, quo magis etiam refert imaginem animi tui, Deum immortalem, qualis! Faxit Deus vt istud pectus imitentur complures episcopi proceresque, et imaginibus suis tam eximium decus adiungant, et auctoritatem suam bonitatis ac sapientiae cumulent accessione.

Quam ardentem virtutis amorem spirant illae tuae literae, quantam sitim eruditionis Christianae! Ad haec quantum candoris, quantum modestiae prae se ferunt! Quis credat haec a tanto Praesule, a tanto Principe scribi? Nihilo enim minus mirabilis est mihi tuus iste animus quod me praeter meritum admiraris, siquidem hic error in persona est, non in re. Hoc erras, quod Erasmus esse credis id quod non est; sed non in hoc erras, quod ea veneraris et expetis quae falso tibi persuades in nobis esse. Adnixa sumus mundum nimis ad scholasticas argutias prolapsus ad veterum fontes reuocare, ac plus satis fidentem Iudaicis ceremoniis ad verae pietatis studium accendere. Atque vtinam hic meus conatus tantum fructus attulerit aliis quantum nobis attulit inuidiae! Meum incommodum multo leuius ferrem, si cum multorum commodo viderem coniunctum. Sed hoc viderit ipse Christus, qui, ni fallor, certe hunc animum probaturus est.

Iam vt in tuis munusculis etiam nonnihil philosophi, gratulor tuae ditioni, e cuius vaenis aurum tam elegans ac purum eruitur; sed tu beatior, qui e diuinorum voluminum longe felicioribus vaenis tam auide scruteris aurum Euangelicae sapientiae, quo locupletes gregem tuae fidei concreditum, velut opulentus quispiam paterfamilias e diuite thesauro proferens noua ac vetera: multum dissidens ab episcopis plerisque, qui pulcherrimam functionis suae partem in sordidos quosdam relegant nec probatos nec exploratos, quum ad id muneris neminem oporteat admitti nisi quem eruditio Christiana,

TIT. R. P. om. H.

3. demum H: decimum F.

9. alteram] The first being Ep. 850; the survival of which makes the sum of Erasmus' correspondence with the

Bp. complete.

23. Iudaicis] Cf. Ep. 1006. 142n.

33. paterfamilias] Matt. 13. 52.

quem morum integritas, quem rerum vsus ac prudentia non vulgaris commendet.

- 40 Duobus horologiis inscriptum erat 'Festina lente'; atque hanc quidem inscriptionem audit puluisculus ille per minutissimum foramen lente defluens, haec me scribente. Sed magna celeritate vita nostra auolat, et aduolat mors nihilo segnius, etiamsi non defluat harenula. In altero superne inscriptum erat 'Festina
- 45 lente', et inuersum horologium ostendebat mortis imaginem: quae vtinam tibi, mi Turzo, lenta veniat! digno profecto qui sis immortalis, non tantum longaeuus, nisi haec esset fortunae inuidia, vt si quid extiterit in rebus humanis eximium, id quam ocyssime tollat e medio. Quod omen abs te velim quam longissime abesse,
- 50 quem et ex tuis literis et ex aliorum praedicatione tam multis ac raris animi dotibus praeditum esse video vt generis claritudo, vt opes, vt pontificia dignitas minima portio sit tuorum ornamentorum. Pileum non poterit mihi esse vsui nisi domi; nam et magnificenti-  
tius est quam vt conueniat homini tenui—nisi forte et hic erras, vt
- 55 putes Erasmum esse aliquid—et alienius a more huius regionis. Olim iuxta prouerbum bonos viros decebant omnia, nunc non nisi potentes omnia decent: tamen seruabitur, et in hoc potissimum vt Turzonis memoriam mihi refricet.
- Aureum numisma multos exercuit, aliis coniectantibus esse tres
- 60 Noë filios ex Arca reuertentes, et ex altera parte columbam oliuae ramum deferentem: aliis duces duos, qui medium captum ducerent, et aquilam lauri ramum in coronam deflexum gestantem. Subscriptionem nullus adhuc legere potuit, neque Graecus neque Latinus neque Hebraeus.
- 65 Video quam sim ingratus, qui pro tot donariis proque epistola tam eleganti, tam amica, praeter frigidum epistolium nihil rependam. Sed alias dabitur occasio: interim cura vt recte valeas, Praesul optime. Louanii, pridie Cal. Septemb. ANNO M.D.XX.

#### 1138. TO WILLIAM BURBANK.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 593.

HN: Lond. xvi. 3: LB. 526.

Louvain.

1 September 1520.

[I cannot definitely confirm the year-date: but it may be noticed that Colet († 16 Sept. 1519) is not mentioned in the list of English friends. In Sept. 1521 Erasmus was at Anderlecht.

46. *lenta veniat*] When these words were written, the Bp. had been four weeks dead. For the circumstances under which the news reached Erasmus see Ep. 1242.

56. prouerbum] *Adag.* 1860.

59. numisma] In reply to a question Mr. G. F. Hill of the British Museum at once identified this with 'the rather mysterious but not uncommon gold coin' struck by the Dacian or Getic king, Coson (the Cotison of Hor. C. 3.

8. 18 and Suet. *Aug.* 63) between 40 and 29 B.C.; and referred to an article by M. Bahrfieldt in *Berliner Münzblätter*, 1912. The three figures are there explained as a consul marching between two lictors, and the bird as an eagle; and 112 known specimens are enumerated, two of which are in the Silesian Museum at Breslau. The subscription is in Greek capitals, ΚΟΣΩΝ.

For a similar presentation of old coins see Ep. 1145. 17-19.

William Burbank, or Smythson, († 1531) entered at Cambridge as a student of Civil Law in 1495-6 (*Camb. Grace Book B. i*, p. 82). When he met Erasmus at Rome in 1509, he was secretary to Card. Bainbridge; and so remained till the Cardinal's death in 1514, when with Pace he acted as executor. He returned to England with a strong recommendation to Henry VIII (Brewer i. 5349: 22 Aug. 1514); and by 1516 was chaplain and secretary to Wolsey, and prothonotary apostolic. When Wolsey visited Cambridge in 1520, Burbank was made Dr. of Canon Law (*Camb. Grace Book B. ii*, p. 78).

Like his friend Tones (l. 16n) he attested many important documents, and served Wolsey in the survey of monasteries to be converted to the foundation of Cardinal College, Oxford; and in 1529 he enjoyed the King's confidence also (Brewer iv. 5783). His preferment included two prebends at York, 1512 and 1524, and one at Lincoln, 1518 (Le Neve iii. 185, 218, ii. 236); and the archdeaconry of Carlisle, 1520 (Le Neve iii. 249; cf. Brewer iii. 741).

A copy of Petrus de Bella Pertica's *Repetitiones*, Paris, J. Poucin, 1 Sept. 1515, presented to him while prebendary of Lincoln by John Clifton, clerk, is in the Bodleian (Antiq. e. F. 1515).

The Wm. Burbanck, Anglus, who was M.A. at Paris in 1521, Vicar of Staines 1521-2, and till 1527 prebendary of Salisbury (*Ath. Oxon.* i. 400), is probably a different person.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS GVIELMO BYRBANCO, REVERENDISSIMI  
D. CARDINALIS EBORACENSIS A SECRETIS, S. D.

Is demum vere amat qui gratis amat. At tu Erasmus immerentem tam constanter, tam ardentem amas, vt vix quenquam inuenias qui syncerius aut pertinacius aut vehementius amet promeritum. Romae a me nullis prouocatus officiis quo affectu complecti coepisti! Nec interim vel tantulum refrixit in me tua gratuita beneuolentia, 5 cum tot iam annis nullum id genus officiorum intercesserit, quibus inter amicos solet ali renouarique charitas, alioqui desuetudine solita languescere. O pectus amicitiae candorique natum! quod ego ni redamem, tum non deprecor quo minus omnes me dicant adamantem gestare in pectore, aut si quid adamante durius. 10

Atque hic quoque iuxta prouerbum gratia gratiam parit. Affluit tibi Montioius aliquid sui in me animi, et vtriusque studium tot mihi in vna familia amicos excitauit, ni fallor. Quid enim aliud in causa esse coniectem? nam quae dos aut quod officium meum sic inflammavit Thomae Louelli, iuris pontificii doctoris, in me studium? Aut 15 quae res eruditissimi viri Roberti Tonicii tam non vulgarem be-

III. REVERENDISSIMI . . . A SECRETIS om. H.

5. tantulum F: tantillum H.

8. O pectus] Cf. Epp. 905. i, 976. i.

11. prouerbum] See *Adag.* 34.

15. Louelli] († 1524), subdean of Wells 1516 (Le Neve i. 157) and vicar-general to successive bishops, Adriane Castello and Wolsey (Brewer ii. 2852, iii. 2655: cf. iv. 1264). I do not know when he had met Erasmus, but the attraction between them seems to have been strong; for when Zach. Deiotarus (Ep. 1205, 1n) went to England, Erasmus gave him an introduction to Lovell, who sent back a present of money with an affectionate message. He was then an old man but still a student; see

Lond. xviii. 50, LB. 686, 4 Sept. 1524. R. Wakefeld praises his knowledge of Hebrew (*Oratio*, 1524, ff. C<sup>3</sup>, E<sup>2</sup>v<sup>o</sup>). In view of his age he can hardly be the Thos. Lovel who entered at Cambridge 1500-1, and was Dr. of Canon Law there 1506-7 (*Camb. Grace Books*, B. i, pp. 161; 222, f. pp. 54, 5).

16. Tonicii] Robt. Tones, Tonnice or Tunnys († 1526), a lawyer of high standing and clerk to the court of Chancery (Brewer iii. 1083). From 1514 onwards (id. i. 5282) his name appears in attestation of many important documents; sometimes in later

- neulentiam conciliauit? Vnde Francisci Philippi, summae spei iuuenis, tam singularis erga me fauor? Quid autem commemorem non nouum quidem illum sed hoc spectatiorem amicum, Franciscum medicum? Quid doctorem incomparabilem Samsonem, cuius ingenio nec optari quicquam potest purius aut amicius? Quid Gonellum illum non amicum sed prorsus animae dimidium meae? Quid Clementem, cui Morus amoris in me sui scintillulas aliquot afflauit? Quid Ricardum Pacaeum, qui mihi plane Pyladem quendam non tam pollicetur quam praestat? Quid Cutbertum Tonstallum, cum quouis priscorum conferendum, quorum non ita multa paria celebravit antiquitas? O me diuitem! o domum illam augustam ac felicem! o vere splendidum Cardinalem, qui tales viros habet in consiliis, cuius mensa talibus luminibus cingitur!
- 30 Sed quam isti praeter meritum amant Erasum, tam alii quidam praeter meritum auersantur. Et vtinam malevolentiae non esset foeundior propagatio! Verum mihi potius est paucioribus placuisse, sed egregie probis, quam multis istorum similibus, qui fere aut stolidi sunt et indocti, aut manifesto liuoris et inuidentiae morbo obnoxii, aut ea ingenii peruersitate vt nemini omnino bene velint, sibi prope modum ipsis inuidentes. Sed obtrectatoribus mentem meliorem precemur. Apud amicos tu fac nomenclatorem agas, ac nominatim singulis ex me salutem dicito. Bene vale, vir integerrime.
- Louanii Cal. Septembr. Anno M.D.XX.

years conjoined with Burbank's. By 1515 he had entered the service of Wolsey (id. ii. 336), who employed him in various confidential ways—among others in the foundation of Cardinal College, Oxford; and many communications were addressed to Wolsey through him (Brewer, and *Camb. Grace Book B. ii.* pp. 109, 119).

He accumulated much preferment: three prebends at Lincoln successively, the earliest in 1503-4 (Le Neve ii. 229, 132, 167); others at York, 1516 (id. iii. 180), Westminster, 1523, and Beverley (Brewer iii. 2987, iv. 2001), also at Salisbury (id. ii. 1076) and perhaps at Norwich (Bergenroth ii. 432). He was still living on 28 Feb. 1526 (Brewer iv. 2001); but his prebends at York and Lincoln were filled up on 31 July and 24 Sept. (Le Neve) and in Oct. Wolsey bought stuff from his executors (Brewer iv, p. 2765).

In Sept. 1524 Erasmus at Burbank's request addressed a polite note to Tones, saying that he had heard his praises often from More (Lond. xviii. 40, LB. 701).

17. Philippi] Perhaps Fr. Philips (? Felipez), a Spaniard who appears in July 1517 in the service of Queen Katharine, whom he had 'followed out of Spain' (Brewer ii. 3446, viii. 189). He remained in her household with unwavering loyalty: fetching minstrels for her from Aragon in 1519, and being robbed near Narbonne; carrying her appeals to Charles v at Valladolid in 1527 and 1528-9, and breaking his arm (Brewer iii. 202, v, pp. 306, 308, iv. 5856; cf. xi. 1436). In 1526 his wife is mentioned (id. iv, p. 865). After Katharine's death Henry gave Philips a pension; the last payment of which was made in May 1540 (id. xvi. 380).

19. Franciscum] John Francis, one of the founders of the College of Physicians in 1518. His extant correspondence with Erasmus begins c. 1524.

20. Samsonem] See Epp. 388. 35n, 780, 806.

21. Gonellum] See Ep. 274 introd.

23. Clementem] See Epp. 388. 173n, 820.

24. Pacaeum] See Ep. 211. 43n.

25. Tonstallum] See Ep. 207. 22n.



1095<sup>1</sup>139. TO WILLIBALD PIRCKHEIMER.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 481.  
HN: Lond. xii. 13: LB. 527.

Louvain.  
5 September 1520.

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS CLARISSIMO VIRO BILIBALDO  
PERCHEYMERIO S.

Non deerant, Bilibalde clarissime, qui mihi darent idem consilium quod tu nunc prudenter quidem et amice, sed tamen sero das. Deus auertat vt vilius hominis virulentia sic me a statu mentis dimoueat vt laxatis maledicentiae habenis debaccher in famam alterius. Quid enim hoc aliud sit quam cum insaniente insanire? et sic alienam 5 vlscisci maliciam vt ipse fias malus? Atque vtinam is sim qui iuxta doctrinam Apostolicam benefactis malefacta vincam! Certe decreueram obtlescere, sed ab eo proposito duae tresue quaedam res auocabant. Primum verebar ne si ipse dissimulassem, pro vno me multi existerent, qui Leum multo inclementius acceperant quam ego 10 accepi. Qui etiam si durius aut eruditius aggressi fuissent hominem, tamen haud scio an rem aequae apposite fuerint tractaturi; fortasse quidam ignari quam nihil sapiat, quamque et apud suos contemptus sit Leus, plus illi tribuissent quam meretur. Et vt est hominis ingenium, hoc ipsum palmarium ac triumphale iudicasset, si pluribus 15 celebribus et eruditis viris mouisset stomachum. Mihi tota hominis natura et omnes negotii circumstantiae penitus erant cognitae.

Deinde toto biennio miris cuniculis egerat hoc, mirus his in rebus artifex Leus, vt esset Annotationum suarum incredibilis apud omnes expectatio. Scribebat sexcentas epistolas, ad hunc vsum habebat 20 amanuenses aliquot. Primus excipiebat aduenas, praesertim Anglos, eos conuiuuiis faciebat suos: mox arte confictis mendaciis implebat, sed miram interim modestiam simulans, quo maiore cum fide lederet famam proximi. Abeuntes omni mendaciorum genere dimittebat onustos. Quibusdam ostendebat etiam, si quid esset in Annotationi- 25 bus specie fronteque plausibilis. Monasteriorum fauorem xeniis, cibo vinoque redimebat, praesertim horum quae sciret apud populum opinione sanctimoniae commendata. Habebat omnibus locis in quos huius fabulae scenas fuerat partitus, quorum nemo non strenue erat in negotio. His rebus tandem effectum est vt hi quoque redderentur 30 solliciti qui me probe norant et se Leum nosse putabant. Itaque si nihil respondissem, periculum erat ne ad menses aliquot alienatis complurium animis periret nonnulla pars fructus quem tot vigiliis venabar. Nam meae gloriae iactura sane leuiter mouisset animum meum. Cur enim verear aliquam famae partem Christianis studiis 35 impendere, qui vitae bonam partem impendam? Proinde sic Leo respondimus vt et illi stultissime speratam gloriam detraxerimus et veterem nostram modestiae laudem tueremur.

TIT. CLARISSIMO VIRO *om. H.*  
MERO HN<sup>3</sup>: PIERCKHEYMERIO N<sup>2</sup>.

BILIBALDO H: IOANNI BILIBALDO F. PERCKMEY-  
8. duo N. 26. H: speciae F.

7. Apostolicam] Rom. 12. 21.

Habes, optime Bilibalde, consilii mei rationem, cuius me nondum  
 40 admodum poenitet: etiam si nullius temporis iactura me grauius  
 affecit, quam illius sesquimensis quo Lei naenias, non minus in-  
 amoenas quam indoctas ac virulentas, et legimus et refellimus.  
 Porro quod vereris ne haec mea lenitas multorum inuitet male-  
 dicentiam, ego grauius esse periculum arbitror ne, si maledicentia  
 45 maledicentiam inuitet, nullus sit insaniendi finis, quando iam prope-  
 modum res in rabiem exiit. Hoc consilio Deus vetuit ne quis de  
 Cain sumeret vindictam, ne reciprocis vindictae vicibus nullus tandem  
 esset finis. Vtunque res habet, ego sycophantarum turba malui  
 obrui, quam committere vt hanc gloriam amittam, neminem adhuc  
 50 scriptis meis factum esse nigrum. Nam Deus sibi imputet oportet,  
 si qui male de illo sentiunt. Porro quod suspicaris Leum subornatum  
 histrionem, vt monachorum ac theologorum partes ageret, quanquam  
 facile credam huius actionem gratam fuisse quibusdam qui male  
 volunt bonis studiis, tamen magis arbitror illi potissimum in consilio  
 55 fuisse proprium ingenium, ad haec natura propensum. Non alium  
 fuisse praedicant qui nouere puerum: semper saeuus erat ac vindex,  
 omnibus inuidebat, non ferebat quenquam parem, multo minus  
 superiorem; solus haberi in precio volebat, gloriolae erat sitientissi-  
 mus, suae sententiae mire pertinax. Talis erat puer, talis adolescens,  
 60 talis iuuenis; talis nunc etiam vir est, nisi quod cum aetate fere  
 solent accrescere vicia. Atque vtinam vel senex fiat aliquando sui  
 dissimilis!

Quod mihi plurimos non minus doctos quam potentes amicos  
 gratularis, quod nominis immortalitatem recte factis partam, quod  
 65 me liuore maiorem facis, nimirum facis amanter, mi Bilibalde, dum  
 amicum vndique impetentibus sycophantarum machinis periclitantem,  
 vt tu putas, blanda consolatione subleuas. Ego istam immortali-  
 tatem nihil moror. Recte facta non agnosco, tantum adniscus sum  
 aliqua ex parte mea industria prodesse studiis publicis, et ad synceram  
 70 amplectendam Christi doctrinam excitare mortalium animos. At  
 vereor ne res in diuersum exeat. Hactenus ad scholasticam ac  
 disputatricem theologiam frangebant ac nauseabant piae mentes, et  
 mox ad Euangelicae veritatis gustum ceperant hilarescere; sed tanta  
 contentione conspiratum est ab iis qui suam gloriam Christi gloriae  
 75 praeferunt, vt verear ne res in diuersum exeat. Et haec geruntur  
 per eos qui vulgo habentur lux mundi, habentur sal terrae. Nunc  
 sanctum ac pium est in sacris concionibus pro veritate Euangelica  
 improbis mendaciis veluti de plaustris debacchari in famam proximi.  
 Et o peruersam maliciam, in odium quorundam et in gratiam  
 80 principum quorum fauorem captant, ea praedicant apud populum  
 quae ipsi apud se damnant! Nouos libros reiciunt, sed qui bonis  
 literis, quas cane peius oderunt et angui, conditi sunt. Verum quid

41. affecit H: affecerit F.  
 rum H.

58. gloriolae erat scripsi: gloriolaeerā F: gloria-

41. sesquimensis] See p. 110, and cf.  
 Ep. 1134. 26.

43. mea lenitas] Cf. Ep. 1029. 9n.

50. nigrum] Cf. Ep. 1007. 81n.

56. nouere puerum] More no doubt

was one of these: cf. EEV, p. 60 (Jortin  
 ii. 648) and Ep. 1053. 130n.

76. per eos] The monastic orders.

82. cane peius] Cf. Hor. Ep. 1. 17.

30.

isti interim suis nouis libris nos doceant, in praesentia nec vacat nec libet referre: et tamen pudet meminisse quod illos non pudet scribere.

85

Iam de Luthero nihil aliud dicam nisi quod in praesentia solum impune licet, mihi vehementer dolere tale ingenium, quod videbatur futurum insigne quoddam organum ebuccinandae veritatis Euangelicae, sic exasperatum esse rabiosis quorundam clamoribus. Fabulam de τῆς ὀρθοφαιίας calumniatore risi satis, et tibi tam bono patrono xenium debere me fateor.

De dulci felicique Lei ocio salse tu quidem iocaris; sed tamen extra iocum, vtinam ille vel nunc ad suum ocium redeat, expertus Martis aleam! Sed dicitur magno conamine redintegrare bellum, fretus Abbate quodam longe stolidissimo, qui solus illius naenias appellauit 95 'sacras Annotationes'. Quis credat illi micam esse mentis sanae, quem non pudeat re tam turpiter gesta rursum in harenam prodire? Quod si facit, certum est non colluctari posthac cum illa scabie. Docti complures e Germania miserunt ad me fasciculos epistolarum, seu potius volumina, quibus Leum frustulatim discerpunt. Eas 100 omnes sic pressi, vt nec legendas cuiquam dederim, siue quod cupiam huius tragoediae finem esse, siue quod nolim Leum videri tanti vt in illum tot ac tales viri stilum suum acuant. Quare sicut arbitror plane esse, ita plane ludum ac iocum esse cupio quod minitaris, Germaniam illi panegyricis annuis litaturam. Nam id si fiat, ipse 105 sibi plane Deus esse videatur.

In adornanda profectione Germanica plane Calippidem agimus. Regiam tuam cupide videbimus, si modo citra magnum itineris dispendium liceat. Mihi vero vel tugurium quauis regia splendidius erit, quod habeat Bilibaldum. Sed ais pestem sub Caroli Principis 110 aduentum desitutam. Quis vates istuc futurum praedixit?

Quod scribis ab Oecolampadio factum, iam ex illius literis subodorabar futurum. Id siue iudicio fecit, siue animi morbo, quando mutari non potest, praecandum est vt illi ac nobis quam optime vertat. Video res humanas sic vndique corruptas vt nullis vnquam 115 saeculis existimem plus licuisse impudentiae, plus licuisse stoliditati, plus licuisse sceleri. Et nonnunquam libet aliquo profugere; sed vereor ne quocunque me vertero, sequatur molestia. Proinde tutius arbitror mali remedium ab animo petere potius quam a loco aut vitae instituto. Bene habet quod Christus in tanta viciorum caligine 120 nobis Euangelicae doctrinae scintillas reliquit. Bene vale, vir ornatissime. Louanii nonis Septembr. ANNO M.D.XX.

100. voluminum H.

95. Abbate] Cf. Ep. 1074. 60.

101. pressi] See p. 210, and cf. Ep.

1157. 1-4.

107. profectione] See Ep. 1078. 62n.

Calippidem] See *Adag.* 543: 'qui in moliendis negociis, cum multa se facturum minaretur, nihil tamen conficeret'. Cf. also Ep. 491. 3.

## 1140. TO MARTIN LYPSEIUS.

Rotterdam MS., Erasmus III. 102, p. 47.

Horowitz v. 12.

&lt;Louvain.&gt;

&lt;? September 1520.&gt;

[Only a conjectural date is possible, based on the movements of Lee. In July he met Erasmus at Calais (Ep. 1132, 18n). In Ep. 1139 the suggestion seems to be that he had left Louvain: in Ep. 1165, 25 he is certainly in England.]

DES. ERAS. ROTE. SVO LYPSEIO.

<S>1 non est aliud incommodum nisi quod Origenes nimis magnum est volumen, nihil est periculi. De Priore diue Agnetis nihil vnquam sinistri sum suspicatus, sed de fratribus Zwollensibus, quanquam hoc quoque leuiter. De vxore Listrii deque omissis Graecis literis com-  
5 peri falso ad me scriptum fuisse, et expostulaui cum eo qui scripserat; nam is est Listrio cum primis amicus.

Admonuit me Agnetanus de Augustino, sed humanissime; nec sum tam morosus vt huiusmodi admonitionibus offendar. Si nondum  
10 satisfeci animo illius, non sum tam felix vt omnium animis satisfaciam. Non postulabat ille locus vt Augustini laudes attollerem. Et malo nonnullis paulo minus candidus videri in Augustinum quam euincere me multo candidiorem esse quam istis videar. Honestus est affectus quo tenetur D. Prior; fauet enim auctori suo. Sic Thomam nemo satis laudat Praedicatoribus. Postremo tot habeo  
15 fauentes, tot aduersantes, vt vix vacet de vno aut altero esse sollicitum.

Leeus iam abiit, opinor, in Angliam re preclare gesta. Bene vale.

1. Origenes] Erasmus was perhaps thinking of Warham's proposal (cf. Ep. 1017. 9n).

2. Priore] Gerard of Kloster; cf. Ep. 1116.

3. fratribus] of the Common Life; cf. Ep. 504. 26n.

5. scriptum fuisse] These false reports evidently were detrimental to Lister: perhaps that his wife, for whom see Ep. 660. 3-6, 24 (? 1519, not 1517: cf. p. 67) and BRE. 193 (March 1520), was dead, and that he had given up teaching Greek in his school at Zwolle. For the enthusiasm with which he had introduced this in

1516 see Ep. 500. 21, 2.

7. de Augustino] The Prior, when at Louvain in the summer (Ep. 1116), had perhaps taken exception to some reference to Augustine in Erasmus' writings, without due meed of praise: as Eck had done in Ep. 769. 80 seq.

8. tam morosus] Cf. Ep. 1076. 6n.

14. Thomam] Cf. Ep. 1126. 262n.

17. in Angliam] In § 6 of the *Hochstratus ouans* (see Ep. 1165. 22n) Lee is made to say that he had got himself recalled to England to be chaplain to the Queen. By Dec. 1520 he was one of the King's chaplains (Brewer iii, p. 1543).

## 1141. TO GERARD GELDENHAUER.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 490.  
HN: Lond. xii. 17: LB. 528.

Louvain.  
9 September 1520.

[The year-date is confirmed by the Bull against Luther.]

ERASMVS ROT. GERARDO NOVIOMAGO, REVERENDI EPISCOPI  
TRAIECTENSIS A SACRIS, S. D.

BRVGIS non admodum mihi placebas. Optarim te videre vultu illo nitido ac florulento. Etiam atque etiam te rogo vt per tuam facundiam intelligat D. R. munus ipsius mihi longe gratissimum esse, quanquam hactenus non vacauit gratias agere. Et malim id agere libello victuro. Dixeram me nonnihil abhorrere a praeendis, 5 ne mihi res sit cum capitulis. Nunc huic quoque incommodo videor dispexisse remedium.

Male metuo misero Luthero: sic vndique feruet coniuratio, sic vndique irritantur in illum principes, ac praecipue Leo Pontifex. Vtinam Lutherus meum sequutus consilium ab odiosis illis ac 10 seditiosis abstinuisset! Plus erat fructus ac minus inuidiae. Parum esset vnum hominem perire: si res haec illis succedet, nemo feret illorum insolentiam. Non conquiescent donec linguas ac bonas literas omnes subuerterint. Iam Capnionem rursus aggrediuntur, tantum odio Lutheri: qui me dissuadente nomen illius suo negocio 15 admiscens, et illum degrauauit inuidia, et sibi nihil omnino profuit.

TTT. REVERENDI . . . SACRIS *om. H.*

3. D. R. F: optimus praesul *H.*

1. Brugis] See Ep. 1129. 1n.

3. D. R.] dominus reuerendissimus, Philip of Burgundy: see Ep. 603 introd.

munus] Perhaps in acknowledgement of the dedication of the Paraphrase: Ep. 1043.

5. Dixeram] Evidently to the Bp. of Utrecht; for whose relations with Erasmus in this matter cf. Epp. 714, 751. They had met at Mechlin in Aug. 1519: see Ep. 1001. 7-8.

abhorrere] Cf. Ep. 456. 168n.

7. remedium] The arrangement made with Barbirius and de Hondt (cf. Ep. 1094) seems to have satisfied Erasmus for the time. For another recent attempt to obtain preferment for him see Ep. 1065.

10. consilium] Ep. 1033. 50 shows that Erasmus was thinking of Ep. 980. 38 seq.: cf. Ep. 1143. 25-6.

odiosis illis] For this usage of a neuter plural in an oblique case cf. Ep. 1164. 6.

14. rursus] Since judgement had

been given against him; cf. Ep. 1135. 18n.

15. me dissuadente] In response, perhaps, to Luther's letter of c. 5 May (see p. 286) Erasmus had written to Luther to this effect c. Aug. 1520; cf. Ep. 1186. 5-6, and, for Luther's reply, Ep. 1166. 90n. A sentence of the letter is preserved in LE<sup>2</sup>. 352, 11 Oct. 1520, 'Erasmus scribit aulam Imperatoris esse mendicotyrannis occupatam, vt nulla in Carolo spes esse possit': as he had written to Melancthon in June (Ep. 1113. 37-8). Its general tenour is given in Ep. 1672 of 7 March 1526: 'Lutherum ante annos quinque literis priuatim scriptis admonui vt ad tam periculosum negocium, si suo fideret spiritui, adhiberet animum modis omnibus incorruptum'.

Erasmus himself had often associated the names of Reuchlin and Luther together; see Epp. 967, 1033, 1041, 1155. 18n, 1167. 94 seq.

16. admiscens] In no. 26 of the *Resolutiones disputationum de indulgentiarum*

Disputavit Eccius; Hoochstratus promiserat nescio quos syllogismos, quibus omnes cedere cogerentur. Disputabant atque etiam scribebant Louanienses. Expectabatur iudicium Academiae Parisiensis, et ecce  
 20 res de repente in Bullam et in fumum exitura videtur. Excusa est Bulla formidabilis, sed quam Pontifex vetuit publicari. Vereor ne res in grauem tumultum exeat. Qui haec suadent Pontifici, dant illi mea sententia consilium, non dico quam pium, sed certe periculosum. Res e pessimis fontibus primum orta est, deinde pessimis  
 25 rationibus hucusque prouecta. Ex odio bonarum literarum et stoliditate monachorum primum orta est haec tragoedia. Deinde magnis conuiciis, maliciosis conspirationibus huc vesaniae res progressa est. Quo tendant nulli dubium est, nimirum vt oppressis his literis quas illi nesciunt, impune regnent cum sua barbarie. Ego me huic  
 30 tragoediae non misceo. Alioqui paratus est vel episcopatus, si velim in Lutherum scribere. Mihi dolet sic obrui doctrinam Euangelicam, nosque cogi tantum, non doceri; et doceri ea a quibus abhorrent et sacrae literae et sensus communis. Bene vale, charissime Gerarde, et quid valeas scribe. Louanii v. Idus Septemb. ANNO M.D.XX.

## 1142. FROM GEORGE SCHIRN.

Breslau MS. Rehd. 254. 136.  
 EE<sup>2</sup>. 4.

Milan.  
 10 September 1520.

[An original letter, autograph throughout. The dates are confirmed by another original letter of Schirn, also dated 10 Sept. 1520, from Milan, and addressed to Beatus Rhenanus (BRE. 178). In it Schirn states that he had just

17. Hoochstratus N.

33. charissime FN<sup>2</sup>: clarissime N<sup>1</sup> Lond.

virtute, (Wittenberg, J. Grünenberg, c. Aug.) 1518; see LE<sup>2</sup>. 79, 88, 91 and *Luthers Werke in Auswahl*, ed. O. Clemen, i (1912), pp. 15, 78.

17. Eccius] At Leipzig in June 1519: see Ep. 1020. 62n.

syllogismos] No book by Hoochstratus with this title is known. In 1521-2 he produced *Cum diuo Augustino Colloquia contra enormes atque peruersos Martini Lutheri errores*.

19. Louanienses] Cf. Ep. 1030. 16n.

Parisiensis] The *Determinatio* of the Theological Faculty had been long expected (cf. Epp. 1033. 116n, 1167. 383; LE<sup>2</sup>. 255, 376; ME. 69; Zw. E<sup>2</sup>. 160); but it was not published till 15 April 1521 (Ep. 1202. 220n).

20. Bullam] *Exsurge, Domine*, excommunicating Luther. It was issued in Rome, 15 June 1520, and published in Meissen by Eck, 21 Sept.

30. episcopatus] This proposal came from the Papal side; not, as in 1516 (cf. Ep. 475. 4n), from the Spanish. It was no doubt carried by Aleander; but,

as he was still in France, Erasmus must have been sounded by some one in advance. The offer was renewed later at Cologne (p. 371): cf. the account given, on the authority of Henry, prior of Gund, with Erasmus' *Axiomata* on behalf of Luther (see pp. 370-1), f<sup>o</sup>. B<sup>2</sup>: 'Oratores eidem Erasmo Roterodamo promiserunt Pontificis verbis pinguisimum episcopatum, si pro Pontifice contra Lutherum scripturus esset. Iis vero Erasmus respondit, "Maior est" inquiens "Lutherus quam (vt) in illum scribam ego. Maior est Lutherus quam vt a me intelligatur. Plane Lutherus tantus est vt plus erudiar et proficiam ex lectione vnius pagellae Lutherianae quam ex toto Thoma"'. In Ep. 1143 Erasmus evades mention of the offered bishopric; but in Ep. 1180. 11-12 Leo hints at it again.

Paquier, *J. Aléandre*, p. 167n, on the ground of Ep. 1236. 113-14 considers that Erasmus' words quoted above are apocryphal; but that inference seems hardly necessary.

written this letter to Erasmus when 'aliquorum ex relatu Erasmus debitum iam exoluisse naturae maximo, testor Deum, stupore et maerore percepi': 'Heu' inquit, 'estne nobis iratus Deus? Extinctumne dicitur lumen mundi, quo solo tenebrosa errorum in Scripturis propulsa fuit caligo?' He then asks Beatus to send on the letter, in case Erasmus should after all be still alive; but if he were dead, to indicate what he thought had been Erasmus' opinion of St. Bernard.

Beyond these two letters I cannot discover anything about Schirn. His monastery, Caravallis or Chiaravalle, 4 ms. s. of Milan, was founded in 1135. After a temporary 'reformation' by monks of the Etruscan Congregation from Settimo, 1465-74, it reverted to its direct relations with Clairvaux: to which its own name is often assimilated. See P. F. Kehr, *Regesta Pontificum*, Italia vi. 1, 1913, p. 120.]

S. D. Nulla profecto scribendi intencio a me protracta in longum adeo fuit vnquam, Erasme doctorum doctissime, nulla dictandi ratio, vt haec ad te praesens, difficiliorem a me promeruit egressum. Quoties enim mecum ipse cogitabam ad quem esset scribendum, si ad te scriberem, qualis quantae quamque variae scripta nostra quodammodo barbara vel ab omni vtique venustatis grauitatisque decore aliena erudicionis adirent hominem, continuo animus decidebat omneque secum dictandi auferebat institutum, tuique nominis de memoria gloriosi Mosaica ceu cornuta facie debiles nostri intellectus absterrebantur ocelli. Atque in hoc (ni fallor) non accusandus magis quam venia dignus videor, quod eius viri iudicium tantopere perhorruerim qui ob ingenii prestanciam multiplicemque doctrinarum omnium cognicionem omnium animos in sui admiracionem solus conuerterit; qui Germanorum non solum quorum (alii nolint velint) proprius est, sed et Itolorum exterarumque nacionum testimoniis omnium fons disciplinarum predicatur vbique indeficiens, a quo noui cotidie cartacei riuli pro studiosorum palatus refrigerio emanant quam largissime. Permagna tamen, quae passim cum tuis ex epistolis, opusculis atque libris, tum omnium vno viuencium ore de te vulgatur humanitas, benignitas multiplexque virtus omnem timoris effugauit pallorem, quodque pericia, quae in me est nulla, declinauit, tua quae ceu vinum cor hominis laetificat, bonitas ministravit. Aeque igitur animo et solita qua omnium soles (humanitate), has nostras oro suscipias (sint qualescunque) literulas pro perpetuo in te nostri amoris signaculo; nil enim (testor Deum) dulcius nostro personat auditui, nil alacrius nostris se presentat obtutibus, nil cordi haeret tenacius Erasmi nomine. Nam si magnae Philippus Macedo foelicitatis aestimauit indicium Aristotelis philosophi natum Alexandrum temporibus, foelicissimo certe auspicio nostra Erasmus habuisse tempestate studiosi omnes gloriabimur; a quo quicquid in literis est decorum, quicquid occultum, proficuum, idoneum et scitu dignum, Apollinis velut ab oraculo percipimus absolutissimum. Habemus, certe habemus, praesenti in seculo quod admirari possimus, ne semper veterum ingenia suspiciamus. Tuis enim libris, Erasme, bonarum sanctarumque literarum assertor optime, nil potest esse venustius, nil elegancius, nil succi plenius, grauius, apertius, diuinius

23. humanitate add. *Enthoven*; cf. vv. 20, 116.

9. Mosaica] Cf. Exod. 34. 29-35.

cornuta] Cf. *Adag.* 82.

15. proprius] Cf. Ep. 1147. 28, 29nn.

et ab omni parte qua quid in literis desiderari possit, nil desideracius. Hinc est quod dum ab insipidis quaestionariorum (vt sic dicam) nexibus barbarisque subducor syllogismis tuosque in libros amenissimum tanquam paradisum meme recipio, mirum quanta vbique sermonis vt electissimorum fructuum reficiat dulcedine.

Cum autem nuper, cui Verae Theologiae Compendium indidisti nomen, in manus accepissem opusculum, legissemque ipso in loco quo sacrae theologiae gnauiter castigas abusores, ac inter eos sanctissimum doctorem Bernardum, mei ordinis instauratorem gloriosissimum, commemoras, ilico substiti et, quasi noui et insueti fructus saporem accepissem, gelidus in me dirigit sanguis. Verum id vsu venit quam saepissime, vt alicui nouus et ingustatus primo displiceat cibus; dum vero aedendi consuetudinem habuerit et ab his qui vtuntur saepe, vim eius virtutemque intellexerit, non commestor tantum sed vorator fiat audissimus. Quod et mihi omnino (ne iocis epistola careat) in peponibus contigit, quorum cum primo in Italia mihi apponerentur, nec modum nec vsum vescendi habui vllum (plurima siquidem, vt scis, Alemannorum pars ipsis caret); nunc autem vix quod mensae apponitur nostrae, libencius commedo quicquam. Sic quoque, mi Erasme, literarum in exercicio vbique fere accidit, vt dum minus dictiones, sententias auctorumque animos intelligimus, ipsis de non intellectis auctoribusque male sentimus quam saepissime; at postquam rite omnia intelliguntur, non semel id probari, laudari et extolli quod ante displicebat, compertum est.

Ego vero tuorum omnium quos vidi librorum, ne vna saltem quam ista commotus, ne dicam offensus, sententia fui vnquam. Quis enim tam bono de homine, meliori philosopho, optimo theologo offensionis materiam caperet vllam? Nescio tamen quo de ista modo in Bernardum locutione noster, quantumuis sit exiguus, suam extra consuetudinem dissentire videatur intellectus. Quantum enim de sanctissimo isto patre suisque operibus agnoscit (filialis in iudicio absit amor professionisque vnitas), nusquam eum non grauiter, nusquam non apte, non rite, non summa cum maiestate sacra vsum Scriptura probat. Denique preter hoc et in aperto sua sunt opera. Vitae ipsius scriptores, profecto non vulgares, quique ipsum viuentem in terris a cunis quasi et amicicia et literario nonnunquam congressu nouerunt, tibi directe contradicunt. Haec enim, si bene memini, in suae vitae libro leguntur verba: 'Canonicas autem scripturas simpliciter ac seriatim, libencius ac saepius legebat. Nec vllis

42. Verae Theologiae] See Ep. 745.

45. Bernardum] 'Sunt qui ludant verbis Scripturae diuinae, ac, veluti fit in centonibus poetarum, ad alienum sensum ceu per iocum abutuntur. Quod aliquoties facit diuus Bernardus, venuste magis quam grauiter, meo quidem iudicio. Sic enim imbiberat vir ille praeclarus sacras literas vt nusquam non occurrerent' (LB. v. 129A). The passage was added in Martens' issue of Nov. 1518, f<sup>o</sup>. p<sup>4</sup> v<sup>o</sup> (see Ep. 745 introd.); and in spite of Schirn's protest was left standing in the later editions. The name of

Bernard occurs in Epp. 15. 35, 39. 150, 858. 513, 1033. 83, 1173. 173, 1202. 17, 1206. 109, 1236. 159, 1313. 91, 1334. 136; but not frequently in Erasmus' writings.

47. dirigit] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3. 259, 60.

74. vitae libro] In the life by Alan of Auxerre († 1182), which is an abridgement of the earlier composition by William of St. Theodore's at Rheims. In this passage the two agree with only slight differences, but in these Schirn's text always follows Alan's: which seems not to have been printed before Mabillon's edition of 1690, vol. ii, pp. 1072, 1248.



magis quam ipsarum verbis eas intelligere se dicebat, et, quicquid in eis diuine sibi elucebat veritatis aut virtutis, in primae sibi originis fonte magis quam in decurrentibus expositionum riuus sapere testabatur. Sanctos tamen (et) orthodoxos earum expositores humiliter legens, nequaquam sensibus eorum suos sensus equabat, sed subiiciebat formandos, et vestigiis eorum fideliter inherens saepe de fonte vnde illi hauserant, et ipse bibebat' etc.

Existimas, vir praeclarissime, venerabilem illum patrem diui Augustini super Psalmum xlviii ignorasse sententiam, qua dicit 'Omnia diuina eloquia salubria esse bene intelligentibus, periculosa 85 vero his qui ea volunt ad sui cordis peruersitatem detorquere potius quam suum cor ad eorum rectitudinem corrigere; hancque esse (in hominibus) magnam et vsitatam peruersitatem. Quia cum debeant ipsi viuere secundum voluntatem Dei, Deum volunt (viuere) secundum voluntatem suam; et cum ipsi nolunt corrigi, illum volunt 90 deprauari, rectum non arbitantes quod ille vult, sed quod ipsi volunt', etc.

Absit sanctissimum patrem tali vsum forma Scripturis, vt suam potius quam Dei probare voluisset sententiam. Culpa profecto esset nullis expianda victimis, nulli competens sanctitati. Non tamen 95 dixerim tuis id verbis de eo vel sensisse vel dixisse (licet mihi fere similia representent), quando vltima pars tuae ibidem sententiae amplum satis et honorificum de eo claudit preconium. At nec tuum quidem, sed meum accuso ingenium, meam ignauiam et insciam: qua praepeditus, quid eisdem sencias verbis, intelligere possum 100 minime. Te ergo, nouum bonarum sanctissimarumque literarum patrem et omnis discipline magistrum, hortor, obsecro et obtestor, amicabili (quamuis adhuc non promeruerim) epistola lucidiorique sententia meam velis illustrare hebitudinem, vbi vel quibus in locis, aut certe quo in opere et qualiter, idem sanctissimus pater 'venuste 105 magis quam grauiter' diuino vsus sit eloquio; quatenus prophetiarum quodammodo coloquintidarum appositus mihi sapor, erudicionis tuae sale conditus, fiat quam suauissimus. Nouicius enim sacra sum in theologia atque tyrunculus, methodique, meliora in ea quo acceduntur, percupidus. Quem tuo si magisterio facilius habuero, vt prae- 110 ceptorem, vt dominum, vt patrem perpetuo et amare et honorare te non desistam. Maiorem quoque in modum tuam oratam velim dominationem, vt suorum in albo, non dico amicorum—tale enim sertum nostro vix conuenit capiti—, sed discipulorum, et quidem nouissimorum, me depingat.

Si quid mihi responsi, quemadmodum tua de humanitate haud dubito, decreueris dare, fac quo possit modo in monasterium sancti Ambrosii Mediolanense Abbati vel Cellerario presentari: nec offen-

90. illum *Aug.*: ipsum *MS.*

91. deprauare *MS.*

84. Augustini] *Enarr.* in Ps. 48. 1. I have restored the text of Augustine; about which there seems to be no doubt in this passage. Schirn's variants are probably mere degenerations.

118. Abbati] The abbacy of San Ambrogio at this period was a rotatory

office, held for a few years. The present abbot was Angelus Plattus, who held the position three times, 1519-21, 1522-5, 1529; and on each occasion was also President of his congregation throughout Italy. See Barth. Aresius, *S. Ambrosii . . . Abbatum chronologica series*, Milan, 1674, pp. 66-8.

daris, vir doctissime, ignoti mei audacioribus forte quam vel meae  
 120 conueniebant humilitati vel nominis tui decebant ad magnitudinem,  
 literariis accessibus. Nil mihi, haud dubitatum credas, contingeret  
 optabilius quam te, quem ex literis solum celeberrimaque fama  
 cognoui, coram cernere et admirari, illaque suauissima et omni  
 maiestate referta, vt ex literis, vt hominum ex relatione, sic aureo  
 125 ab ore percipere verba. Vale, nostri saeculi specimen, literarum  
 saluator omnisque disciplinae sacrum.

Ex Carauallae, insigni Cisterciensis ordinis coenobio prope  
 Mediolanum iiii Idus Septembris Anno etc. 1520.

Georgius Schirnus Alemannus, ordinis Cisterciensis, etc.

130 Erasmo Roterodamo, Germanorum decori, theologorum principi et  
 vtriusque linguae professori etc., domino suo colendissimo.

1143<sub>1180</sub> TO LEO X.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 535.

HN: Lond. xiv. 5: LB. 529.

Louvain.

13 September 1520.

[This letter was occasioned partly by the information, which had reached Erasmus by 31 July (Ep. 1123. 8-11) through Aleander (Ep. 1167. 120-2), that Ep. 980 had aroused comment in Rome—information which made it important to disavow his indiscreet introduction of the name of the Bishop of Liège; partly by the necessity of giving an answer to the offer of a bishopric if he would write against Luther (cf. Ep. 1141. 30n). Over the latter question he glides skilfully, and without mentioning it manages to convey a graceful refusal; at the same time taking the opportunity to make clear his attitude towards Luther, as he had already done to other important personages in Epp. 939, 961, 967, 1033. The year-date is confirmed by Ep. 1180.]

BEATISSIMO PATRI LEONI EIVS NOMINIS DECIMO ERASMVVS

ROTEROD. S. D.

TAMETSI non metuebam, beatissime Pater, ne tua bonitas impelli  
 posset ad laedendum insontem, aut tua prudentia temere crederet  
 improborum calumniis; tamen quoniam eam video tot negociis ex  
 toto vndique orbe inundantibus pulsari, simulque considero inauditam  
 5 quorundam improbitatem, qui coniurarunt in bonas literas, nusquam  
 cessare, nihil non audere, nullum non mouere lapidem, arbitratus  
 sum nonnihil mea referre hac velut antidoto praemunire sanctitatem  
 tuam, oculatissimam quidem illam sed pariter occupatissimam. Esse  
 video qui, quo magis communirent factionem suam, conati sunt  
 10 causam bonarum literarum, causam Reuchlini meamque causam cum

1143. 7. hac *F* Corrig. : hoc *F*. veluti *N*. 8. pariter *add. H*.

1142. 129. etc.] In BRE. 178 Schirn writes in place of this, 'theologorum minimus'.

130. Germanorum] Cf. l. 15 n.

1143. 10. meamque] Ep. 1167. 94 seq. shows that Erasmus still dissociated

himself in his own mind from Reuchlin (cf. Ep. 1155. 18n) as well as from Luther: but this letter might well have given rise to the opinion that he identified Reuchlin's cause with his own and that of good learning.

Lutheri causa coniungere, cum his nihil sit inter se commune. Atque id semper tum oratione tum scriptis aeditis testatus sum. Lutherum non noui, nec libros illius vnquam legi, nisi forte decem aut duodecim pagellas, easque carptim. Ex his quae tum degustavi, visus est mihi probe compositus ad mysticas literas veterum more <sup>15</sup> explanandas, quando nostra haec aetas immodice indulgebat argutis magis quam necessariis quaestionibus. Bonis igitur illius faui, non malis, imo gloriae Christi in illo faui.

Ferme primus omnium odoratus sum periculum esse ne res exiret in tumultum; a quo sic abhorruui semper vt nemo magis. Proinde <sup>20</sup> minis etiam egi cum Ioanne Frobenio typographo, ne quid operum illius excuderet. Scripsi tum crebro tum diligenter amicis, admonerent hominem vt in scriptis meminisset Christianae mansuetudinis, seruiretque semper Ecclesiae tranquillitati. Et cum ipse prior ad me scripsisset ante annos duos, amanter admonui quid illum vellem <sup>25</sup> euitare: cui consilio vtinam ille paruisset! Eam epistolam audio delatam ad tuam beatitudinem, in odium opinor mei, cum magis fauorem tuae sanctitatis mihi conciliare debuerit. Quid enim illic omitto cuius non illum admoneam? Ciuilliter quidem id facio, sed ita citius proficetur quam austeritate, et ignoto scribebam. Postea <sup>30</sup> quam formam ac ceu regulam homini praescripseram, ne quid offenderet admonitionis libertas, subiicio, 'Haec scribo, non vt te admoneam quid facias, sed vt quod facis, perpetuo facias'; videlicet imaginans illum iam sponte sua facere quod illum facere volebam. Quod si mihi placuisset ea scribendi ratio qua prius utebatur <sup>35</sup> Lutherus, quid opus erat illi tot verbis nouam formam praescribere? Et tamen hunc locum scio quosdam impudenter ad calumniam detorsisse, sed magis illud quod adieceram, hic esse plures illi fauentes. Id sane vere scripseram. Bonis illius hic fauebant plurimi, non aliter quam ego fauebam. Hoc illum scire volui, non vt his <sup>40</sup> fretus pergeret seditiose scribere, sed vt ad formam a me praescriptam moderaretur stilum, si vellet horum fauorem esse perpetuum.

12. testatus sum] But cf. Epp. 1141. 15n, 1155. 18n.

15. probe compositus] This approval of Luther is more advanced than that in Epp. 939, 967, 1033: where Erasmus does not venture to do more than commend Luther's life. It is repeated, more handsomely, in Ep. 1167. 124-43.

mysticas] i. e. sacras; cf. Ep. 1167. 127, *arcanas*.

21. Frobenio] See Ep. 1033. 47n. There had been further opposition quite recently: see an autograph letter of Hedio to Capito from Basle, 23 June 1520 (Brit. Museum Add. MS. 21524, f. 5), 'Quid hic actum sit hisce diebus de Lutheri operibus non amplius imprimendis longum fuerit scribere. Praesente Egrano acta est comoedia; a quo auditurus es'.

22. Scripsi] As in Epp. 947. 33-5, 983. 8-12; and no doubt in the answer to Ep. 938. Cf. Epp. 1202. 66-7, 167-70,

1225. 273-5. But in Ep. 1526 Erasmus seems to indicate that his intervention through friends had begun in 1517-18, shortly after the appearance of Luther's Theses.

25. annos duos] A loose statement: eighteen months had not yet elapsed since Ep. 933 was written. See also l. 49n, and cf. Epp. 1098 introd., 1111. 28n, 1166. 6n.

26. consilio] Cf. Ep. 1141. 15n.

epistolam] Ep. 980.

32. subiicio] Ep. 980. 52. The quotation here, as in Ep. 1162. 178-9, is not literal: but in Ep. 1167. 226 it is reproduced correctly. A report sent by Hezcius to Rome from Liège in Oct. 1525 (Balan 261, p. 553) shows that this sentence had been quickly fastened upon by Egmondanus, and no doubt other opponents of Erasmus at Louvain, as an indication of his sympathy with Luther.

38. adieceram] Ep. 980. 36-7.

Nomen Episcopi Leodiensis quomodo admixtum sit demiror apud  
 45 Lypsienses, qui nescio quo consilio epistolam arcanam euulgarunt,  
 cum Basileae non fuerit additum. Illud verissimum est, illi nihil  
 prorsus vnquam fuisse rei cum Luthero, nihilo magis quam mihi.  
 Quod si maxime nomen fuisset additum, non alio sensu fuisset  
 additum quam modo sum interpretatus. Eam epistolam scripsimus  
 ferme ante biennium, et res nondum ad hanc acerbitem processerat,  
 50 et ad disputationem erat prouocatum. Si quisquam vel inter pocula  
 audiuit me Lutheri dogmata tuentem, non recusem vocari Lutheranus.  
 At non impetii meo stilo hominem. Primum refellere non poteram  
 nisi prius semel atque iterum attente legissem. Ad id mihi non  
 erat ocium, plus satis occupato meis studiis. Deinde videbam rem  
 55 esse supra modulum eruditionis et ingenii mei. Ad haec nolebam  
 Academiis in hoc occupatis suam praeripere gloriam. Postremo  
 metui tot potentium virorum odium in me prouocare, praesertim  
 cum nemo mandasset hanc prouinciam. Quare si quid isthic me  
 calumniantur bonarum literarum hostes, in tua prudentia meaque  
 60 innocentia mihi certum est praesidium. Non sum tam demens vt  
 contra summum Christi vicarium ausim quicquam, qui ne peculiari  
 quidem episcopo meo velim aduersari. Non sum tam ingratus vt  
 tuae in me plus quam paternae indulgentiae non respondere laborem.  
 Hoc meum quaecunque est ingeniolum, Christi gloriae gregisque  
 65 Christiani tranquillitati seruiet. Quisquis erit huius aduersarius, is  
 et meus erit.

Luthero ne tum quidem patrocinar bar cum vtcunque liberum esset  
 fauere. Tantum impetendi modum improbaram, non Luthero con-  
 sulens sed auctoritati theologorum. Videbam rem ex odio linguarum  
 70 ac bonarum, vt vocant, literarum natam. Videbam acerbis odiis et  
 seditiosis apud populum clamoribus rem geri, quibus nihil aliud  
 efficiebant quam vt nobilitarent opera Lutheri, et vulgus hominum  
 ad auiditatem legendi prouocarent. Si prius refellissent Lutherum  
 et animis hominum exemissent, deinde libros exussissent, totum  
 75 Lutherum citra tumultum orbis abolere poterant, siquidem id mere-  
 batur quod isti praedicant. Libera ac generosa ingenia doceri gau-  
 dent, cogi nolunt. Hoc consilium pro theologis aduersus Lutherum  
 faciebat, nisi quidam perperam interpretarentur.

Decreueram hyemare Romae, consulturus in locis aliquot biblio-  
 80 thecam tuae sanctitatis; sed hi principum congressus me remorati  
 sunt. In proximam hyemem spero me adfuturum. S. T. incolumem  
 tueatur Christus Opt. Max.

Louanii Id. Septemb. Anno M.D.XX.

43. Leodiensis] Cf. Epp. 980. 36n,  
 1041. 22-3.

44. Lypsienses] See Ep. 948 introd.  
 and cf. Ep. 1202. 200.

49. ferme ante biennium] On 30  
 May 1519. Cf. l. 25n.

51. Lutheranus] Cf. Ep. 1162. 222n.

56. Academiis] Cf. Ep. 1033. 255n.

74. exussissent] See Ep. 1157. 6n.

76. generosa ingenia] Cf. Ep. 1153.  
 152n.

79. Romae] Besides other attractions  
 the present plan was in part connected

with the work which he had now in  
 hand (cf. Ep. 1167. 1-4). For the  
 third edition of the New Testament  
 (Ep. 1174. 15n) he wished to see the  
 Codex Vaticanus (cf. Epp. 373 introd.,  
 1213); and he may have thought, too,  
 of mss. of Augustine (cf. Ep. 1144. 71).  
 But whenever he was turning South,  
 Italy came into his view: see Epp.  
 300. 40n, 333. 30-34, 334. 32 seq., 770  
 introd., 775. 3, &c., 1236. 179-82.

80. congressus] cf. Ep. 1106. 93n.

81. S. T.] sanctitatem tuam.

## 1144. TO FRANCESCO CHIEREGATO.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 543.

HN: Lond. xiv. 14: LB. 530.

Louvain.

13 September 1520.

[Contemporary with Ep. 1143. There is perhaps a trace of an answer, which is not extant, in Ep. 1183. 18-19. A letter of Longolius from Padua 21 Nov. (1520) (Lo. E. f. 112 v<sup>o</sup>), shows that Chieregato sent this letter for him to see.]

ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVVS D. FRANCISCO CHIEREGATTO, IVRIS

VTRIVSQVE DOCTORI ANGLO, S. D.

ANIMVM istum tam candidum, tam propensum et expositum, si non exosculer, sim quouis Geta inhumanior. Fortasse paucis aequae dolet hic Lutheri tumultus ac mihi; quem vtinam aut initio potuissem excludere aut nunc componere! Sed res tota, vt est nata malis initiis, per monachos quosdam suum agentes negocium, ita malis 5 progressibus ad hanc vsque rabiem deducta est. Impius sit qui non faueat Romani Pontificis dignitati; sed vtinam sciat ille quantum officiant illi stolidi quidam qui sibi videntur eam pulchre tueri! Crede mihi, si quid credis, nulla res magis commendauit Lutherum affectibus populi quam horum stolidi clamores apud populum. Et 10 interim nullus illorum refellit Lutherum libris aeditis; quod vt facerent, semper hortatus sum. Videbam enim vna hac via Lutherum opprimi posse, si talis esset qualem illi traducebant. Nam qui hactenus aduersus Lutherum scripserunt, nec his satisfaciunt qui 15 Lutherum pessime volunt. Ac vide sceleratum consilium quorundam quibus inuisior sum ipso Luthero: non quod illi faueam—id enim sciunt secus habere—, sed quod faueam bonis literis, quibuscum illi iam olim belligerantur; sed quod theologos ad fontes reuocarim; sed quod admonuerim quibus in rebus sita sit vera religio.

Cum Bulla prodisset quae iubet eos praedicare aduersus Lutherum, 20 inter pocula fecerunt huiusmodi decretum duo tresue *πρωχοτύραννοι*, vt me cum Luthero traducerent apud populum.

Hic est quidam *κηρυκτής*, vir indignus cuius nomen mandetur literis, homo indoctus, natura fatuus ac Morycho stultior, et sensu

TIT. D. om. H.

IVRIS VTRIVSQVE DOCTORI ANGLO om. H.

2. Fortassis N.

TIT. ANGLO] I cannot explain this designation: unless Chieregato received his degree at an English university, perhaps at Cambridge in connexion with the ceremonial opening of St. John's in July 1516 (cf. Ep. 432. 2n). He was just then in England: see Ep. 639 introd.

4. res tota] Cf. Faber's *Consilium* (see p. 357): 'Constat rem esse natam ex malis initiis, nimirum ex odio bonarum literarum . . . odioque linguarum'; with which cf. Ep. 1143. 69-70.

20. Bulla] Cf. Ep. 1141. 20n.

praedicare] Cf. Ep. 1153. 128-9.

But *Exsurge, Domine* does not do more than enjoin that Luther should be publicly proclaimed in church as a heretic at times of Divine service (§ 16). The specific command to preach against him is contained in the Bull of excommunication, *Decet Romanum*, 3 Jan. 1521, § 6.

21. *πρωχοτύραννοι*] sc. monachi (cf. Ep. 998. 59n); see Ep. 1192. 31-2.

23. *κηρυκτής*] Evidently Vincent Theodorici; see Ep. 1196 introd. and cf. the description of him in Epp. 1166. 42-4, 1186. 16-19.

24. Morycho] Cf. Ep. 1087. 581n.

25 communi carens, effrons, muliebri procacia linguae; qui relictis rebus omnibus tantum blaterat in Erasmum, nec vnquam pudescit aut lassescit.

Est alter candido pallio, sed ater animo, stolidus ac furiosus, adeo morosus vt toti sit grauis Academiae. Hic cum publicaret Bullam, 30 plura dixit de me in concione quam de Luthero. In publica lectione semper coniunxit nomen Lutheri cum meo: imo in quadam lectione Fabrum Stapulensem perstrinxit. Cum enim dixisset nos non concordare, adiecit, 'Nunquam' inquit, 'conuenit inter haereticos'.

Hunc sequuti duo e sodalitia Dominicali tam scurriliter debacchati 35 sunt in nomen meum apud populum, vt res ad tumultum spectaret, etiam me dissimulante, et Academiae proceres, quanquam aliqui mihi non admodum aequi, cogerentur illis imponere silentium. Idem factum est Antuuerpiae.

Brugis erat Minorita quidam a suffragiis Episcopi Tornacensis, 40 a vino lippus, qui totas horas deblaterauit apud populum in Lutherum et Erasmum, subinde nos bestias, asinos, grues, stipites appellans, nec quicquam tamen refellens. Cum in altera quadam concione palam dixisset in libris meis esse quaedam haeretica, quidam e magistratu doctus adiit hominem, rogauit quid esset in libris meis 45 tale. Vide quid hic responderit scurra Episcopus. 'Non legi' inquit, 'libros Erasmi. Volui legere Paraphrases, sed Latinitas erat nimis alta. Timeo igitur ne possit labi in aliquam haeresim, propter altam Latinitatem'.

Tales sunt fere omnes qui hic clamant in Lutherum, et qui, vt 50 ipsis videtur, defendunt sedem Romanam: cuius dignitati nemo non fauebit, sed hos rabulas nunquam ferent cordati viri. Quos si nosset Pontifex ita vt nos nouimus, in nullos magis saeuiret quam in istos. Vtinam esset mihi tantum autoritatis apud Pontificem quantum est syncerum animi mei studium erga illius dignitatem! dedissem 55 consilium et ipsi conducibilius et orbi salubrius. Clamoribus ac terroribus fortassis hoc fiet, vt malum ad tempus prematur, sed mox maiore perniciē erupturum. His rationibus efficietur, non vt pauciores Luthero faueant aut melius de Romano Pontifice sentiant, sed vt cautius dissimulent. Hactenus certe vidimus fieri vt horum

49. hic om. N.

28. alter] Egmondanus, the 'White Friar'; cf. Ep. 1196. 105-6.

candido pallio] Cf. Epp. 1153. 89, 1196. 106, 562, 1225. 15, 1235. 5-6.

32. Fabrum] This utterance is given most fully in the *Apologia qua respondet*, f. F<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, Jortin ii. 521; cf. Epp. 1162. 129-32, 1192. 51-2, 1196. 574-5.

34. duo] Evidently the Dominican Prior (Ep. 1164. 48n) and Laurentius (Ep. 1166. 26n); cf. Ep. 1147. 91.

38. Antuuerpiae] Cf. Ep. 1192. 41-4.

39. Minorita] Nicholas of Bureau (Burellus), a Franciscan of Tournay, and bachelor of theology. He was appointed suffragan to the Bp. of Tournay 2 Dec. 1519, with the title of Bp. of Sarepta: † 1551. Numerous

dates of his official acts have been collected by Dom U. Berlière in *Les évêques auxiliaires de Cambrai et de Tournai*, 1905; see also G. Brom, *Archivalia in Italie*, i, 1908, no. 1254, and GC. iii. 452n, 239B. Erasmus appealed to the Bishop of Tournay against him (Ep. 1212), repeating this story with little variation; as also in Epp. 1192 and 1581. Cf. Ep. 1183. 128; where *alta* (l. 47) becomes *obscura*.

44. e magistratu] Very likely Cranevelt: see Ep. 1145.

47. possit] This rather unexpected (cf. Ep. 1192. 38 cr. n) reading is found in all the other versions (l. 39n) of the story.

55 consilium] Cf. p. 357, and l. 4n.

minis ac vociferationibus irritati, et acrius fauerint qui antea frigide 60  
fauebant, et fauere coeperint qui antea parum erant aequi.

De me nihil est periculi. Nunquam ero neque magister erroris  
neque dux tumultus. Et tamen vix credas quibus modis inuitatus  
sim vt me vel paululum Lutherano negotio admiscerem; cuius si  
spem vllam facere voluissem, Lutherana res longe secus haberet. 65  
Sed absit haec cogitatio ab animo Erasmi. Hactenus praedicaui  
quietem et concordiam, hactenus laboraui Christo. Et instat vitae  
terminus; non relinquam institutum, nec amittam coronam. Rabulas  
hos, dedecora ordinis sui, Christo iudicandos relinquo; quanquam se  
magis laedunt quam me, sic passim ab illis alienatur populus. 70

Nunc aedimus omnia opera Augustini castigata et scholiolis illustra-  
ta. Hoc confecto declarabo quam mihi displiceant homines seditiosi,  
quam ex animo faueam sedi Romanae, etiamsi illa huius vermiculi  
fauore non eget. Cui hoc etiam fauebunt impensius optimi quique,  
si illa synceris animis fauebit gloriae Christi. Nec enim aliis 75  
ornamentis oportet esse splendidum summum Christi vicarium quam  
quibus excelluit ipse Christus. Literas tuas accepi resignatas; caute  
fac igitur vt scribas. Proxima hyeme videbis me Romae, modo vita  
suppetat ac valetudo. Bene vale, patrone optime. R. D. Vuigornien.  
me commendabis diligenter. Louanii Id. Septemb. Anno M.D.XX. 80

1145<sub>1173</sub> FROM FRANCIS CRANEVELT.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 562.

Bruges.

HN: Lond. xv. 4: LB. 532.

19 September 1520.

[The year-date is confirmed by More's visit to Bruges.

Francis Cranevelt (3 Feb. 1485—4 Oct. 1564) of Nymegen was educated at  
Louvain, where he was first in philosophy from the Collège du Faucon in 1505,  
and was LL.D. 1510. He is mentioned with praise in a commendatory letter of  
Dorp, 24 Jan. 1512, prefixed to the *Satyrae*, Louvain, Th. Martens, 13 June 1515,  
of his fellow-townsmen, Geldenhauer; one of which is addressed to him. In  
1515 he became 'pensionarius' to the magistrates of Bruges; and in that posi-  
tion delivered an oration of welcome to Wolsey, 14 Aug. 1521 (see pp. 551-2).  
On 27 Sept. 1522 he was appointed a member of the Grand Council at Malines;  
where the remainder of his life was spent. His official duties did not prevent  
him from maintaining an interest in learning and literature; cf. Rescius' dedi-  
cation to him of Plato *Leg.*, Louvain, 31 March 1531, which credits him with  
having learnt Hebrew without a teacher. He translated Homilies of Basil,  
Louvain, Rescius, 1534-5; and in 1534 Procopius' *De Iustiniani Imp. aedificiis*,  
first printed at Paris, C. Wechel, 1537 (cf. OE. p. 602). Later he edited the  
posthumous publication of Vives' *De veritate fidei Christianae*, Basle, J. Oporinus,  
Jan. 1543. He composed an epitaph on Erasmus in 1536 (OE. pp. 580-8, 595); and  
verses by him appear in Th. Loher's edition of Dionysius the Carthusian's com-  
mentary on the major Prophets, Cologne, Quentel, Feb. 1543. Vives writes of  
his character with great admiration in 1522: see his Aug. *Ciu. Dei*, xix. 21,  
p. 660. In Erasmus' will of 22 Jan. 1527 (ed. L. Sieber, Basle, 1889, p. 9)

79. R. D. F: Episcopo H.

71. Augustini] See Epp. 844. 255n,  
1174. 17, 1204. 26, 1212. 44, 1309.  
77. Literas] Not extant.

78. Romae] Cf. Ep. 1143. 79n.  
79. Vuigornien.] Gigli: see Ep. 521  
introd., and cf. Epp. 1079, 1181.

Cranevelt is named as one of the recipients of the projected edition of Erasmus' collected works.

A collection of original letters addressed to Cranevelt, 1522-8, was discovered recently at Louvain (see articles by Prof. de Vocht and the late Prof. de Jongh in the *Mélanges Charles Moeller*, Louvain, 1914); in one of which it is stated that he owed to Dorp his introduction to Erasmus. See also Val. Andreas, p. 181; F. Nève in BN, reprinted in his *Renaissance en Belgique*, 1890, pp. 212-14; and Geldenhauer's *Collectanea*, ed. J. Prinsen, 1901. An autograph letter by Cranevelt to Mons. Nicolai, from Mechlin 21 May 1555, is in the British Museum (Add. MS. 21524, f. 80).]

FRANCISCVS CRANEVELDIVS ERAS. SVO S. D.

Non possum non agere tibi gratias, vir vndecunque doctissime, quanquam ineptioribus meis literis, pro tuo illo nuper in me collato beneficio, cuius erit apud nos sane memoria sempiterna: quod ego tanti aestimo vt ne Croesi quidem opibus redimi patiar. Quod, 5 inquis, beneficium? Quod me ad suauiissimum illum Morum tuum, imo nunc nostrum, deduxeris; apud quem post tuam abitionem frequens fui, vocante quidem illo: cuius ego non tanti facio τὰς 10 τραπεζὰς ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, quanti eruditionem, humanitatem, liberalitatem. Proinde plurimum tibi debere me profiteor, cupioque tibi 10 grati animi signa demonstrare. Deinde plurimum mihi dolet quod, cum adesses Brugis, tam raro te inuiserim; friuolis quibusdam negociis occupatus, vt occasionem illam multa simul optimaque discendi, sic e manibus elabentem, non vel mordicus apprehenderim. Memini quid tu dixeris de Flandricis moribus; sed velim tibi 15 persuadeas me totum esse tuum, nec his ipsis esse contaminatum.

Morus abiens δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν donauit vxori meae, in quo verbis Britannicis γέγραπται, Bona voluntate censeri omnia. Mihi vero vetusta nomismata dedit, aureum argenteumque: in altero est Tiberii effigies, in altero diui Augusti. Quae te scire volui, quia pro 20 his etiam tibi me debere gratiam semper confitebor. Vale et me, si quid possim, vtere. Brugis xiii. Cal. Octob.

Feuinus noster valet, et suo nomine salutem asscribi voluit. Anno millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo.

TTT. svo om. H.  
21. Octobris H.  
Anno M.D.XX N<sup>2</sup> Lond.

8. σικελία H.  
22. H: Feninus F.

15. his FN<sup>2</sup>: is N<sup>1</sup> Lond.: iis N<sup>3</sup> LB.  
Anno . . . 23. vigesimo add. HN<sup>3</sup>:

5. Morum] During the visit of 25-29 July; see Ep. 1129. 1n.

8. τραπεζὰς] Cf. *Adag.* 1168: 'Syracusana mensa praelauta atque opipara dicebatur', with reference to Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 9. 2. For the English characteristic see Ep. 77. 14n.

14. de Flandricis moribus] Cf. Ep. 412. 56-7.

17. Bona voluntate] The British Museum has a xv<sup>o</sup>. English gold ring with this motto, AL: IS: GOD: WELE; see O. M. Dalton's *Catalogue of Finger Rings*, 1912, no. 292. For the custom cf. Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, 3. 2. 287-9,

'You are full of pretty answers. Have you not been acquainted with goldsmiths' wives, and conned them out of rings?': also a little volume entitled *Love's Garland, or Posies for rings, handkerchers and gloves*, London, 1624, reprinted by J. O. Halliwell, 1851.

18. nomismata] More's interest in Roman coins is shown by his verses 'De nummis antiquis apud Hieronymum Buslidianum seruatis': p. 265 of his *Epigrammata*, Basle, Froben, March 1518. For such presents cf. Ep. 1137. 59n.

22. Feuinus] See p. 64.



## 1146. TO JOHN ALEXANDER BRASSICANUS.

Musae et Gratiae P. A.<sup>2</sup>.Antwerp.  
26 September 1520.

[At some date after 13 Sept. (Epp. 1143,4) Erasmus went to Antwerp, where he stayed, as usual, with Gilles. His purpose was, no doubt, to be ready for the visit of Charles v, which had been announced for 15 Sept. (Brewer iii, App. 14), but did not take place till 23-28 Sept. (Gachard ii. 28). It appears that Brassicanus called upon him and succeeded in obtaining the following letter of compliment, which is of the same class as Epp. 874, 875, 981, 985. Next day he visited the friends again, and enjoyed conversation with Erasmus: one of whose remarks he noted down on the spot. This he afterwards sent to Vadianus, among whose correspondence at St. Gallen it is preserved (VE. 219). It runs:

'Ioannes Alexander Brassicanus rogavit Erasmum qua ratione doctus posset fieri. Respondit ex tempore: si doctis assidue conuivueret, si doctos audiret non minus submisce quam honorifice, si doctos strenue legeret, si doctos diligenter edisceret, denique si se doctum nunquam putaret.

'Antwerpiae, in aedibus domini Petri Aegidii, anno a nato Iesu MDXX, mensis vrbis die xxvii.'

Subsequently Brassicanus printed the present letter in a volume entitled *Musae et Gratiae*, Vienna, J. Singren, 9 July 1524, and dedicated to John Faber (Ep. 386 introd.), his friend and patron, who was now Ferdinand's minister.

John Alexander Brassicanus (Köl: 1500 or 1-25 Nov. 1539) matriculated in Jan. 1514 at Tübingen, where his father had taught in the town-school, and was M.A. 21 July 1517. He continued in the University, teaching on humanistic lines; but c. May 1519 went off in the train of Maximilian of Bergen, ambassador of Charles v (MHE. iii. 22,3). HE. 181 shows that he made the acquaintance of Hutten. Just at this time he visited Erasmus, and returned with him to Louvain, where on 8 Oct. he witnessed the burning of Luther's books (Ep. 1157. 6n); and subsequently he went on to Cologne (BRE. 189). From Dec. 1520 (ibid.) to Jan. 1521 (VE. 233, 238) he was at Constance, staying with John Faber, then Vicar-General, to avoid an outbreak of plague at Tübingen: but by May he had returned to his University, where he began to study law (CE. ii. 1-4), and where he gained the praise of Reuchlin as 'vtilis eruditor' (MHE. iv. 44). On Reuchlin's death, 30 June 1522, Brassicanus was invited to succeed him as Professor of Philology at Ingolstadt; by 19 Oct. he was in office, and by 6 Nov. had become LL.D. (MHE. iii. 54). But he was not happy there; and though afterwards, like Faber, a staunch Catholic, he incurred for a time suspicions of favouring Luther. In consequence, with Faber's aid, he secured in April 1524 an invitation to Vienna; where he was installed in the King's College, and taught successively Rhetoric, Civil Law, and Greek. The important work of his life was the discovery of mss. Between 1524 and 1526 he accompanied several missions to the court of Louis of Hungary, and took the opportunity to examine the library of Matthias Corvinus at Buda: which was doomed shortly to fall into Turkish hands. He was allowed to carry away with him a number of mss.; others he discovered in the abbey of Melk, on the Danube above Vienna.

Among the numerous publications of his early years there was, as Erasmus said (Lond. xx. 66, LB. 966), nothing memorable. But in 1529, so far as ill-health allowed, he began a series of patristic publications, works of Gennadius, Salvianus, Eucherius, Haymo, Potho, based on mss. he had found. In the preface to Salvianus, Basle, Froben, Aug. 1530, he describes what he saw of the library at Buda; in Eucherius, ibid., Aug. 1531, f. aa<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, he attributes the destruction at Vienna to German troops rather than to the Turks.

With Erasmus his relations were at first most agreeable. One of his earliest acts after his degree was to make a copy of the *Iulius Exclusus*, 24 Aug. 1517 (Ep. 502 introd.); in 1520 came the present visit; in 1522 they were in friendly correspondence (CE. ii. 5, 6); in 1529 he lectured on one of the Colloquies (Vienna MS. 10575, ff. 60-80). But in 1533 bitterness had intervened (LB. App. 372). Whether this lasted to the end is not clear. In a preface, 6 Feb. 1539, to Hugo Eterianus' *De anima corpore iam exuta*, Cologne, Gymnich, 1540, Brassicanus writes with good feeling of the master whose opinion of Hugo he is glad

to quote: but the letter he refers to, may have been written in 1530 (cf. Lond. xxx. 53, LB. 1146) or 1531 (EE. 155).

See a life by W. Hartl and K. Schrauf, pp. 43-101 in their *Nachträge*, 1898, to Aschbach's *Gesch. der Wiener Univ.*, with an admirably detailed bibliography: also CE. ii, MHE. ii, iii, EE. and VE. Many of his books and a few of his mss. are now in the Royal Library at Vienna. Some letters and verses which passed between him and Wolfgang Rychard of Ulm, 1517-35, are copied into the latter's Letter-book, now in the Town Library at Hamburg (Wolf MS. 4<sup>o</sup>. 49).]

DES. ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS ERVDITISS. IVVENI IO.

ALEXANDRO BRASSICANO SVO S.

GRATVLOR tibi, mi Brassicane, qui virenti adhuc iuuenta in rhetorica pariter ac poetica facultate eo laudis progressus sis quo paucis senibus venire contingit; gratulor seculo nostro, quod in omnibus ferme regionibus multos tui similes profert. Ornat quidem eruditionem  
5 tuam laurea tuis virtutibus tributa a Caesare Maximiliano, qui non temere sed summo delectu solebat honorem hunc largiri, non vendere; immo nemini donabat honorem quem eundem non donaret munere. Quod quidem exemplum vtinam nostri pontifices imitarentur in rebus sacris, quod ille praestitit in prophanis! Etiam si sacrum est quicquid  
10 ad honesta studia pertinet, sed tamen pulcherrima gloriae laurea, quam eruditissimis scriptis tuis promereri perges, nullo vnquam aevo marcescet.

Quod Erasmus tot laudibus oneras verius quam ornas, rectius facies si facundiae tuae felicius argumentum quesieris. Quod, vt  
15 scribis, totus Erasmicus es, vide etiam atque etiam ne exemplum non admodum probum sumpseris. Est fortassis in Erasmo quod imitetur aliquis; at non sapiat, mea quidem sententia, qui totum conetur exprimere. Absolutius exemplum vel haec aetas dabit: adeo passim exoriuntur

20 πολλοὶ μαθηταὶ κρείττονες διδασκάλων.

Quid aliis sit animi qui primi apud nos cum barbaricis cohortibus luctati sunt nescio; ego certe me sic obscurari gaudeo, atque hoc sane impensius gaudeo, quod cum apud Italos olim nemo fere bonas literas profiteretur quin ingenii laudem insignibus morum vitiis  
25 contaminaret, nunc nulli fere sint incorruptioribus aut sanctioribus moribus quam qui politiorum Musarum sacra colunt.

Bene vale, doctissime Brassicane. Antuerpiae. vi. Calendas Octobris. Anno M.D.XX.

5. laurea] I do not know when this was conferred, nor for what composition. In some verses in W. Rychard's Letter-book (f. 83), dated 12 Dec. 1517, Brassicanus does not use this title: but by 4 March 1518 he has it (MHE. iii. 1). Between those dates Maximilian made only two long halts:

14 Dec.-4 Jan. at Linz, 26 Jan.-26 Feb. at Augsburg: see his itinerary by V. Kraus in *Archiv f. oesterreich. Geschichte*, lxxxvii (1899). Brassicanus' interview with him was perhaps at Augsburg.

20. πολλοὶ] Cf. Ep. 962. 30n, 31.

22. obscurari] Cf. Ep. 1107. 8n.

## 1147. TO PETER MANIUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 524.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xiii. 43: LB. 533.

1 October 1520.

[Evidently of the same period as Epp. 1144, 1164-6. The name of Peter Manius seems not to be otherwise known: P. Kalkoff thinks that it may be fictitious (Zw. E<sup>2</sup>. p. 416n). The note on l. 16 suggests that he belonged to the Hague, and that his letter here answered was written at the end of 1519.

As Erasmus had been at Antwerp with Charles (p. 351), he probably accompanied the further progress of the Emperor; who on the way to Aachen for his coronation was at Malines 29-30 Sept. and Louvain 1-8 Oct. (Gachard ii. 28). One result of this contact with the Court was the request to write Epp. 1149-52. Another was a visit from a young man who had come from Spain in the Emperor's train, Ferdinand Columbus (1488-1539), son of the explorer, and founder of the Bibliotheca Colombina, which is now incorporated in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Seville Cathedral. One of its books is a copy of Erasmus' *Antibarbari* in the first edition, Basle, Froben, May 1520 (Ep. 1110). On f<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>4</sup> v<sup>o</sup> is a presentation inscription in Erasmus' own hand, 'Don. Ferdinando Colon / Erasmus Roterodamus dono dedit': after which the recipient added, 'Louanii die Dominica Octobris septima die anni 1520: qui quidem Erasmus duas primas lineas sua propria manu hic scripsit'.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS PETRO MANIO EX ORDINE  
DOMINICALI S. D.

MIHI sane non vno nomine grata fuit tua epistola, vir optime, sed varius quidam casus eam mihi nunc eripuit, nunc restituit; unde factum est vt hactenus illi non responderim. Principio cum redderetur, vix erat vel legendi ocium; post vbi nonnihil daretur oculi, inter literarum fasciculos ita delituit vt mensibus aliquot diu multumque quaesita non quita sit inueniri. Tandem vltro non quaesita ad manus venit, et, vt inquit Ouidius, non inuenta, reperta est. Eam rursus seposui in primum ocium quod obtingeret. Rursum periit, nec diuinare possum quo pacto. Proinde ne suspicere mihi tuas literas parum fuisse gratas, aut me adeo fastidiosum vt pigeat hominis, licet ignoti, tamen, vt ego conicio, probi et eruditi, literis respondere, ex mea memoria petam quod eram ex epistola petiturus.

Primum, si satis commemini, commemorabas quanto studio, quanto applausu, quantaque gratulatione totius populi, sed praecipue eruditiorum, sit acceptus publica concione Martinus Dorpius; et huius laudis portionem aliquam in me conabare transfundere, quasi ille quod talis vir euasisset, nonnihil deberet meis lucubrationibus. Deinde narrabas istic esse complures qui mea summo studio complecterentur, rursus esse nonnullos qui pari odio auersarentur et Erasmus ipsum et Erasmi libros: atque in hoc numero quondam fuisse te quoque priusquam nostra legeres; verum euoluendis ac pensitandis nostris voluminibus sic esse transformatum in alterum hominem vt nullius scriptis aeque delecteris, atque vnice iam adames illum prius execratum Erasmus. Sub haec veluti iam familiaritate nonnulla mecum contracta duo quaedam rogas: primum ne quid Graeci sermonis

17. H: conabere F.

7. Ouidius] *M.* i. 654.

16. acceptus] Perhaps at the Hague in the autumn of 1519; cf. Ep. 1044.

admisceam scriptis meis, ne lector eius linguae rudis alienetur; deinde ne patiar vt Gallia sibi me asserat, sed ingenue fatear Batauiam esse Germaniae partem, videlicet ne tanta gloria frau-

30 detur.

Ad quae vt paucis idque praepostero respondeam ordine, primo mihi non admodum referre videtur quo quisque sit loco natus; et inanem quandam gloriam arbitror, si ciuitas aut natio se iactarit quod vnum aliquem genuerit, qui suis studiis, non patriae praesidiis, 35 magnus ac celebris euaserit. Iustius gloriatur quae magnum fecerit quam quae genuerit. Atque hactenus ita loquor quasi quicquam sit in me de quo possit sibi placere patria. Mihi satis est si non pudeat illam mei; quanquam Peripateticus non prorsum improbat eiusmodi gloriam, quae calcar addere possit ad honestarum rerum aemula- 40 tionem. Huiusmodi si quid esset in me, optarim vt non Gallia modo ac Germania me sibi vtrunque vindicarent, sed singulae regiones, singulae vrbes Erasmum sibi certatim assererent: vtilis esset error qui tam multos ad honesta prouocaret. An Batauius sim, mihi nondum satis constat. Hollandum esse me negare non possum, 45 ea in parte natum vt, si cosmographorum picturis credimus, magis vergat ad Galliam quam ad Germaniam; quanquam extra contro- uersiam est totam eam regionem in confinio Galliae Germaniaeque sitam esse.

Quod aliquoties nonnihil Graecismi meis scriptis admisceo, non 50 solum id facio doctorum pene omnium exemplo, siue veteres siue recentes expendas, sed etiam multo, vt opinor, moderatius caeteris, nunquam certe sine causa. Sunt quaedam quae, nisi Graece dicuntur, aut emphasis vim aut allusionis locunditatem aut schematis gratiam perdunt. Quin incidunt interim quae nolim protinus a quouis 55 intelligi. Et haud scio an expediat passim aliquid aspergi sermonis Graecanici, quo magis omnes compellantur etiam ad linguae multis modis necessariae cognitionem. Etenim si par esse iudicas ideo me in totum abstinere a Graecis, quod sint a quibus non intelligar, eadem opera vetabis ne Latine scribam, quod plurimi sunt qui Latine 60 nesciant. Et tamen non inficior esse locum vbi charitas se demittit ad captum simplicium; verum iis quatenus sit indulgendum, non est huius temporis persequi. Semper illis est adnitendum vt ad meliora proficiant.

52. dicantur *N*.  
sequi *H*: prosequi *F*.

59. sunt *F*: sint *H*.

60. nesciunt *H*.

62. per-

28. Gallia] Cf. Epp. 321. 13n, 421. 31-3, 926. 33, 928. 40-2, 1111. 81, 1165. 47.

29. Batauiam] For the learned controversy over the identification of the Batavia of Caesar and Tacitus see Ep. 78 introd. Besides the works there mentioned by Dorp, Geldenhauer, and Cornelius Gerard (Ep. 17 introd.), Erasmus too had expressed his views in an addition to the adage *Auris Batava*. Snoy also alludes to it in his *De rebus Batauicis* (Ep. 190. 10n; cf.

Corn. Gerard's *Batavia*, p. 50). Quite recently Geldenhauer had resumed the discussion in *De Batauorum insula*, Antwerp, M. Hillen, 19 Sept. 1520; in the preface to which he describes Erasmus as 'Batauorum Germanorumque immortale decus'. See J. Prinsen's life of Geldenhauer, pp. 19, 55-9. The earlier works mentioned, except Snoy's, are reprinted by Scriverius in *Infer. Germaniae Antiquitates*, 1611.

38. Peripateticus] Ar. *Rhet.* 2. 10.

46. ad Galliam] Cf. Ep. 534. 31.

Porro complures esse vehementer infensos nobis nostrisque studiis, etiam si tu non scripsisses, tamen quotidianis rumoribus abunde 65 discimus. Neque enim isthic solum verumetiam passim in omnibus pene oppidis atque hic denique Louanii, tui ordinis sodales et horum symmachi Carmelitae tam stolide debacchantur apud imperitam multitudinem in optimas literas, nonnunquam et in nomen Erasmi, vt me sane pudeat referre quae illos non pudet dicere. Atque haec 70 imputarem priuatae stoliditati paucorum, nisi id tam passim facerent vt ex composito facere videantur, tam impune vt patrum plebisque consensu geri sit verisimile. Nam si non pudet euomere tam insulas naenias, tam vana, tam atrocia conuicia in his concionibus quae doctrinae Euangelicae dicatae sunt, quid censes illos effutire apud 75 stultas mulierculas, apud deliros senes, apud superstitiosos idiotas, apud simplices adolescentulos, quibus grauis est et oraculi instar istorum autoritas? Atque vtinam, mi Petre, contingat omnibus quod tibi scribis vsu venisse! Id non tam mea proprie referret quam publice vestri ordinis, cui tales rabulae non leuem concitant inuidiam; 80 vt ne commemorem interim quod et populum detractionis tabe inficiunt, qua non alia lues capitalior, et sacri sermonis eleuant autoritatem.

Bene habet quod, vti scribis, iam victus es, expugnatus es, transformatus es. At mecum interim quam belle agitur, in cuius 85 immerentis famam, vt est coniectandum, digna atque indigna loquutus es. Qui religionem absolutam profitentur, hoc diligentius oportet a linguae virulentia temperare, quod hac ratione, vt facillimum est laedere, ita difficillimum est mederi: et tamen fere videmus, qui piaculum esse ducunt vesci carnibus aut aliter cingi, morbum hunc 90 longe sceleratissimum pro ludo habent. Sunt hic duo vestri sodaliti, alter theologus, alter theologiae candidatus, quos si velim vlscisci, non alia via magis conueniat quam commendando literis quae illi, mire sibi placentes, quotidie vociferantur in nomen et studia mea, in quibus nihil omnino sapiunt. Est et Carmelita quidam, theologus 95 corypheus, quem nunquam sui pudet, quum quotidie videat se publice rideri ab omnibus. Iam quemadmodum magnopere faueo gloriae Dorpii mei, quem ob eximias ingenii, doctrinae facundiaeque dotes ne tum quidem odisse poteram quum a malis choragis aduersum me subornaretur; ita non video quid illinc mihi debeatur laudis, nisi 100 fortasse quod olim adolescentem hortatus sum ad meliora studia, et lucubrationibus meis vel incenderim nonnihil illius studia vel adiuuarim. Aut ego fallor, aut illi succedet quod nos parum feliciter conati sumus. Bene vale, meque tuis precibus Christo commenda. Louanii cal. Octobr. ANNO M.D.XX. 105

93. commendando *F*, cf. Brut. ap. Cic. Fam. II. 10. 2: mandando *H*. 103. adiuuerim *H*.

76. idiotas] See Ep. 1153. 171n, and cf. Ep. 1090. 18.

91. duo] Cf. Ep. 1144. 34n.

95. Carmelita] Egmondanus.

<sup>1120</sup>1148. TO CONRAD FRICK AND LAURENCE ESINGER.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 539.  
HN: Lond. xiv. 11: LB. 459.

Louvain.  
1 October (1520).

ERASMVS ROT. R. P. CONRADO SCHVTERANI ET LAVRENTIO ETHO-  
NIS MONASTERIORVM ABBATIBVS, PROVINCIAE BRISGAVDIAE,  
S. D.

ZASIVS ille nihil facit noui, qui, dum sic vbique praedicat Erasmum, vt ex musca plusquam elephantum faciat, non vobis solum verum etiam aliis multis imponit; sed prius ipsi imposuit amor quidam immodicus. Quanquam hac in parte prorsus ignorat rerum mearum  
5 statum. Nullus est mortalium qui libentius abstinet ab aulae commertio quam Erasmus. Et illic valere non potest nisi qui subinde suo fultus choro fabulae partem agat. Ego nec factiones ambire possum, nec ingerere memet, nec alium cubito protrudere; nec ignorat vestra prudentia qualis sit aula Caesaris, nimirum belua  
10 capitum innumerabilium, adeo vt si mihi incidat aliquid negotii, malim iactura rei ocio meo consulere quam persequi.

Ascitus quidem sum in ordinem consiliariorum, sed ita vt ne vocatus quidem adsim, tantum abest vt memet ingeram. Et tamen non grauabor causam vestram pro viribus adiuuare, si se dederit  
15 occasio; quanquam citra meam operam non dubito quin sit successura, nimirum iustissima apud Principem iustissimum. Habet enim Carolus praeter alias egregias dotes illud vel praecipue dignum imperio, quod aequi iustique tenacissimus est, et falli quidem potest, corrumpi vero non potest. Id eo magis confido fore, quod, vt  
20 scribitis, iam vos coeperit illius clementia tueri aduersus violentiam illius qui vobis facessit negocium. Bene valete, Patres ac domini cum primis colendi mihi atque obseruandi.

Louanii Cal. Octobris. [Anno millesimo quingentesimo decimonono.]

TIT. R. P. *om.* H. SCHVTERANI H. 19. Id eo H: Ideo F. 23. Anno ...  
decimonono *add.* H.

8. cubito protrudere] Cf. Ep. 250. 9.  
9. aula Caesaris] The description of this with its dominant ecclesiastics (cf. Epp. 628. 16, 1004. 145-6, 1028. 2-4, 1113. 37-8, 1141. 15n) is very different from Erasmus' repeated eulogies on the court of Henry VIII (see Ep. 855. 28n, 999. 221n). But of that he might have written less glowingly if

there had been any question of his being enmeshed in it: cf. Epp. 669. 13, 14 and 1166. 10-11.

12. consiliariorum] See Ep. 370. 18n; and, for occasions on which Erasmus was called upon for counsel, Ep. 1117. 28n. Such occupation for him seemed to his friends matter for great regret: cf. BRE. 181, Am. E. 7.

## 1149. TO JAMES VILLINGER.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 520.  
HN: Lond. xiii. 36: LB. 534.

Louvain.  
3 October 1520.

[The group of letters, Epp. 1149-52, 1156, was written to introduce to members of the Imperial Court a Dominican of whom Erasmus at this time held a high opinion, John Faber of Augsburg (c. 1470-1530), M.A. and D.D. Before long, in August 1523, he wrote of him differently: 'Is qualis nunc sit nescio: certe mihi Louanii persuasit quod institueret Augustae collegium tradendis linguis ac bonis literis; ostendit diploma Caesaris Maximiliani. De capitalibus quibusdam inimicis Lutheri atque de ipsa Romana curia plusquam hostiliter loquebatur. Arridebat morum commoditas, et in sua theologia videbatur non vulgariter eruditus. His rebus extorsit a me commendationes aliquot. Quin et Coloniae, cum illic esset Caesar, colebat nos, et de Luthero reliquit acquissimum iudicium sua manu descriptum tum apud Cardinalem Moguntinum, tum apud me' (*Spongia*, LB. x. 1648AB = HE. 333, § 158).

Faber's theological studies had been completed in Italy; and after taking his degree, probably at Padua, he returned in 1508 to Augsburg. He was appointed Prior of his house; an office which he held for 17 years, and in course of which he rebuilt their church, 1512-15. In 1511 he was elected Vicar-General of Upper Germany, and held office until 1524. Maximilian made him his councillor, and proposed to use him in the foundation of a new monastery and a trilingual college at Augsburg. Apart from the *Consilium* mentioned below, Faber's only published work is two funeral orations, on Gaspar de Sillon, captain of the Pope's Swiss Guard, 26 Aug. 1517 (s. l. et a.), and on Maximilian, 16 Jan. 1519 (Augsburg, Grimm, July 1519).

In his present visit to Court he had more than one object. He wished to obtain protection from the Observant section of his Order, who for some years past had been trying to impose on his house a strict 'reformation', without consideration of the learning which he had much at heart (cf. Heumann, p. 87). He wished also to have his appointment as councillor renewed under Charles, and to secure the reversion to the see of Trent, which had been promised to him by Maximilian. Besides this he brought with him a proposal for settling the Lutheran trouble, urging both sides to moderation. When Erasmus saw this at Cologne, it was still in ms.; but it was shortly afterwards printed with the title *Consilium cuiusdam ex animo cupientis esse consultum et Ro. Pontificis dignitati et Christianae religionis tranquillitati*. Five editions in Latin are known—one with the date 1521—and four in German: see L. Geiger in *Arch. f. Literaturgesch.* v (1876), pp. 555, 6, and G. Finsler, *Zwingli-Bibliographie*, 1897, pp. 80-82. In the Bodleian, 4° B 9 Th. Seld., is an issue with a different title, *Consilium doctissimi cuiusdam, magnorum Principum monitu praecipue ad hoc munus inuitati* . . . It was soon suspected that Erasmus was the author (Ep. 1199. 31-4; cf. VE. 247, and LE<sup>2</sup>. 435. 34-7, where Luther has no doubt on the subject; also a dispatch of Aleander, Balan p. 104; and Lond. xxvii. 2, LB. 1195); and this suspicion, which he never directly denies, has been commonly accepted in modern times. The fact that many passages in his letters of this period (Epp. 1143. 69-70, 76-7, 1144. 4, 1153. 152-3, 1167. 343-7, 1173. 42-5, 1183. 38-40, 1219. 35-6) appear almost verbally in the *Consilium*, and the coincidence of Ep. 1199. 31-8 with Ep. 1217. 35-56, leaves no doubt as to his complicity (cf. also Ep. 1267. 17n): but it must be noticed that the sentence quoted from Faber in Ep. 1156. 50-54 is also in the *Consilium*, and that Erasmus expressly ascribes the document to him in Ep. 1217 and in the *Spongia*, *supra*. An easy and likely explanation is that, as Faber had brought his scheme with him in ms., Erasmus, after their frequent conversations at Louvain and Cologne (Ep. 1156. 8-9), rewrote the central part, in which the resemblances to his letters occur: so that the *Consilium* as finally launched was a joint production. P. Kalkoff (*Arch. f. Ref.-Gesch.* i, 1903, pp. 6-23), in view of the coincidence of the *Consilium* with Erasmus' general outlook, ascribes to him a preponderant part in it: considering that he found Faber to be in agreement with him, and so made use of him as a convenient instrument for the circulation of his own ideas. In 1526 Erasmus wrote, no doubt in reference to this occasion, 'Ostendi viam finiendi mali, reiectum est consilium' (Ep. 1690): cf. also Ep. 1526 of 12 Dec. 1524.

In the rapid development of the crisis Faber soon found himself driven into strong disapproval of Luther, and was unable to maintain a mediating position. With the humanists too he ceased to be in sympathy: cf. Hutten's *Expostulatio* (HE. 310, § 137), and the *Spongia*, *supra*. In Augsburg he was again in difficulties, and in 1525 was ejected from his house: to die in exile and obscurity (EE. 145). Erasmus' opinion of him at the end was exceedingly bitter (Lond. xxiv. 15, xxvi. 18; LB. 1072, 1163). See an excellent study by N. Paulus in *Deutsche Dominikaner im Kampfe gegen Luther*, 1903, pp. 292-313; expanded from an article in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, xvii (1896), pp. 39-60; also A. Schulte, *Die Fugger in Rom*, 1904, i. 161-6, ii. 208-9, with extracts from Faber's *Gedächtnisbuch*.

Of Villinger not much is known. He was at school at Schlettstadt under Crato Hofman (BRE. 163), to whom he subsequently joined in raising a monument (ibid. p. 619). By 1501 he had entered Maximilian's treasury, where his life was to be spent as a trusted and competent official; and by 1513 he had risen to be its head. In 1504 he distinguished himself in battle against the Bohemians, and was knighted: see f. 76 of Spiegel's edition of the *Staurostichon* of J. F. Pico, Tübingen, Anshelm, July 1512, the commentary of which is dedicated to Villinger. So also are Cuspinianus' *Congressus . . . Caesaris et trium Regum*, Vienna, (c. 1515); Gebwiler's *Libertas Germaniae*, Strasburg, J. Schott, 1519; and an edition of Prudentius in the name of the Schlettstadt Literary Society, L. Schurer, 1520 (BRE. 163). Gebwiler extols him also in *Panegyris Carolina*, Strasburg, J. Pruss, Aug. 1521, f. 8. His estates at Schoenenberg have not been identified; but as he was an Alsatian, they were perhaps at Schoenenburg, s. of Weissenburg. When Erasmus moved to Freiburg in 1529, he lived for some time in a house which Villinger had built for Maximilian, and afterwards acquired for himself (iv. 488-91); but by 1531 Villinger was already dead (Lond. xxx. 20, LB. 1210; Q. 4; EE. 153; EE<sup>2</sup>. 92). His official correspondence is preserved in the Archives at Marburg. See G. Knod, *J. Spiegel*, 1884, p. 19; H. Ulmann, *Kaiser Maximilian I*, 1884, i. pp. 819 seq.; and EE.

The year-date of this group of letters is established by Ep. 1152.]

ERASMVVS ROT. CLARISS. VIRO D. IACOBO VILLINGERO, ROMANI  
ET HISPAN. REGIS THESAURARIO, S. D.

Quod de nomine duntaxat tibi notus ad te scribo, vir incomparabilis, non debes imputare meae impudentiae sed tuae ab omnibus praedicatae humanitati. Quod si me ab impudentiae crimine non absoluis, certe leuius damnabis si cogitaris hanc improbitatem ab  
5 humanitate profectam esse. Nam vt sic auderem, extorserunt a me huius egregii viri D. Ioannis Fabri preces vel merita potius. In quo cum tot egregias dotes perspexerim, raram morum integritatem, eruditionem haud quaquam vulgarem, iudicium acre, fidem et humanitatem incredibilem, existimabam me gratiam etiam initurum  
10 apud tuam celsitudinem, qui tibi hominem efficerem notum, aut, si iam notus est, efficerem notioerem; qui pro tua singulari probitate proque fide erga Principem soles impense fauere iis quorum virtutibus intelligis ornari simul et fuleiri monarchias. Inter hos vel me autore pones hunc Ioannem Fabrum, si quid omnino iudico, non  
15 vulgare decus ordinis sui: qui vel citra nostrum officium se tibi suis dotibus abunde commendabit, vbi propius hominem inspexeris. De meipso non video quid possim polliceri, animum certe ac studium fidemque polliceor, si qua in re voles Erasmi in te obseruantiam explorare. Bene vale. Louanii v. nonas Octobr. ANNO M.D.XX.

TIT. CLARISS. VIRO D. *om. H.*

VILLINGERO N.

6. D. *om. H.*



## 1150. TO MERCURINO GATTINARA.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 478.

HN: Lond. xii. 11: LB. 535.

Louvain.

4 October 1520.

[Mercurino Arborio (10 June 1465—5 June 1530) belonged to a good family resident at Gattinara, or, as he usually writes it, Gattinaria, in Piedmont, sw. of L. Maggiore. At 13, finding his mother of 27 left a widow with six other children, and wishing to help her, he betrothed himself to an orphan of 20, who had been left well provided for; and though for some years the opposition of relatives was too strong for him, he married her in 1490, and with her consent and means went to study law at Turin, where he made rapid progress and soon began to practice with success. This attracted the notice of Duke Philibert of Savoy, who in 1501 recommended him as confidential adviser to the Duchess, Margaret of Austria. When she was appointed to govern the Netherlands, Gattinara followed her as her minister; and in 1508 she made him President of the Council of Burgundy. His letters to her in 1507-8 are printed by L. M. G. Kooperberg, *Margaretha van Oostenrijk*, 1908, pp. 337-463. On the death of Le Sauvage in June 1518, Gattinara succeeded him as Chancellor of Castile, and served Charles ably for 12 years, until his death at Innsbruck. His wife died before him, and thus the Pope was able to gratify his desire to become a Cardinal, 13 Aug. 1529.

Scheurl, who met him in Spain in 1519-20, extols his friendliness and capacity (SE. 213, p. 109). To Erasmus he was an appreciative patron (cf. Ep. 1197; also LB. App. 469), sharing his views of moderate reform, and inviting him to frequent correspondence. Wimpfeling lauds him as a patron of learning, *Pragmaticae Sanctionis Medulla*, Schlettstadt, L. Schurer, May 1520, f. A<sup>8</sup>; Corn. Grapheus dedicated to him, 26 June 1520, a poem, *Diui Caroli... ex Hispania in Germaniam reditus*, Antwerp, M. Hillen, s. a.; and Sbrulius (Ep. 1159) his *Vaticinium Protei*, on the same theme, Augsburg, Grimm and Wyrung, (c. 1 Sept.) 1520. Peter Martyr, who came from almost the same district of Piedmont, corresponded with him intimately, 1518-22; and three of Gattinara's letters are in the same collection (Mart. E. 738, 759, 765).

Many studies of his life have been written. The most recent are by Le Glay, *Mém. Soc. Lille*, 1847, i, pp. 183-260, with a portrait; and by G. Claretta in *Mem. Reale Accad. Torino*, xlviii, 1897, pp. 67-147, and *Mém. Soc. savoisiennne*, xii, 1898, pp. 245-344, reviewed by M. Danvila in *Boletín Real Acad. Hist.*, Madrid, xxxv, 1899, pp. 482-94). But by far the most important source is Mercurino's autobiography down to 24 July 1529, recently discovered in his autograph ms. and admirably edited with other documents by C. Bornate in *Misc. di Storia Italiana*, 3rd ser., xvii, 1915, pp. 231-585. His will, dated 23 July 1529, is printed by V. Promis in *Misc. Stor. Ital.* xviii, 1879, pp. 61-147. See also EE.

The date of his death is given from the inscription on his tomb at Gattinara, printed by Ciaconius iii. 505.]

CLARISS. VIRO D. MERCVRINO GATINARIO, CANCELLARIO SVMMO

ROMA. ET HISP. REGIS CAROLI, S. D. ERASMVS ROTEROD.

MAGNIFICE D., ex aliquot familiaribus congressibus comperio hunc D. Ioannem Fabrum ordinis Dominicalis multis eximiis dotibus praeditum, religione nequaquam fucata, iudicio prudentiaque singulari, eruditione solida; quarum rerum commendatione Caesari Maximiliano, virtutum omnium vt fautori candido, ita iudici exacto, cum primis charus fuit. Conuenit autem, opinor, vt, quemadmodum Carolus noster in auitum succedit imperium, ita virtutum etiam

TIT. CLARISS. VIRO D. *om.* H. GATTINARIO H. S. . . . ROTEROD. F: ERASMVS  
 ROTERODAMVS S. D. H. 1. D. F: vir H. 2. D. *om.* H. Dominicani H.

auitarum haereditatem capessat. Porro quod petit, non solum  
aequissimum est verumetiam facillimum, videlicet vt idem muneris  
10 quod habuit apud Caesarem Maximilianum, apud hunc retineat.  
Atque id vt fiat, ad publicam rei Christianae pertinet vtilitatem, mea  
sententia, simulque sacri imperii dignitatem. Id cuiusmodi sit, ex  
ipso rectius cognosces.

Scio mihi non fuisse multum consuetudinis cum celsitudine tua,  
15 sed hanc fiduciam mihi praebet partim animus iste tuus ad omnes  
res honestas omnibus expositus, partim quod confidam fore vt, quem-  
admodum te successorem habemus eximii viri Ioannis Syluagii,  
omnibus ornamentis parem aut etiam superiorem, ita hac quoque in  
parte sis illum relaturus, vt Erasmo faueas; qui nihil aliud agit in  
20 hac vita quam vt suis studiis Christi gloriam ac bonas literas  
prouehat. Si qua in re potero vel tibi vel Caesareae maiestati vsui  
aut ornamento esse, nihil defugiam quod modo praestare possim.  
Bene vale, vir omnibus modis eximie; cui quam commendatissimus  
esse cupio. Louanii .iiii. Non. Octobr. An. M.D.XX.

## 1151. TO ERARD DE LA MARCK.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 502.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xiii. 2: LB. 537.

8 October 1520.

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS ORNATISS. PRAESVLI AC PRINCIPI  
LEODIENSI S. D.

SALVTEM P., ornatissime Praesul. Qui has reddit, Ioannes Faber,  
theologus insignis ordinis Praedicatorii, cupit tuae celsitudini com-  
mendatus esse, ac mea sententia dignus est qui sit. Erat Maxi-  
miliano Caesari cum primis charus ob egregias dotes quibus praeditus  
5 est. Eruditio est recondita, ingenium promptum ac versatile, lingua  
felicissima, mores faciles candidique, animus, vt mihi videtur,  
integer. Gratus est multis Germaniae Principibus. Et tamen  
habet qui illi male volunt: vt nunquam caret aemulis virtus eminens.  
Optime sentit de tua celsitudine: apud quam existimat me nonnihil  
10 valere. Si quid valeo, id totum est humanitatis tuae, non meriti  
mei. At spero fore vt hominis virtutes impetrent, etiamsi mea non  
impetret epistola. Impetrata est a Principe pensio, me quidem non  
ambiente; sed hoc est gratius Principis optimi munus, et tibi tuique  
similibus plus debeo.  
15 Quorundam immodicam licentiam sic gaudeo coherceri, vt verear  
ne successus hic animet bonarum literarum osores ad opprimenda  
meliora studia; non enim dicam doctrinam Euangelicam. Bene  
valeat tua celsitudo. Louanii postridie No. Octobr. M.D.XX.

1151. TIT. S. D. om. H. 1. reddit F: reddidit H. 2. praedicatorii F:  
Dominicani H. 18. M.D.XX add. H.

1150. 9. idem muneris] His position  
as Imperial Councillor.

17. Syluagii] See Ep. 410.  
1151. 12. pensio] See Ep. 597. 26n.

## 1152. TO ALBERT OF BRANDENBURG.

Basle MS. Frey-Grynaeus L. 19. 19 (a).  
F. p. 524 : HN : Lond. xiii. 42 : LB. 536.

Louvain.  
8 October 1520.

[An original letter actually sent : written by a secretary throughout, except the signature and address, which are by Erasmus himself. For the passage inserted in the middle in H see p. 97.

The year-date is confirmed by the references to Erasmus' visit to Cologne and to Ep. 1033 : cf. Epp. 1149-51 with the same year-date.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS REVERENDISSIMO CARDINALI MOGVNTINO.

S. P., reuerendissime D. ac princeps longe clarissime. Gestientem aduolare isthuc in tuos complexus, hactenus aliquot negociola detinuerunt. Verum si posthac coelum dabitur commodius, adero breui Coloniae. Epistolam quam tuae celsitudini de Luthero scripseram, aeditam doleo. Ego certe bono animo scripseram, sed non in hoc scripseram vt aederetur. Neque cuiquam a me fuit exemplaris copia. Incluseram eam litteris ad Huttenum obsignatis, admonens vt, si videretur expedire, redderet in tempore; sin minus, premeret aut aboleret. Quo magis admiror quo consilio factum sit vt et aederetur per typographos nec tibi redderetur. Si hic casus fuit, fuit infelicissimus; sin perfidia, plusquam Punica fuit.

Vtinam hic Ioannes Faber, ordinis Dominicalis, tuae celsitudini tam esset commendatus quam merentur hominis eximiae dotes, ingenium promptum et expeditum, iudicium excussum, eruditio solida et abstrusa, lingua foelicissima, mores candidi facilesque!

Video tyrannidem quorundam nimium succedere. Nec aliud mihi succurrit quam precari vt res tota cedat in gloriam Christi, vteunque cedet nobis. Bene vale, meum decus.

Louanii postrid. Non. Octobr. An. M. D. 20.

Erasmus Roterodamus, E. R. D. T. addictiss. 20

• Reuerendissimo Cardinali et excellentiss. Principi Mogontinensi etc.

## 1153. TO GODESCALC ROSEMONDT.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 585.  
HN : Lond. xv. 18 : LB. 539.

Louvain.  
18 October 1520.

[Godescalc Rosemond of Eindhoven (c. 1483—5 Dec. 1526) was a distinguished *alumnus* of Louvain. After education in the Collège du Faucon, and in the Grand Collège under Lucas Walteri (Ep. 531. 415n), he was appointed Extraordinary

1152. TIT. *add. F* (REVERENDISSIMO F: ALBERTO H). 1. S. P. . . . clarissime a :  
S. D. H. 7. Incluseram . . . 11. fuit *add. H*. 12. Dominicani H.  
20. Erasmus . . . 21. etc. *cm. F*.

4. Coloniae] For Erasmus' forthcoming visit see p. 370.

Epistolam] Ep. 1033.  
12. Faber] See p. 357.

Professor of Theology in 1515 and Ordinary Professor in 1520: holding therewith the annexed canonries in St. Peter's church. In 1516 he was D.D.; and just at this time, for the half-year 31 Aug. 1520—28 Feb. 1521, he was Rector of the University. In 1524, on the foundation of the Collège du Pape, he was appointed its first President; and in 1525 he was one of the judges to try John Pistorius, the first Dutch martyr of the Reformation. Between 1516-19 he composed many devotional works, which had a wide popular circulation; all except one being in Dutch. They were printed at Antwerp, mostly by Hillen (Ep. 1053. 133n). See BN., with a very careful bibliography; and de Jongh, pp. 165-7.

Apart from the present appeal to him as Rector (cf. Epp. 1164, 1172) Erasmus had not much to do with him; but he speaks of him later with praise (Lond. xix. 13, LB. 862: 17 May 1527). The year-date of this letter is confirmed by Rosemond's tenure of the Rectorship. It can scarcely be doubted that the letter was in the hands of the author of the *Acta Acad. Louaniensis* (cf. Ep. 1195. 4n).]

ERASMVS ROTEROD. INSIGNI THEOLOGO GODSCHALCO ROSEMONDANO,  
LOVANIENSIS ACADEMIAE MODERATORI, S. D.

Non arbitror necesse vt te commonefaciam officii tui; cuius partes sunt non solum hoc praestare, ne quis per teipsum laedatur, verum-  
etiam ne cui liceat alterum iniuria afficere. Quod Nicolaus Egmon-  
danus, siue ex tuo siue ex Pontificii diplomatis mandato, multa dixit  
5 in Lutherum, nihil arbitror ad me pertinere. Sed quod praeter omne  
mandatum, ac praeter Pontificis mentem, qui cupit et illos allici qui  
hactenus stetissent a Luthero, tantum abest vt quenquam alienum  
velit inuolui, pene plura dixit in me et falso et praeter meritum  
meum, opinor autoritatis simul et integritatis esse tuae hominem ab  
10 huiusmodi linguae petulantia compescere; praesertim cum res sit  
exempli pessimi, et ordini theologico atque huic celeberrimae Acade-  
miae meo iudicio non mediocriter dedecorosa: nisi forte munus istud  
non geris publicis huius scholae commodis sed paucorum affectibus.  
Atqui isthuc est seruum, non rectorem, agere.

15 In natali diui Dionysii, in aede diui Petri, in publica concione cum  
exorsus dicere de charitate subito et praeter decorum in me detorsisset  
sermonem (nam casu interueneram), praeter alia multa illud in os  
dixit, me magnopere fauisse Luthero: cum ego ab initio constan-  
tissime testatus sim, id quod res erat, mihi cum Luthero nihil esse  
20 commercii nisi quod est cuius Christiano cum quouis eiusdem pro-  
fessionis. Doctrinam Euangelicam et Apostolicam agnosco. Cae-  
terum nulli mortalium tantum tribuo vt illius dogmatis per omnia  
velim addictus esse: tantum abest vt eius causam meo periculo  
tuendam susceperem cuius libros non legeram, et adhuc esset in  
25 incerto quid esset scripturus in posterum. Id cum libris etiam  
aeditis publice testatus essem, non potuit cuiquam esse obscurum.  
Ex gustu quem coeperam, ex degustatis verius quam lectis aliquot  
Lutheri paginis, amaui in illo dotes quasdam; ex quibus coniciebam  
illum esse posse egregium organum Christi, si ad huius gloriam  
30 dotibus suis vti vellet. Cumque passim de illo multa praedicarentur  
atrocia, quaedam etiam manifesto falsa, optabam illum, si parum

TIT. INSIGNI THEOLOGO *om. H.*

ROSEMVNDANO *H.*

27. ceperam *H.*

4. diplomatis] See Ep. 1141. 20n.  
15. Dionysii] 9 Oct., Tuesday.

19. testatus sim] In Epp. 939, 961,  
967, 993, 1033.

bonus esset, corrigi potius quam perdi. Id si est fauere Luthero, ingenue fateor me nunc quoque fauere homini; quemadmodum arbitrator et Romanum Pontificem illi fauere, simulque vos omnes, si modo vere theologi, imo si Christiani estis: siquidem ille prae-  
scriptis diebus satis multis inuitat ad resipiscentiam. Caeterum  
populus cum audit fauere, nihil aliud intelligit quam me sentire cum  
illo in his quae damnantur ab aliis.

Addebat quod erat impudentius, me non solum fauisse, sed enixe etiam conatum defendere, atque ipsum irrisisse, tantum videlicet  
heroa: quod in literis ad Card. Moguntinum scriptis meminerim  
Carmelitae cuiusdam, qui quod Lutherus scripsisset, non oportere  
sacerdoti confiteri capitalia peccata omnia, sed manifesta duntaxat—  
nimirum sentiens manifesta, non quae populo essent nota, sed quae  
illi qui admisisset indubitata; quod genus sunt homicidium, adulter-  
rium, furtum, et quod nunc in peccatis esse desiit, virulenta obtrecta-  
tio—, sic detulisset apud populum, quasi docuisset licere in confes-  
sione reticere quaedam admissa criminalia. Atque istud non ex me  
somnia, sed ex quodam vestri ordinis praecipuo cognoueram;  
cuius nomen, cum erit opus, proferam tibi. Ac nunc quoque affirmant  
esse verissimum quod scripsi.

An is defendat Lutherum qui dicat locum aliquem perperam intellectum? Si Lutherum refellere pium est, nimirum intelligere necessarium est. Agnosco mediocritatem vel potius tenuitatem meam. Non mihi tantum eruditionis arrogo vt possim de aliena fide pronun-  
ciare, nec tantum autoritatis vindico vt velim; nec tantum est ocii vt  
vacet Lutheri libros euoluere. Nec tam sum demens vt in re tam  
odiosa velim probare aut improbare, nisi libris illius omnibus a  
capite vsque ad calcem, quod dici solet, diligenter lectis ac relectis.  
Damnatur vbique preceps iudicium, sed potissimum in exitium  
hominis. Denique nec tam stultus sum vt vltro me tam odioso  
negocio inuoluam, cui in omnem vitam sit seruiendum, cum liceat  
ociosum spectatorem agere. Et tamen obtuli vobis organum stili  
mei, si modo vos me idoneis argumentis instrueretis. Quanquam  
haec res non tam stilum poseit quam iudicium et sacrarum literarum  
absolutam peritiam, denique animum ab omnibus humanis affectibus  
liberum.

Haec cum sic habeant, vides quam impotenter factum sit ab Egmondano, qui prius de me verba fecerit quam de Luthero. Nec id satis. Cum articulos aliquot recitaret in diplomate damnatos,  
venissetque ad articulum de Confessione, repente ἐξω τῶν ἐλαίων, quod  
aiunt, 'Sunt' inquit, 'qui dicunt hanc confessionem institutam non  
a Christo, sed a Patribus. Hoc' inquit, 'falsum est'; videlicet me  
denotans, quod in Apologia qua Leo respondeo, disputem hanc confi-

35. praescriptis diebus] In *Exsurge, Domine*, § 10 (cf. Ep. 1141. 20n), Luther was allowed sixty days to change his mind.

41. literis] Ep. 1033. 78-82. In the *Spongia* (LB. x. 1644B = HE. 333, §§122,3) Erasmus states that Egmondanus brought forward this charge in the interview before Rosemond; but there

is no mention of it in Ep. 1162.

49. quodam vestri ordinis] Perhaps Dorp; cf. pp. 87, 111.

70. damnatos] No. 8 in § 2 of *Exsurge, Domine* (Ep. 1141. 20n).

74. in Apologia] In the third part, May 1520, answering no. 15 of Lee's later notes, on Acts 19. 18: LB. ix. 255 seq. Cf. Ep. 1225. 119n.

75 tendi rationem esse constitutionis humanae: et ita disputo vt Egmondanus non sit refutaturus, tametsi nihil definio. Mox cum atrocissimis verbis exaggerasset errores Lutheri, rediit ad intermissum de me sermonem. 'In hos' inquit, 'prodigiosos errores incidit Lutherus ob studium rerum nouarum.' Et cum ante vsque ad vomitum  
80 multorum blaterasset de nouis ac veteribus, 'Haerete' inquit, 'veteribus, fugite noua, adhaerete veteri Euangelio'; satis aperte denotans Nouum Testamentum: quasi vero ego dederim nouum Euangelium, ac non potius vetus et instaurarim et illustrarim. Quid multis? Adeo vir egregius et religionis columen incanduit inter  
85 haec vt toto vultu furorem animi sui testaretur. Nec erat facturus insaniendi finem, nisi vidisset passim alios ridentes, alios indignantes et obsibilantes, alios inter se mussitantes.

An non haec erat bella fabula, digna quam talis histrio cum suo candido pallio in loco sacro apud viros eruditos ageret? Nec his  
90 contentus, die Dominico proximo eadem ferme repetens, me Antuuerpian profecto, bellum adiecit elogium: 'Et illi quoque' inquit, 'venient aliquando ad palum, nisi destiterint'. Omitto nunc quae blaterauit in theologicis, ordinariis ac publicis lectionibus in me et in Fabrum: diceret non theologum loqui de cathedra, sed de plaustro  
95 temulentum. Haec videt tua prudentia quam sint impotenter dicta, etiamsi fauissem Lutheri; cum illi vtcunque liberum esset fauere, nondum iudicata causa. Nunc nemo me audiuit vel inter pocula tuentem vllum Lutheri dogma, cum non deessent magni theologi qui non vererentur affirmare nihil esse in Lutheri quin per probatos  
100 autores posset defendi.

Sed istis bilem mouent duae epistolae, quarum alteram ipsi scripsi Lutheri, alteram R. Card. Moguntino. Sed obsecro, prior illa quid habet nisi ciuilem admonitionem? cui si vir ille paruisset, res ad hunc tumultum progressa non fuisset. At in ea scribo quod hic  
105 haberet complures fautores. Et sane habebat plurimos, sed ita fauentes vt ego illi fauebam: non quod probarent omnia, sed quod plurima, cuperentque pura synceraque esse omnia. Id scripsi non quo illum animarem ad seditiose scribendum, a qua re illum in eadem epistola deterrui, sed vt conaretur horum iudicio satisfacere,  
110 vitatis his de quibus admonebam. Quod si fecisset, et Pontificem Romanum habuisset fautorem. In posteriore epistola quid aliud ago quam vt moderatis rationibus cum Lutheri ageretur potius quam saeuitia ac violentia, neque dederetur Iacobitarum libidini, sed aequis

92. nisi *F*: ni *H*.  
*F*: vniuersa *H*.

102. *R. om. H.*, sed *F*: . Verum *H*.  
113. Iacobitarum *F*: Dominicanorum *H*.

106. omnia

89. candido pallio] Cf. Ep. 1144. 28n.  
90. die Dominico] 14 Oct. 1520.

Antuuerpian] Of this, as of his recent visit to Antwerp (see p. 324), I find no other trace.

99. probatos autores] Cf. Ep. 1033. 82-4.

101. epistolae] Epp. 980, 1033.

113. Iacobitarum] The Parisian name for the Dominicans, because their

house was in the Rue St. Jacques, and close to the church of that saint, which had been given to them. Erasmus uses it frequently at this time: Epp. 1155. 15, 1172. 3, 1173. 101, 1196. 511. In the French Revolution one of the extreme parties acquired the name of Jacobin from using the old Dominican convent as their head-quarters: see Littré, cited in OED.

iudiciis vinceretur: quod sentirem Card(inalem) a nonnullis ad hoc instigari, vt illum sua potentia opprimeret, cum magis expediret 115 reuinci. Erant aliae causae permultae cur hoc faciendum duxi; quas praestat coram exponere.

Hoc non erat probare quae scribit Lutherus, sed improbare modum ac viam qua illum conabantur opprimere. In ea sententia sum etiam hodie. Nunquam probavi, nec probaturus sum quenquam sic 120 clamoribus apud populum opprimi, priusquam libri sint lecti et excussi, priusquam admonitus sit qui errat, priusquam redargutus sit argumentis et sacrae Scripturae testimoniis. Si hoc est fauere Luthero, fauent illi magni viri, sed cordati, qui tamen negotium susceperant aduersus Lutherum: et hos tibi proferam, cum erit opus. 125 Imo fauisse videtur illi Romanus Pontifex in Bulla; quae tamen magis sapit quorundam *πρωτοπράνων* saeuiciam quam mite nostri Leonis ingenium, qui et spatium indulserit, et admonuerit vt aduersus Lutherum praedicarent, haud quaquam id sentiens vt illum Antichristum appellarent, sed vt diuinae Scripturae testimoniis diuersa 130 docerent, si quid ille perperam docuisset. Hoc enim, opinor, est theologis praedicare: nam vt aliquem e suggestu magna voce beluam voces aut Antichristum, nihil opus est theologo, cum idem possit scurra quilibet.

Consilium meum non omnino fuisse malum fortassis exitus ipse 135 docebit. Ego facti vestri non sum Deo rationem redditurus: quocunque consilio res coepta est, precor vt verat in gloriam Christi. Admonui vt primum diligenter legerentur scripta Lutheri, deinde libris aeditis ac disputationibus refelleretur, et omissis contentionibus veritati consuleretur, nec populus ad huius fabulae theatrum admit- 140 teretur: quid factum sit, ipsi scitis. Tot sunt milia rabinorum, tot sunt qui sibi dii videntur. Nullus extitit qui Luthero sobrie docteque responderet, siue in scitia fuit in causa, siue ignauia siue metus; quorum nihil competit in probos theologos. Qui hactenus scripserunt aduersus Lutherum, nec vobis pròbari scio: quorum primus fuit 145 Sylvester, proximus Minorita quidam, tertius *ἀνώνυμος*, etiamsi prae

127. *πρωτοπράνων*] Cf. Ep. 998. 59n.

128. spatium indulserit] Cf. l. 35n.

135. exitus] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5. 523.

146. Sylvester] Cf. Ep. 872. 16n.

Minorita] Augustine of Alfeld; see Ep. 1167. 407n.

*ἀνώνυμος*] Evidently the author of *Reuocatio Martini Lutheri Augustiniani ad sanctam Sedem*, s. l. et a., but dated 22 Nov. 1529: a rare volume of which there is a copy in the Hofbibliothek at Munich. He was a Dominican, and at the end of his book praises Francis I, 'qui . . . pari zelo iustitiam ac litterarum studia prosequitur, veluti ego quotidie experior: eius nempe regia largitate suffragia litterarum militiae praestita cogunt me . . .' (LE<sup>2</sup>. 366 introd.). Luther had seen the book by 3 Aug. 1520 (LE<sup>2</sup>. 334); and alludes to it twice in the *Captiuitas Babylonica*

(Weimar ed. vi, pp. 498, 501), which appeared c. 6 Oct. 1520 (LE<sup>2</sup>. 350. 38). Cf. also Am. E. 5, 7.

The writer has been conclusively identified by F. Lauchert (*Italien. Gegner Luthers*, 1912, pp. 200-15) with Isidore de Isolani († 1528), a Dominican of S. Maria delle Grazie at Milan, who was B.D. at Bologna, and taught theology in many houses of his order, at Pavia, Verona, Milan, Cremona, 1513-21. Between 1506 and 1523 he published, mostly at Milan, a number of works on philosophical and theological subjects, such as *De immortalitate animi humani*, *De aeternitate mundi*: also a panegyric on Milan as 'Galliae Cisalpinae metropolis', and an Epitome on the Sentences dedicated to Francis I. See also Quétif and Echard, *Script. ord. Praed.* ii. 50.

se fert ordinem Dominicalem, nec dissimulat se capere salarium annuum a Rege Gallorum. Sunt et alii quorum libelli non prodierunt. Nec opinor aliud sensisse R. Cardinalem Dertusensem, qui  
 150 iubet illi doctrinaliter obsisti, hoc est non clamoribus seditiosis, sed doctrinae sacrae praesidiis opprimi, si sanari nolit aut non possit.

Ingenia generosa doceri cupiunt, cogi non ferunt. Cogere tantum, tyrannorum est; cogi tantum, asinorum. In bello non est speciosa quaevis victoria. Consulebam dignitati gloriaeque theologicae, vole-  
 155 bam illos verum ac plausibilem referre triumphum. Si maxime fauissem ordini vestro, si maxime fuisset infensus Lutherus, quod aliud dedissem consilium quam dedi? Libris exurendis Lutherus fortassis eximetur e bibliothecis; an ex animis reuelli possit nescio. At id poterat, si meo consilio fuisset obtemperatum. Hoc consilium,  
 160 si vobis non placebat, tamen mihi fraudi esse non debuit, qui bono animo suaserim R. Cardinali bene de me merito, cui me putabam hoc officii debere. Et suasi literis obsignatis, nihil minus suspicans quam fore vt euulgarentur, et audio euulgatas priusquam Card(inali) redderentur. Nec tamen aeditas vt a me scriptae sunt, vel illud  
 165 arguit, quod in his, vt aiunt, appello Lutherum 'nostrum', quod a me certe nunquam fuit additum: quod additurus non fuero etiamsi meus fuisset.

Sed ad Carmelitam nostrum redeo. Multum ἐβαπτολογήσατο de vitandis nouis, de adhaerendo veteribus; suspectum habere oportere  
 170 quicquid esset nouum, adhaerendum veteribus, tenendum vetus Euangelium. Haec quid sibi vellent plebs idiotarum demirabatur; eruditorum nemo nesciebat dici in linguas ac Nouum Testamentum a me recognitum. Porro quod ad linguas attinet, insignem iniuriam ille facit summo Pontifici, qui tanto studio curat vt literae Graecae

149. R. om. H.

161. R. F: Alberto H.

148. alii] Cf. Ep. 1165. 13-14.

149. Dertusensem] Adrian of Utrecht (Ep. 171. 12n), bp. of Tortosa, to whom the Theological Faculty of Louvain had forwarded their condemnation of Luther, dated 7 Nov. 1519 (see Ep. 1030. 16n). He replied 'ex Papiol' (? Pamplona: Fredericq), 4 Dec., recommending 'doctrinalis condemnationis antidotum'; and warning them 'vt in condemnatione per vos publicanda nullum verbum aliter ponatur quam ab ipso autore sit scriptum'. Adrian's letter was printed with the condemnations by the two universities, Louvain, Th. Martens, Feb. 1520; and in Luther's *Opera*, ii, 1546, f. 36. See C. J. M. Bottemanne, *De Katholiek*, Leiden, July 1882, pp. 1-22.

It was perhaps at the same time, in Nov. 1519, that the Faculty sent some articles collected from Erasmus' writings: to which, however, Adrian paid no attention (Ep. 1581).

152. Ingenia generosa] Cf. Faber's *Consilium* (see p. 357): 'Huiusmodi ingenia doceri cupiunt, cogi nolunt neque

debent. Asinorum est cogi tantum, tyrannorum cogere'; with which cf. Epp. 1143. 76-7, 1167. 257-8, 1173. 47-8.

157. consilium] See Ep. 1173. 42-5. exurendis] Cf. Ep. 1157. 6n.

163. euulgatas] See pp. 97-8.

165. nostrum] See p. 98.

171. idiotarum] A Vulgate word (Acts 4. 13, 1 Cor. 14. 16, 23-4) used freely by Erasmus for the unlearned: e.g. in the *Paradesis*, 'Benedicti regulam ab homine, eoque pene idiota, et idiotis scriptam'; in his essay, 14 Jan. 1522, prefixed to the Paraphrase on St. Matthew, 'quos mundus habet pro doctissimis, Christo sunt idiotae', 'Oues sunt idiotae sed rationales'; in the *De esu carniū*, 'Ecclesiae proceres . . . palam impie viuunt, offenduntur idiotae'. Cf. Epp. 337. 247, 694. 35, 1033. 130, 1039. 141, 1126. 144, 1166. 48, 1167. 438, 1223. 36.

The writings of Raymond Jordan, provost of Uzès, fl. 1381, circulated anonymously, even after the days of printing, as the works of 'Idiota'.

174. Graecae] Cf. Ep. 1062. 140n.



Rhomaee doceantur. Quod ad Nouum Testamentum attinet, satis illi 175  
debit esse quod Leo decimus nostram industriam comprobauit;  
cuius auctoritatem vult valere plurimum, quoties facit ad ipsius  
affectum. Si leuis est illi Pontificis auctoritas in comprobandis  
nostris, cur illi grauis est in damnando Luthero? ne commemorem  
interim stultissimam battologiam nouorum ac veterum, ad quam 180  
plerique risum tenere non potuerunt. Nam ille noua appellat quibus  
ipse non assueuit. Ita huic nouus erit Hilarius, nouus Cyprianus,  
nouus Hieronymus, nouus etiam Augustinus. Nihil vetus praeter in  
scholis decantata dogmata et Glossam Ordinariam cum additionibus.  
Imo huic vetus erit quod nouum est, nouum quod vetus. Nos vetera 185  
instauramus, noua non prodimus. Detestati sunt impudens hominis  
mendacium, cum diceret Lutherum horrendos illos errores hausisse e  
nouis; cum ex vetustis scriptoribus hauserit si quid hausit, vt prae-  
dicant qui illius legere libros. Sed fortasse negabit se mihi iniuriam  
esse, qui nomen meum non expresserit. Certe iis notis designauit vt 190  
nemo studiosorum non agnosceret. Quicquid meretur Lutherus, mihi  
non placet vt istiusmodi clamoribus populus ad seditionem concitetur,  
cum res inter doctos transigi possit.

Sed quid de hoc statuatis, vestrae prudentiae relinquo. Verum in  
loco sacro, in concione sacra, apud promiscuam multitudinem palam 195  
mentiri de homine immerenti, imo benemerenti, mihi videtur nihil  
aliud esse quam eleuare auctoritatem sacrae concionis, quam expedit  
non minus esse puram quam synaxim ipsam, fraudare populum suo  
fructu, et huius Academiae dignitatem obscurare. Arbitror mihi  
pro meis vigiliis multo aliud deberi praemium. Quod si maxime 200  
essem in aliqua culpa, tamen quoniam adsum ipse et sine periculo  
coargui possum, non debebam traduci apud populum; cui vindictae  
iam nimium assueuit Egmondanus. Forte narratur inter pocula  
quod hic aut ille de illo dixerit. Ille postridie semet vleiscitur in  
concione; ac rursus inter pocula celebratur triumphus, applaudentibus 205  
sympotis aliquot eiusdem farinae. Quanquam quod ad meam iniuriam  
attinet, non admodum aegre fero. Sed illud vobis considerandum  
est, an conducat moribus populi vt assuescat huiusmodi obtrecta-  
tionibus, quae paulatim etiam dulcescunt posteaquam serpsit ve-  
nenum; an expediat huius Academiae publicae vtilitati, cui fortassis 210  
amplius faueo quam quidam qui sibi videntur fauere maxime. Nec  
enim Principis benignitas hanc instituit Academiam, vt illic suauiter  
agerent tres aut quatuor, sed vt in totius ditionis vtilitatem hic  
floreant omnia honesta studia. Videlicet in gratiam Egmondani  
exulabit poetria—sic enim ille vocat poetice; cuius adeo rudis est 215  
vt ne nominare quidem possit—et locus dabitur sycophanticae, etiam  
dicato collegio.

Sed ne te prolixioribus onerem literis, magnifice Rector, si stolidis  
istiusmodi clamoribus imposueritis silentium, consuletis non tam  
mihi quam tranquillitati publicae studiorum, quam moribus populi, 220

184. scholis N<sup>2</sup>: scholas FN<sup>3</sup>.

176. comprobauit] Cf. Ep. 864.

184. Glossam] See Ep. 1112. 29n.

186. Detestati sunt] sc. qui audiebant.

215. poetria] Cf. Ep. 1110. 15n. The

form is similarly attributed to Egmon-  
danus in the *Epistola de magistris nostris*  
*Louaniensibus*, and in the *Vita S. Nicolai*:  
Zw. E<sup>2</sup>. pp. 384. 2, 11, 398. 9.

quam auctoritati sacrarum concionum, quae blateramentis huiusmodi prophanantur, quales quales nos sumus. Sin aut non vultis aut non potestis, ipse fortassis experiar remedium. Nam satis diu videor mihi tulisse hominis istius furias; quas scio nemini vestrum placere.  
 225 Sed quidam abutuntur huius ingenio, veluti malo nodo malum adhibentes cuneum.

Haec malui scribere, quod id esset vtrique commodius. Cras si vacabit et tua valetudo patietur, coram plura tum dicam tum audiam. Bene vale. Louanii xv. Calendas Nouembris. ANNO M.D.XX.

1154<sub>1183</sub> FROM ARTLEBUS OF BOSKOWITZ.

Breslau MS. Rhed. 254. 36.

Znaim.

LB. App. 390.

(c. October ? 1520.)

[An original letter, copied by a secretary but signed by the writer. An approximate date can be assigned from Ep. 1183: which shows that this letter was at any rate received a considerable while after the visit of the emissaries of the Brethren (Ep. 1117 introd.).]

Artlebus, or Archlebus, of Boskowitz w. of Olmutz, and owning estates at Wranowa and Czernahora, nw. and sw. of Boskowitz, belonged to an ancient family, which held a distinguished record in Bohemian history, and was connected with George Podiebrad. One of Artlebus' kinsfolk, Protasius of Boskowitz and Czernahora, had been Bishop of Olmutz 1457-82; after education in Italy, where he had been a friend of Janus Pannonius (Ep. 943. 15n), a pupil of Galeottus Martius (Ep. 581. 6n), and an admirer of Valla. A Ladislaus of Boskowitz was Supreme Chamberlain of Moravia in 1499; and his sister Martha had stood forward as a supporter of the Bohemian Brethren in 1507-8. In Gelasius Dobner's *Mon. hist. Boemiae* the names of 'Albertus de Bozkowicz et in Lethowicz', 'Benessius de Bozkowicz et de Czerne Hory', occur in 1499 (iv. 475), of 'Ioannes de Boskowitz et in Skal' in 1512 (i. 266). Artlebus became Supreme Captain of Moravia in 1519, and made a name by his vigorous suppression of the brigandage which reigned there (cf. Epp. 1021. 59-73, 1039. 24-40): see A. Pilarz and F. Moravetz, *Moraviae Historia*, 1786, ii. 131, 173. But his tenure of the office was brief, as he died in 1520 or 1521: see O. Steinbach, *Diplomatische Sammlung . . . aus dem Archive des gräflichen Cisterzienserstifts Saar in Mähren*, 1783, i. 55, 97. He is probably the 'Bohemian Captain' of Ep. 1263. 22.]

SALVTEM dicit. Venerabilis idemque charissime pater, cum ea sit apud nos quoque nominis tui et scriptorum claritudo, vt ipse, etiam-nunc homo laycus, talibus iampridem afficiar, adhec ea de te doctorum omnium ore nunciantur vt nihil sit mirum si cum nostro  
 5 hoc seculo orbis Christianus euidentissima scriptorum tuorum sinceritate illuminatur, tum vero clarissima duo serenissimi principis mei, Regis Hungarie ac Boiemie, regna erudiuntur—hiis, inquam, ex causis operepretium mihi facere sum visus si scriptum ac Regulam

1153. 229. Nouemb. H.

1153. 228. valetudo] Cf. Ep. 1162. 39-40.

1154. 7. Regis] Louis II, 1516-26.

8. Regulam] The Bohemian Brethren had issued three defences of themselves: an *Oratio excusatoria atque satisfactiva*, 1504; a *Confessio fidei*, 1507; and

an *Excusatio*, Jan. 1508—all addressed to King Ladislas. Original editions of these, printed at Nuremberg in 1507 and 1518, are rare: I have not been able to see any. It does not seem possible to determine which of the three was sent to Erasmus.

eius hominum generis ad te mitterem, qui se apud nos vulgo Fratrum nomine apellant. Horum sane innumerabilis multitudo omnium ordinum, vtriusque sexus, mirum in modum excreuit, augeturque in dies. Et quanquam non desint etiam sacerdotum collegia et legisperitorum ordines qui aduersus eorum instituta quotidie multa declament et pro pessimo ac noxio hominum genere, pro heresi abiciant ac promulgent, denique in angustias plurimas pontificalibus censuris ac regia potestate subinde freti detrudant; tamen interim neque multitudini resistitur neque dogma satis conuellitur. Id quod minus mihi etiam ob eam rem mirabile videri solet, quia paucos apud nos habemus qui aduersus illorum doctrinas (quas vtique ex Scripturis inferunt) solida Scripturarum argumentatione resistent, idemque etiam vite sanctioris exemplis minus antistant.

Porro te, vir optime, rogandum orandumque duxi vt aliquantulum tibi temporis perlegendis istis desumas, dum simul commodo et paci multorum inseruias, simul in excellentissimo procul dubio Christiane pietatis opere te exerceas. Cunque affatim didiceris singula, re admodum perpensa et diligentius examinata, quodcunque tibi salubre maxime ac necessarium visum fuerit, proinde decernas, postremo Christiane pietatis normam hac etiam in parte exhibeas. Sic etenim tibi persuadeas velim, nostrates homines qualemcunque tandem in sententiam transieris, facile ac libenter tibi asensuros, plurisque ista facturos quam si vel summi Pontificis iura aut humana queuis abdicationum fulmina apud eos quis obtendat.

Libri et scripta Martini Luteri vulgo hic in manibus hominum habentur perlegunturque cum tuis. Incredibile dictu est quantam apud omnes gratiam obtineant; fereque ab hiis solis reiiciuntur qui spiritualitatis nomen et arctioris vitae regulas preferunt. Et cum non parua alicubi in inuidia sint, a nonnullis tamen etiam dissimulantur. Quamuis multitudo ista neque doctrinam neque mentem hominis sancti satis perspecta habeant, ac proinde inconsiderata quadam rabie ferantur, ac hereseos etiamnum crimen impingunt.

At proxime Romanistam illum suum nonne pro merito tractauit? sicuti ceteros eiusdem propositi viros iampridem percusserat. Quod si forte, quemadmodum vulgo apud nos auditur, hominem indicta causa damnari contigerit, quod absit, palam est scripta et doctrinas illius inhiberi non posse, nihiloque ob hoc minus apud omnes in pretio fore, quin imo multorum potius ac magnorum malorum occasiones illinc suboriturus; quis scit an in ipsos etiam auctores talia non aliquando recidant? Habet enim profecto amicos Lutherus, et constans quidam hic apud omnes rumor perseuerat, a nostris doctoribus inanes fabulas et ineptissima queque commenta sponte admitti tolerarique: at si quis interea Euangelicam veritatem ac legem Dei purius edoceat, eum tandem omnibus odibilem videri, sed hiis potissimum intolerabilem existere qui spiritualitatis sibi nomen peculiarius vsurpant.

16. tamen scripsi (tñ): cum MS.

23. desūmas MS.

23. perlegendis] Cf. pp. 291-2.

41. Romanistam] Augustine of Alfeld, to whose attack (Ep. 1167. 407n) Luther replied in May 1520 (L.E.<sup>2</sup> 302,

308) with *Von dem Bapstum zu Rome, widder den hochberumpten Romanisten zu Leiptzck*, Wittenberg, M. Lotther, s. a. (Weimar ed. vi, p. 281).

55 Faxit, obsecro, Deus Op. Max. vt semen vestrum, quod Domino auxiliante in terram bonam cadit, indies multiplicetur et fructum afferat quem debet. Vos modo, vti cepistis, pergite, quodque factu optimum censetis scribite, inuulgate, spargite ac inuicem succurrite, vt conculcatum suffocatumque Christi semen vobis auctoribus succere-  
60 scat. Idque cum hactenus diligenter fecistis, tum in posterum ne cessetis, rogo. Neque enim incassum laborabitis, qui primum laudem inter homines immortalem promereamini, mox dignam vestro conatu mercedem accipiat. Superest vt te rogem vt hoc  
65 meum ad te scribendi propositum boni consulas optimamque in partem interpreteris, neque alia mente isthec a me fieri nisi vt ipse te magistro ac duce que rectissima sunt sentiam, deinde eadem aliis quoad possum ante oculos proponam.

Si quid ad ista rescribere voles—rogo autem rescribas—, litteras tuas Augustam ad Fucaros mittere poteris; nam inde Viennam atque  
70 illinc ad me facile perferentur. Orationi me tue interim committo, optime ac religiosissime Pater. Vale. Ex arce Znoyma.

Artlebus de Bozkowicz et Tschernaho, dominus in Vran, supremus capitaneus marchionatus Morauiensis, sua manu propria.

# 1155. TO JOHN REUCHLIN.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 489.

Cologne.

HN: Lond. xii. 16: LB. 541.

8 November 1520.

[When the Emperor left Louvain on 8 Oct. on his way to Aachen (p. 353), Erasmus was not free to accompany him; being detained by business (Ep. 1152. 1-3). On 18 Oct. he was still at Louvain (Ep. 1153), though the coronation was drawing near; and he seems to have been there even a day or two later (p. 383). As Councillor he presumably attended the coronation, at Aachen on 23 Oct.; though BRE. 181, 8 Nov. 1520, perhaps implies that he was then at Cologne. In a letter of 1524 (Ep. 1512; cf. Ep. 1164. 40) Erasmus states that he spent three weeks at Cologne: on which calculation he must have left shortly after the Emperor, who set out up the Rhine towards Worms on 16 Nov. On his return journey to Louvain Erasmus passed through Aachen and stayed with his friend Leonard Priccard (Ep. 972); whom he left on a Sunday, probably 18 Nov. (cf. Ep. 1169. 12).

On 5 Nov. he had an interview at Cologne with Duke Frederic of Saxony, at which he discussed Luther, criticizing especially the 'immodica maledicentia' of his writings; see *Spongia*, LB. x. 1659 AB = HE. 333, §§ 259, 60, and cf. *Resp. ad A. Pium*, LB. ix. 1117 F. This interview is mentioned by Spalatinus, who was present, in his *Annales*, first printed by J. B. Menckenius, *Script. rer. German.*, ii, 1728, 604: 'Die v Nouembr.: Princeps noster, audita re diuina domi, admisit in colloquium Erasmum Roterodamum, phoenicem illum omnibus seculis admirabilem. Deinde adhibuit prandio Fr. Siccingerum et Philippum Dalburgium'. Spalatinus also composed a more detailed narrative, in his *History of the Reformation*, written in German, which is in ms. at Gotha, and has never been printed in full; see Seckendorf, *De Lutherismo*, 1692, i. 125, 6, § 81, where it is translated into Latin, with a wrong month-date. From this it appears that after the interview Spalatinus walked back with Erasmus to the house of Count Hermann of Neuenahr; and that there Erasmus sat down and wrote out a series of 22 *Axiomata pro causa Martini Lutheri*, which he handed to Spalatinus, asking to have them given back to him, for fear they should reach Aleander. In spite of this

59. Conculcatum] Cf. Luke 8. 5-7.

precaution they were printed at once, *s. l. et a.* (cf. SE. 223), though to Luther's annoyance (LE.<sup>2</sup> 400. 32-8), together with some other items on the same subject. They are also included in the collected editions of Luther's works from 1545 onwards.

Short accounts of Erasmus' interview with Duke Frederic are given in the fifth book of Carion's Chronicle, as edited by Caspar Peucer, Melanchthon's son-in-law, first printed at Frankfort, 1566; and in M. Dresserus' *Isagoge Historica*, 1601, p. 523. When they first appeared, they held the field; but now that Spalatinus' records are accessible, the value of these less authentic narratives is slight.

At the ceremonies which accompanied the coronation, Erasmus doubtless met numerous old friends and patrons; but he does not mention many by name. Aleander, whom he had cause to distrust (see p. 112), and whom he had not visited at Antwerp and Louvain in Sept.-Oct. (pp. 351, 353), he now with some difficulty found at Cologne. For fear of poison he would not accept any hospitality (Ep. 1188. 31-7); but they had an interview of five or six hours. The grievances that each had against the other were freely rehearsed; and Aleander charged Erasmus with denying the genuineness of the Bull against Luther. But at the end they parted with the kiss of ancient friendship (*Spongia*, LB. x. 1645 cd = HE. 333. §§ 131, 2: cf. Balan no. 36, which indicates 9 Nov. as the date). Aleander invited him to Rome, and the offer of a bishopric (cf. Ep. 1141. 30n) was also perhaps renewed on this occasion. For other fragments of their conversation see *Resp. ad A. Pium* (LB. ix. 1099 gd, 1104 c, 1105 d, 1118 AB, 1119 B). Faber (p. 357) and Brassicanus he saw again (BRE. 189), to Capito he gave advice on behalf of Luther (LE.<sup>2</sup> 474. 8-14); and among the new acquaintances whom he made were Hieroslaus Lasky (Ep. 1242n), Rudbert of Mosham, who was in the train of Matt. Lang, abp. of Salzburg (Epp. 1450, 1512; Heumann pp. 265, 6), and Francis of Sickingen (Ep. 1166. 72n). But Hutten, Sickingen's confederate, was not there (Ep. 1166. 108-10).

ERASMVS ROTEROD. CLARISS. D. IOANNI REUCHLINO S. D.

REVEREND. D. Cardinalis Sedunensis, cum nuper apud eum pranderem, narrabat te vita defunctum esse. Mihi non libebat credere, quia non erat e re literarum verum esse. At mox letiora nuntiavit alii; quae praecor vt nobis sint perpetua, vir optime idemque doctissime. Vides fatalem esse tragoediam quae nunc 5 agitur; cuius qualis sit futura catastrophe incertum. Qualis qualis est futura, precor vt cedat in gloriam Christi et in rem Euangelicae veritatis. Ego huius fabulae spectator esse malim quam histrio; non quod recusem ob Christi negocium aliquod subire discrimen, sed quod perspiciam negocium esse supra meam exiguitatem. Vtinam 10 tam possem praestare quod est optimum, quam opto! Non dubito quin tibi adsint graues et amici consolatores, qui tibi omnem aegritudinem adimant, si quam animo concepisti, vt mea consolatione non sit opus. Altius infixus es animis bonorum virorum quam vt hinc vllis Iacobitarum obtreptionibus queas reuelli. Res est inuicta 15 veritas. Et tacita bonorum iudicia perpetuam obtinent auctoritatem, etiam apud posteros suum habitura pondus.

TIT. CLARISS. D. OM. H. 1. Reuerend. D. F: Reuerendus H. [3. re literarum  
F Corrig.: Hteris F. 6. H: Catastrophae F.

1. Sedunensis] Cf. Ep. 447. 596n. This meeting (for which cf. Ep. 1164. 8) evidently was the occasion on which Schinner urged Erasmus to complete his Paraphrases on the Epistles: cf. Ep. 1171. 47n. There is nothing to show precisely when or where it occurred: doubtless at some point

during the ceremonials of Charles' coronation.

2. defunctum] Of this report I can find no other trace.

15. Iacobitarum] The Dominicans; see Ep. 1153. 113n.

16. tacita . . . iudicia] Cf. Epp. 1167. 346-7, 1171. 81.

Mihi semper studio fuit Lutheri causam a tua bonarumque  
 20 literarum causa seiungere, quod ea res et nos vocaret in communem  
 inuidiam, et illum ne tantulum quidem subleuaret. Sed aliis aliter  
 est visum. Me quoque tanta onerarunt inuidia vt parum abfuerit  
 quin et ipse fuerim impetitus ab istis qui in bonas literas ac doctrinam  
 Euangelicam coniurarunt. Obscurum non est quid agant illi. Id quo  
 25 magis succedat, praetexunt splendidos titulos, irritant mitissimum  
 Pontificis ingenium, vt illius malo suis consulant commodis. Vtinam  
 qui bonas literas colunt (nam in has tendunt isti) tam concordēs  
 essent ad honestarum rerum defensionem quam isti deuoti sunt ad  
 subuersionem honestissimorum studiorum! Si Germanis nostris  
 placuisset ciuilitas ad quam ego semper amplectendam hortatus sum,  
 30 res fortasse non processisset huc tumultus.

Anglus ille Episcopus, quo non alius in ea gente vel eruditior vir  
 vel praesul sanctior, sic te deamat vt non ferat a quoquam laudari te  
 parcius. Habet in animo visere te estate proxima. Bene vale,  
 Capnion charissime. Coloniae vi. Id. Nouembr. ANNO M.D.XX.

## 1156. TO CONRAD PEUTINGER.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 515.  
 HN: Lond. xiii. 30: LB. 542.

Cologne.  
 9 November 1520.

[For the date and circumstances of this letter see Ep. 1149 introd. The variations of tense in the second and third paragraphs, and the sudden reversions to Faber in ll. 31, 89 are indications of hasty composition. Erasmus had met Peutinger at Bruges in July: see Epp. 1129, 11, 1247.]

INSIGNI IVRIS VTRIVSQVE DOCTORI, CONRADO PEUTINGERO,  
 CAESAREO CONSILIARIO, ERASMVS S. D.

SCIEBAM tibi non esse vacuum tempus legendis quorumlibet  
 literis, vir eximie, nec mihi multo plus ocii fuit ad scribendum;  
 tamen huc impulit me Ioannes Faber, theologus ex ordine Domini-  
 cali: quem equidem, quo propius contemplatus sum, hoc magis

1156. TIT. INSIGNI IVRIS VTRIVSQVE DOCTORI *om. H.*

1155. 18. semper] This is by no means true. In Ep. 967. 69-84 Reuchlin and Luther are ranked together as bringing discredit upon the cause of good learning; and Erasmus dissociates himself from them both. So, too, in a less degree in Epp. 1033 and 1041, in spite of his defence of Reuchlin in Ep. 1006. In Epp. 1167. 94 seq. (cf. Ep. 1143. 10n) and 1217 both are disowned again: though Reuchlin is separated from Luther. In Ep. 1183 Reuchlin disappears altogether. Such variation illustrates Erasmus' indifference to consistency in his utterances. He wrote his letters rapidly, without much

heed to what he might have said in the past. His words here can hardly have been intended to deceive: for Ep. 967 was already published, and had very likely been seen by Reuchlin. RE. 299, 22 Feb. (1521), shows that both Reuchlin and Hutten accepted Erasmus' present statement of the case.

29. ciuilitas] For his view of the German character in this respect see Ep. 998. 64n.

31. Episcopus] Fisher; who had doubtless answered Ep. 1129. For his desire to visit Reuchlin cf. Epp. 324. 21-2, 457. 8-14.

1156. 3. Faber] See p. 357.

exerior esse virum longe dissimilem quibusdam eiusdem sodaliti. Nam praeter eruditionem solidam, praeter morum integritatem atque etiam comitatem, comperi non mediocriter valere et iudicio et consilio. Frequenter inter nos commentati sumus de ratione componendae huius Lutheranae tragoediae sine magno orbis tumultu. Quem enim bene volentem rebus humanis non commoveat hoc fabulae 10 exordium? quae, nisi prospectum fuerit, periculum sit ne in catastrophem exeat Christianae religioni periculosissimam. Ex leuioribus initiis saepe nata sunt horrenda mundi dissidia. Ac mea sententia hic quoque verum est quod scripsit Marcus Tullius, pacem vel iniquam bello aequissimo potiore esse. Ac iam nunc fabula longius 15 progressa est quam velim; et tamen adhuc opinor malum esse medicabile; certe sanabilius est quam si quibus coepit auctibus longius etiam prouehatur. Sic autem sanari cupiam, ne malum ad tempus suppressum post maiore cum discrimine recrudescat: quod solet vsu venire medicis qui potione propellunt febrem, non ante 20 purgatis venis vnde febris scatet; aut qui cicatrice obducunt vulnus, nondum satis educto pure.

Quibusdam videtur optimum factu vt res omnis saeuicia coherceatur: a quibus nec Faber admodum dissentit, nisi metueret ne parum feliciter cedat austeritas. Ait non satis esse fortiter huc 25 tendere quo vocat animi voluntas. Plurima circumspectiunda sunt. Primum vt sic consulatur dignitati et auctoritati Romani Pontificis—cui merito fauent omnes, vt Christi vicario summo, qui Christum ex animo diligunt—, ne quid iacturae patiatur Euangelica veritas. Neque dubito quin hoc animo sit Leo noster, vt tum demum se gloriosum 30 esse putet, si doctrinam Principis sui viderit vbique florere. Negat hoc tantum esse spectandum, quid mereatur Lutherus aut si qui Luthero fauent, sed quid conducat publicae orbis tranquillitati. Magni refert qui manum admoueant huic malo, et quibus remediis curetur. Admiscent enim sese huic negotio quidam qui leua saedu- 35 litate malum exasperant atque conduplicant, non tam Pontificis auctoritati quam suis commodis consulentes: breuiter sic agunt vt non minus laedant optimas literas ac linguas quam Lutherum. Neque aequum est ob Lutheri causam laedere innoxia, imo sanctissima studia; nec expedit sine causa plures in Lutheri negotium 40 inuoluere.

Addebat esse perpendendum quo fonte natus fuisset hic tumultus: nimirum ex odio bonarum literarum, quas nunc maliciosa versutia conantur admiscere Lutherano negotio; quo nimirum eodem telo 45 conficiant vtrosque, licet multum inter sese semotos. Ita fieri vt multi sint infesti Lutheri oppugnatoribus, non ob aliud nisi quod iidem tendant hisce cuniculis in bonas literas; atque hoc odio commoti nonnulli fauent Luthero, qui non erant alioqui fautori. Ostendebat non sine magno dolore quam paucis annis quam late sese sparsisset huius mali contagium. Sibi non ignotos esse Germanorum 50

11. quae F: cui H.

8. Frequenter] Since their first meeting at Louvain early in October.

14. Tullius] *Fam.* 6. 6. 5.

31. Negat] sc. Faber.

50. non ignotos] Cf. Faber's *Consilium* (see p. 357): 'Nouimus Germanorum animos, videmus Bohemiam tot annis pertinacem, et ab horum factione non

animos, qui ducantur citius quam cogantur. Nec rem abfuturam a periculo, si natiua gentis ferocitas saeuicia quorundam exasperetur. 'Videmus' inquit, 'hactenus pertinacem Bohemiam, et ab hac non admodum abhorrentes finitimas regiones. Saeuicia saepius hactenus  
55 tentatum est, neque quicquam promotum; diuersis vtendum remediis.' Odium Romani nominis penitus infixum esse multarum gentium animis, opinor ob ea quae vulgo de moribus eius vrbis iactantur, et ob improbitatem quorundam qui nonnunquam Pontificis negocium non ex illius sed ex suo gerunt animo, et sibi gerunt magis quam illi:  
60 quum nec Pontifici sit gerendum, nisi quatenus illius autoritas seruit Christo gregique Christiano.

Video rem hactenus multo aliter esse tractatam quam viri prudentes putarint esse tractandam. Lutherus etiamsi vera scripsisset omnia, tamen eo modo scripsit vt veritati suum fructum inuiderit. Contra  
65 qui se huic negotio transuersim ingesserunt, sic gesserunt rem apud populum vt etiamsi causam habuissent optimam, tamen illi plurimum obfuerint sinistro patrocinio. Admonitus est Lutherus vt stilum verteret et atrocitatem temperaret; scribit indies, vt audio, saeuiora. Admoniti sunt hi vt moderatioribus rationibus rem agerent; quidam  
70 sic egerunt vt cum Luthero colludere viderentur. Est autem genus hominum, mi Peutingere, quod publico malo saginatur, cuique rebus tranquillis male est. Hi nihil magis affectant quam vt res mortalium sursum deorsum misceantur. Tum

*Ἐν δὲ διχοστασίῃ κἀνδροκλείδης πολεμαρχεῖ.*

75 His placet saeuis modis negocium hoc obrui magis quam finiri, nec laborant quanto orbis malo, modo ipsorum bono.

Mea sententia nihil agetur in hac causa, si qui rem tractant, alium scopum sibi proponunt quam Christi gloriam. Saxum illud hinc atque hinc tundi potest, loco moueri non potest: cui inscriptum est  
80 illud mysticum elogium, 'Nouit Dominus qui sunt ipsius'. Quicquid a spiritu Christi proficiscitur, non potest humanis praesidiis opprimi, quantumuis prematur: quicquid humanis consiliis tentatur, temporarium est, quantumuis ardentibus studiis agatur, quantumuis operoso molimine ad perpetuitatem communiatur. Mei similitum non  
85 est de Pontificum diplomatis iudicare. Erant tamen, qui in Bulla, quam attulit nuncius Pontificius, mansuetudinem illam desiderarent, dignam eo qui mitissimi Christi vices primarias gerit in terris, dignam huius Leonis ingenio, multo hactenus placidissimo; quod tamen ipsi non imputant, sed instigatoribus. 'Iam vt hac' inquit, 'saeuicia  
90 maxime aboleantur libri Lutherani, vt ipse etiam tollatur e medio, metuendum est ne malum exasperetur magis quam finiatur, et pro vno sublato exoriantur plures, donec res ad certamen et schisma deducatur.'

Breuius haec tempestas insignem aliquem artificem desiderat, qui 95 negotii cursum moderetur, vt nec fluctibus obruatur nec illidatur

64. vt F: quasi H. 65. H: transuersum F. Cf. Ep. 1167. 223. 71. rebus F Corrig.: res F. 74. FN<sup>3</sup>: διχοστασία N<sup>2</sup>.

multum abhorrentes finitimas regiones.

74. 'Ἐν δὲ διχοστασίῃ] Cf. Ep. 1053. 212.

80. Nouit Dominus] Cf. 2 Tim. 2. 19.

85. Bulla] See Ep. 1141. 20n.

89. inquit] sc. Faber.



vadoso littori, et ita, quod aiunt, deuitet Scyllam ne rapiatur in Charybdim; ita malum hoc amputet ne qua possit excetra repullulascere. Censet igitur Faber noster rei summam arbitris doctis, integris et ab omni suspicione alienis delegandam; non quod Romanus Pont. sit cogendus in ordinem et alieno subiiciendus 100 arbitrio, sed quod existimet illius pietatem hoc sponte volentemque facturam, si cognorit ad publicam Christianae religionis tranquillitatem conducere.

Sed huius consilii viam ipse tibi copiosius exponet coram: quae si probabitur, adiunges tuae prudentiae consilium, vt in Vuormaciae 105 conuentu statuatur aliquid quod omnibus bonis approbetur. Quamquam non dubito quin hic Ioannes Faber sit tibi pro suis meritis commendatissimus, tamen etiam atque etiam oro vt tuo in illum studio nonnihil etiam accedat ex mea commendatione. Non potes Erasmus alio officio magis deuincire. Vbi nunc sunt qui clamitant 110 Erasmus parum aequum huic ordini? Talis animus, talis eruditio, tales mores mihi vehementer placent sub quocunque pallio. Bene vale. Coloniae v. Id. Nouembr, ANNO M.D.XX.

## 1157. To JODOCUS JONAS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 514.  
HN: Lond. xiii. 28: LB. 543.

Cologne.  
11 November 1520.

ERASMVS IODOCO IONAE S. D.

VIR optime, Epistolas in Leum scriptas, etiam si ille meretur acerbiora, supprimendas duxi, cum aliis de causis, tum ob hoc praecipue, ne illum poneremus in aliqua factione, cum eum nec aduersarii nostri agnoscant. Venit huc Hieronymus Aleander, satis peritus trium linguarum, sed factus, vt apparet, ad hanc tragoediam. Louanii primum aliquot Lutheri libros incendit, in ipso Caesaris discessu; mox idem fecit Leodii; idem in crastinum parat Coloniae. Mihi non leuius succensent quam ipsi Luthero, quod existiment me vnum obistere quo minus vbique totus Lutherus aboleatur; cum ego me multis de causis nunquam admiscuerim causae Lutherianae. Faueo 10 bonis studiis, faueo veritati Euangelicae: id vel tacitus faciam, si palam non licet. Dabit aliquando Christus tempora sereniora.

1156. 99. ab F: ob Lond. 100. Romanus Pont. H: Ro. Pon. F. 113 Coloniae om. N. ANNO om. H. 1157. 10. Lutheranae H.

1156. 98. arbitris] In the *Consilium* Faber proposes a commission appointed by Charles v, Henry VIII, and Louis of Hungary.

111. parum aequum] Cf. Ep. 1006. 4n.

1157. 1. Epistolas] EEV: see p. 210.

2. supprimendas] Cf. Ep. 1139. 100-3.

6. incendit] On 8 Oct. at Louvain and 17 Oct. at Liège: see Aleander's

report to Leo, 23 Oct., quoted by de Jongh p. 230n, and Al. E. i. 37. The date of the burning at Cologne (12 Nov.) given here is confirmed by a Cologne MS. quoted by Jos. Hartzheim, *Prodrromus hist. Vniu. Coloniensis*, 1759, p. 22: see also Ep. 1166. 53-9, and *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, jüing. Reihe, ii. 471-2, note 4.

Haec paucis scripsi, mi Iona, ne nihil scriberem, cum sese offerret  
grammatophoros, quondam vestrae peregrinationis comes. Gasparem  
15 Schalbum, Draconem, Hessum ac reliquos amicos iube saluere mul-  
tum meis verbis. Agrippinae, natali diui Martini. Anno. M.D.XX.

## 1158. TO JOHN OECOLAMPADIUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 513.

HN: Lond. xiii. 27: LB. 544.

Cologne.

11 November 1520.

[This letter carries on the correspondence indicated in Epp. 1064, 1102.  
Oecolampadius' replies do not survive. The year-date needs no confirmation.]

ERASMVS ROT. INTEGERRIMO VIRO D. IOANNI OECOLAMPADIO S. D.

EPISTOLAM siue libellum potius tuum nondum perlegi totum. Ad  
obsignatas literas mihi longe gratissimas tribus verbis respondebo,  
velut occupatissimus. Absit, mi frater, vt ego quenquam ab insti-  
tuto sancto deterream, nedum te qui iam per aetatem et tibi notus  
5 es et vitae genus non ignorabas. Tum optabam ex animo vt quod  
ageres, feliciter succederet—nam literis tuis suspicabar tale quiddam  
tibi esse in animo; nunc gratulor succedere. O vere felicem et  
Euangelicam philosophiam, id serio meditari, vt animus omnibus  
huius mundi cupiditatibus defecatus, expeditus ac liber hinc auolet,  
10 euocante Christo!

De Pharisaeis bona verba. Hos denotabam qui nunc praetextu  
religionis oppugnant veram religionem, et nobis miris technis odiose  
facessunt negotium: quorum taedio liberet vel in solitudinem ali-  
quam demigrare si liceat; et omnino facerem, ni me corpusculi  
15 imbecillitas prohiberet. Proinde suspicionem istam prorsus ex  
animo reiice. Neque enim dubito quin tua prudentia gregem purum  
et integrum delegerit.

Metaphrasim tuam in Ecclesiasten recepi, sed nondum legi.  
Proximis literis scribam quid de ea sentiam. Capito totus est

TIT. INTEGERRIMO VIRO D. om. H.

1157. 14. peregrinationis] In May

1519: cf. Epp. 977-8, 981-2, 985.

15. Schalbum] See Ep. 977 introd.

Draconem] See Ep. 871 introd.

Hessum] Eobanus; see Ep. 874  
introd.

1158. 1. Epistolam] Evidently a  
lengthy defence of the monastic life,  
composed in answer to the opening sen-  
tences of Ep. 1102, and to other writings  
such as Ep. 858 (Ep. 447 was not yet pub-  
lished), in which Erasmus had criticized  
the institution. It is noticeable that  
in the preface to the *Metaphrasis* (l. 18n)  
Oecolampadius had been concerned  
with the same subject (f<sup>o</sup>. A<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>).  
'Caeterum encomium monasticae vitae  
ludere non est praesentis instituti'.

2. literas] replying to Ep. 1102.

4. tibi notus es] Cf. Ep. 999. 164n.

11. Pharisaeis] Cf. Ep. 1102. 21.

denotabam] Cf. Epp. 447. 24 seq.,  
858. 496.

14. demigrare] Cf. Ep. 1075. 4n.

18. Metaphrasim] In *Ecclesiasten*  
*Solomonis metaphrasis diui Gregorii Neo-*  
*caesariensis Episcopi, interprete Oecolampa-*  
*dio*; Augsburg, S. Grimm and M. Wir-  
sung, 1520. Oecolampadius' preface,  
dated 1 July 1520 from Altomünster  
(Ep. 1095. 174n), states that the transla-  
tion was made during the tenure of his  
preachership at Augsburg.

19. Capito] Cf. HE. 198 = Zw. E.<sup>2</sup>  
157, Hedio to Zwingli from Mainz, 15  
Oct. 1520, reporting that Capito had

aulicus, et succedit illi res; sed nonnihil vereor nequid illum inescet 20  
hic mundus, si vnquam alias, peruersissimus. Neque quicquam  
interea possumus nisi optare optima. Bene vale, frater in Christo  
charissime. Agrippinae natali diui Martini. Anno M.D.XX.

## 1159. TO RICHARD SBRULIUS.

Epistolae selectae, 1520, f<sup>o</sup>. 1<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup> (a).

Cologne.

F. p. 514: HN: Lond. xiii. 29: LB. 545.

13 November 1520.

[For the earliest source see App. 12 in vol. iii. The year-date is confirmed by the other letters of this period from Cologne.

R. Sbrulius (c. 1480–p. 1525) of Udine was an adventurer of the same type as Bartholinus (Ep. 547) and Andronicus (Ep. 991). The earliest date at which he can be definitely traced is 13 Dec. 1506, when he was at Venice. At Constance in 1507 he attracted the attention of Maximilian with a poem on the Sforzas; and this led to an introduction to Duke Frederic of Saxony, who sent him to teach at Wittenberg (see O. Beckman, *Oratio in laudem philosophiae*, Wittenberg, J. Gronenberg, 1510, ff. b<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, b<sup>4</sup> v<sup>o</sup>). Thus when Scheurl was installed as rector of the University, 1 May 1507, Sbrulius' name appeared next to his in the matriculation-lists. During his residence there Sbrulius published numerous complimentary poems, addressed to Duke Frederic and others; but of these Mutianus had little opinion (MRE. 78, MRE.<sup>2</sup> 58), and Eobanus in his *Bucolicon*, Erfurt, J. Knapp, 29 Sept. 1509, made fun. Nevertheless he won great admiration from Scheurl, who ranked him with Ovid, and introduced Spalatinus to him with reverence (SE. 58, 59); and this even survived the scandals which drove him from Wittenberg in 1512–13. About May 1513 he matriculated at Frankfort on the Oder, where he produced a poem on the glories of Brandenburg, printed by J. Hanaw, 15 Oct. 1514. In May 1515 he visited Mutianus at Gotha; but the verses that he offered found no favour, and he was passed on (MRE. 473,4; MRE.<sup>2</sup> 495,6). A few verses of compliment by him appear in Trithemius' *Liber octo questionum*, Oppenheim, J. Hasselberg, 20 Sept. 1515. His next effusion was a poem in praise of Treves and the Holy Coat, dedicated to the Abp., and printed by Quentel at Cologne, 1516; where he matriculated 30 Sept. 1516. In 1517 he was teaching at Ingolstadt, where Urbanus Regius approved of him (VE. 107); but by 15 May 1518 he was at Augsburg, presenting a petition to Maximilian. Some verses printed in Zasius' *Lucubrationes*, Froben, 1518 (Ep. 862), perhaps indicate a visit to Basle, where he may have met Erasmus (cf. Ep. 1001.31–3); but in November he was back again at Augsburg, dwelling with Paul Hofheimer, Imperial organist (SE. 177). Some verses by him appear in a volume addressed to the Imperial official, Blasius Holzelius, Augsburg, 1518, by a number of poets who claimed Holzelius as their Maecenas. Maximilian appointed him historiographer and poet; and so on the Emperor's death he composed an Elegy, which was printed *s.l. et a.* In 1519–20 he published two more volumes of verse at Augsburg: for one of which see p. 359. Hutten in May 1520 contemned him as 'homo extreme levis et futilis', who would spin out verses to any one who would give him a crust of bread (HE. 164); a judgement which is justified by Sbrulius' numerous contributions of this sort to books of the period (cf. l. 6n and NE. p. 27). But besides the present polite letter Erasmus thought well enough of him to make him, like Andronicus, one of the characters in the *Conuiuium poeticum*, first printed in Aug. 1523. In 1522 Sbrulius was teaching at Freiberg in

gone to Charles' coronation at Aachen in the train of the Abp. of Mainz: to whom he had just been made councillor. 'Quam prosit in ea condicione, vix credis. Lutherus in hoc districtu dudum esset combustus, Luterani ἀποσυνάγωγοι, nisi is aliter persuasisset

Principi.' To his efforts on behalf of Luther at Cologne in these days Capito makes allusion in LE.<sup>2</sup> 474. 12–21.

20. aulicus] Capito took exception to this passage, no doubt after reading it in F: see his letter (Ep. 1374) of 6 July 1523, Hess ii. 558.

Saxony; but once more there seems to have been scandal at his departure. In 1523 he composed an *Epithalamium*, Vienna, J. Singren, s. a., for the wedding of Gabriel Salamanca at Innsbruck. In the summer of 1524 he was at Salzburg, again living with Hofheimer (VE. 392, 396); but in the following spring he was with Nausea in the train of Campegio in Hungary, and took a doctor's degree at Buda, 26 March 1525. After that nothing seems to be known of him. A translation by him of a portion of *Theuerdank* into Latin verse, *De variis Maximiliani periculis*, dedicated to Ferdinand, is in the Imperial Library at Vienna (MS. Lat. 9976); cf. Lambecius, *Bibl. Caes. Vindobon.*, ii (1769), 930.

See G. G. Liruti, *Letterati del Friuli*, ii (1762), pp. 89-96; M. Denis, *Wiens Buchdruckergeschicht*, 1782, pp. 341-2; Jöcher; and Fanzer.

ERASMVS RICARDO SBRVLIO SVO S. D.

PARVM humanus videatur qui succenseat vel immodice amanti. Proinde non possum non ignoscere tuis carminibus, eruditissime Sbruli, sane quam eleganter sed nimis amanter de me mentientibus. Neque dubito quin carminum horum candori animi candor respon-  
5 deat. Ingenii tui vaenam, non minus synceram quam felicem ac benignam, primum ex eo carmine perspexi quod sic ex tempore lusum Louanii reliqueras. Iamque vtriusque animus vtrique notus erat, quum neuter alteri de facie notus esset. Sed familiaritas quae mihi tecum intercessit Coloniae, non parum magnam accessionem  
10 adiunxit meae de te existimationi, quum ea res fere soleat opinionis iacturam aliquam adducere.

Sed heus tu, optime Sbruli, ama tuum Erasmus quantum voles immodice, modo praedices parcius. Nosti vetus illud iureconsultorum adagium, 'Nec omnia, nec passim, nec ab omnibus'. Vt non  
15 est iniucundum laudari a viro laudato, ita non expedit apud quosuis praedicare quae tuus in nos amor suggerit animo tuo; vt ne dicam interim quod quaedam in me non competant. Minus nos grauat qui detrahit quod adest quam qui tribuit quod non habemus. Tu vero quoties amoris oestro percitus bonis lateribus declamas, et omni  
20 genere armorum depugnas aduersus eos qui minus Erasmo tribuunt quam tua vellet in me beneuolentia, quaeso, quid aliud efficis quam vt illos irrites ad peius etiam de me praedicandum, et me degraues inuidia, cuius nonnulla fortasse portio in te quoque deriuetur? Ego iampridem vt obtrectationibus assueui, ita laudum gloriaeque sum  
25 satur. Ingenue profitens me nihil scire, quod possum praesto. Si non assequor quod conor, tamen in rebus honestis et arduis vel conatus laudi dari solet. Si quid labor, sic me consolor: Homo sum,

4. F: candor animi candori a.  
iurisconsultorum F.

9. Coloniae a: Agrippinae H.  
17. competunt F.

13.

6. carmine] Perhaps Sbrulius' *Carmen in quosdam theologastros Louanienses sycophantas extemporale*; which was printed in *Flores siue Elegantie ex diuersis libris Hochstrati . . . per Nic. Quadum Saxonem collectae*, s. l. et a. : a volume which is dated by Böcking Sept. 1519, but may be later. The poem also appears in an undated edition of Erasmus' *Apol. de In principio erat sermo* (cf. Ep. 1072), of which there is a copy in

the Town Library at Nuremberg (Hist. 4<sup>o</sup>. 368). If this is the poem intended here, Sbrulius' visit to Louvain—at some date when Erasmus was not there—was apparently not recent.

14. Nec omnia] Cf. *Adag.* 1316; which refers to Ulpian bk. i, 'De officio proconsulis', about the receipt of presents by a proconsul in his province: cited on *Dig.* i, tit. 16.

22. irrites] Cf. Ep. 1163. 3.

et haec culpa cum nemine mihi non communis est. Si quis me superat, gratulor publicae studiorum utilitati; neque mihi turpe duco si, quum ipse multos praecurrerim, existat aliquis qui me vicissim anteuertat. Nec ideo pilo futurus sum doctior, si me profiteor omnia scire. Nec ob hoc sum indoctior, si cum Socrate fatear me nihil omnino scire. Quanquam omnino quota cognitionis portio est omnis nostra scientia! nam de mea nihil dicam.

Ego meam fabulam propemodum peregi. Superest vt addam, 35  
Valete et plaudite. Gaudeo passim exoriri qui meum nomen, si quod tamen est meum nomen, sint obscuraturi. Omnibus his precor vt res optime succedat, sed tibi cum primis, Sbruli candidissime: quem vtinam Caesaris nostri benignitas inauret! Bene vale.

Agrippinae. Id. Nouemb. An. M.D.XX.

40

## 1160. TO PAUL RITIUS.

Epistolae selectae, 1520, f<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>6</sup> v<sup>o</sup>.

Cologne.

F. p. 522: MN: Lond. xiii. 39: LB. 546.

(November) 1520.

[For the first source see App. 12 in vol. iii. Though only added in H, the dates may have some value: as in Ep. 1136. Without them there is no definite indication of time; though the limits are not wide apart. The book referred to, in which Ritus (Ep. 548. 15n) expounds the interest of the Cabala and defends a friend against an adversary, but at no great length, is probably his *Apologeticus aduersus obtrectatorem Cabalae sermo*, in which he replied to Hochstrat's *Destructio Cabale*, Cologne, Quentel, April 1519 (cf. Ep. 1006. 74, 93nn), and defends Reuchlin against Hochstrat's censures. It was perhaps shown to Erasmus in manuscript; for I can find no earlier edition than one with the title *Apologetica in allegorisationum seu Cabaleorum dogma Oratio*, Nuremberg, F. Peyp, 1523, and dedicated to Adrian vi. Later it was included in bk. iv of Ritus' *De coelesti agricultura*, Augsburg, H. Stayner, 1541.

Confirmation for the dates given in H may be found in the position of this letter at the end of sheet a, which is the final sheet of the *Epistolae selectae per Barlandum*, Dec. 1520. Also Ritus, being now physician to Ferdinand, would naturally be present at Charles' coronation and the subsequent ceremonies.]

ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVVS PAVLO RITIO, PHILOSOPHO CONSVMMATISSIMO, S. D.

LIBELLVS tuus, eruditissime Riti, me paulo aequiorem reddidit negocio Caballistico: quanquam antehac non eram admodum infensus, siquidem ignoscendum arbitror vt humanum vicium, si quisque faueat iis studiis in quibus et plurimum insumpsit temporis et se praecipue valere confidit. Coeterum istos quis ferat, qui quicquid non intelligunt tam acerbis tamque pertinacibus odiis persequuntur?

1159. 31. sim F.      profiter F.      1160. TIT. PHILOSOPHO CONSVMMATISSIMO  
om. H.      6. persequuntur F: prosequuntur a.

1159. 37. obscuraturi] Cf. Ep. 1107. 8.  
39. inauret] In the title of his *Cleomachia*, Wittenberg, J. Grunenberg, 1

Aug. 1510, Sbrulius claimed to be 'eques Foroiuliensis': but it does not appear that he was 'gilded' by Charles v.

Neque vero vno nomine mihi placuit opus. Eruditio quae tibi perpetua est, hic mihi non potuit esse noua. Sed in primis arrisit candor ille et perspicuitas, quae rem ita ponit ob oculos vt caeco  
 10 quoque possit esse conspicua. Arrisit animus iste Gratiis et amicitiae natus, qui tanto studio tuetur hominis eruditissimi innocentiam aduersus impudentissimos sycophantas. Arrisit denique te, hoc est absoluto veroque philosopho, digna moderatio: qua sic fortiter patrocinaris amico, vt a conuiciis in aduersarium temperes, magis reputans  
 15 quid te quam quid illo dignum esset. Nam breuitati non perinde faueo, cum mihi licet occupatissimo perlectum opus famem sui reliquerit. Bene vale, doctissime Riti. Agrippinae. Anno M.D.XX.

## 1161. FROM ULRICH HUTTEN.

Patriotisches Archiv, vii. p. 25 (a).  
 HE. 200 (β).

Ebernburg.  
 13 November 1520.

[The manuscript was an original letter, written by a secretary, with signature, postscript, and address (ll. 114-19) by Hutten: formerly in the library of the Counts von der Leyen at Bliesscastell, w. of Zweibrücken. In 1787 Moser printed it in his *Patriotisches Archiv für Deutschland*, vii; from a copy provided by Klein, librarian at Bliesscastell. Böcking, when editing Hutten's Letters, 1859, was unable to trace the original: which may therefore have perished. He conjectures that it was among the papers of Francis of Sickingen at Landstuhl, ne. of Zweibrücken, which were dispersed after his death. Either Klein's copy was inaccurate, or Moser printed from it without much care. Böcking in β has corrected some errors. I am indebted to both Klein and Böcking for the notes.

Ebernburg was a castle belonging to Francis of Sickingen, a few miles s. of Kreuznach. Moser considered that the letter never reached Erasmus, the messenger being detained at Mainz.]

ERASMO ROTERODAMO VLRICHVS HVTTENVVS S. D.

MALE mihi cedat quidquid hoc est quod tanto cum periculo incepti, hoc temporis, nisi me sollicitum magis habet tua salus quam mea fortuna, Erasme optime. Itaque cum quo spectet res plane videas, miror quid ibi agas, vbi et magna est, vt nusquam alibi, nostrarum  
 5 partium infensio et Decimi mandata grassantur nunc, vt audio, atrociter. Quin etiam exustis Lutheri libris secure te consistere existimas? quasi non illius damnatio tuae causae sit praeiudicium, aut tibi parsuros putandum sit qui Lutherum damnauerunt. Fuge, heus tu, fuge ac te nobis serua. Mihi periculi satis multum quidem  
 10 est, etiam infinitum, sed tantumdem animi periculis indurati et fortuna quae ferat; tua alia causa est. Fuge, optime Erasme, fuge dum licet, ne siquid aduersi (quod abominor) cadat, iam tum non sit hoc ipsum integrum, et necesse sit dicere hoc quod sapiens nemo dixit, 'Non putaram'. Iam palam clamant isti omnium

1160. 17. Agrippinae. M.D.XX add. H. Anno add. N. 1161. 4. nusquam scripsi: vsquam aβ. 8. parsuros β: passuros a.

1161. 4. ibi] at Cologne; cf. p. 370.  
 5. Decimi] Leo x.  
 6. exustis] Cf. Ep. 1157. 6n.

14. Non putaram] Cf. Cic. Off. i. 23. 81, and other sources quoted by Böcking on HE. 191, § 2; also Ep. 447. 644.

horum autorem esse te, atque ab hoc fonte profluxisse quidquid est 15  
quod male nunc habet Leonem; te praeiuisse nobis, te erudiisse, te  
primum incitasse libertatis studio hominum mentes, te esse illum  
a quo pendeamus alii. Quod etsi huiusmodi non est, quia tamen  
nosti quocum genere hominum res nobis est, nullam debes concipere  
tantam spem ut te his locis credas. Odiosae sunt hac in causa 20  
literae; quanto magis qui has intulit, qui eruditione Germaniam  
implevit. Age autem, Derthusiensis ibi ad Decimum epistola,  
conuictis cum illo exostulantis quod te in Germania ferat harum  
rerum magistrum, cuius momenti est? Plane fugiendum tibi  
existimo, si non magni facias tuum casum, tamen ut ne tanto 25  
praeside spoliatur studia, tanto patre orbae sint literae. Si dubi-  
tantes adhuc, nihil fidum satis esse nobis vel ab Aleandro doceri  
oporteret; quem quis putasset pecunia sacerdotali aduersum nos  
conduci posse? Et tamen non oppugnat acrius hoc tempore alius.  
Tu autem leniter et subblandiendo tot iam annos tractato Pontifice, 30  
etiam laudato, quid meruisti aliud quam ut infense oderit et per-  
ditum velit? id quod magis etiam facere volet, quando iam videbit  
contra suum furorem arma expediri. Quod iam ante factum esset,  
nisi Francisci consilium fuisset Regem tentare prius, spe concepta  
fore ut hoc ipse Rex agat aut certe agentibus nobis conniueat; neque 35  
non factum arbitror, nisi omnia inuertet sceleratus ille Sclauus  
corona Caesari oblata, cuius praemium poscitur Lutherus et ego.  
Ergo igitur eripe isthinc te; nam mihi armis agendum est, quod,  
tibi ne obsit, praedico ante iam.

Quod si non probas institutum tu meum, causam tamen cur haec 40  
paro, improbare non potes, ut libera sit Germania; nam tunc vige-  
bunt etiam literae et honor erit studiis. 'Difficile hoc tibi est prae-  
stare,' inquis. Difficillimum, sed tamen conari pulchrum est, quid-  
quid eueniat etiam: nam euentis rerum pugnare non est meum;  
quod fortuna momentum habeat, ibi animo et virtute conabor. 45  
Quod si cui occurram occasioni, quis impedit optatum, his consiliis  
exitum contingere? Sin contra eueniet, tamen nullum est tam  
prudens Pontificis consilium, quo extinguere hoc a nobis excitatum  
semel incendium liceat. Profecto enim ardebunt ista, quantumcum-  
que reluctantibus ipsis, etiam si nos opprimant; iam alios enim pariet 50  
vehementiores etiam libertatis adsertores cinis iste noster. Atque  
eo magis ago haec, quod futurum hoc scio; conaborque omnia, et

16.  $\beta$ : habet. Leonem te  $\alpha$ . 22. epistola scripsi: epistolae  $\alpha\beta$ . 27.  
 $\beta$ : Alexandro  $\alpha$ . 36.  $\beta$ : Sclaius Corolla  $\alpha$ . 48. quo  $\alpha$ : quod  $\beta$ . 52.  
scio  $\beta$ : scis  $\alpha$ .

22. Derthusiensis] Adrian; cf. Epp.  
1114. 3n, 1153. 149n. His letter seems  
to have perished. From this passage  
it might seem that its purpose was to  
get Erasmus to Rome in connexion with  
Leo's projected University (cf. Ep. 1062.  
140n). But Ep. 1166. 104-6 suggests a  
different interpretation.

27. doceri] Cf. Ov. M. 4. 428.

30. leniter] Cf. Ep. 1029. 9.

34. Francisci] of Sickingen: see Ep.  
582. 27n.

Regem] Charles v.

36. Sclauus] This insinuation that  
Aleander was Slavonic in origin doubt-  
less rested on his claim (Al. E. i. 3)  
that his family came from Istria: where  
the Slavs settled in vii<sup>c</sup> (Freeman,  
*Hist. Geography of Europe*, 1881, p. 115).  
See also Ep. 1166. 85n. For the term  
Sclavonia applied to the neighbourhood  
of Ragusa cf. Brewer iv. 1832.

37. et ego] Cf. Ep. 1135. 2n.

38. armis] Cf. Ep. 1166. 110-11.

vndecumque licebit, ansam nobis arripiam, nihil non tentabo; a quo nullae minae, nulla quae abducant pericula satis sunt. Semel  
 55 infixum in libertate animum dirimi non patiar. An possem pati, cui tam inhonesta proposita sit seruitus, nisi rebellem? Egone mollibus seruiam sacerdotulis, delicatulis istis cynedis parcam, impudicos adorem pontifices, hominum nullius bonae frugis imperata faciam, cum toties summis imperatoribus negasse hoc maiores meos  
 60 sciam, nec ea sit quae tantam indignitatem ferat mea natura? Prius omnia perdidero.

Quod vt ne dubites quo agitem animo, iam persuasi ipse mihi fatale hoc esse Hutteno pro patria periclitante; quod constanter adeo proposui vt clariorem nullam, quam quae pro communi libertate  
 65 obeatur, mortem esse existimem. Agite igitur, optimi ciues, adeste populares; propellantur improbi a Germania domini, solutur turpis seruitus, pudendum abiiciatur iugum. Germanos esse nos meminimus, neque hic quisquam sit quem delectet viuere, si non possit libere. Aliquid, non omnia praecidet, si, quod isti sperant, inter-  
 70 cedit, Regis edictum; neque omnia ille refugia clausurit, omnia subduxerit auxilia. Quem ego tamen credo abductum nunc pessimo consilio, non diu facturum etiam hoc. Aliquando enim ad se redibit, neque semper Romanensium palponum consiliis subuertendum se praebebit; cum quia tot exemplis commoneri eum facile est 'nihil  
 75 esse ibi fidum', tum vero quia tempus adesse videtur quo haec aboleatur tyrannis. Quod etsi a me fieri non possit, tamen initia sumere poterit; vbi qui sunt isti qui ad quietem hortantur? quasi vero forti viro, qualis esse laboro, quiescere sit despicabilem seruire seruitutem, hoc praesertim tempore quo ad summum conscendit  
 80 haec indignitas, quo isti nihil non licere sibi volunt, quo sacra profanaque omnia impie, vt nunquam prius, miscentur, quo mentiri et fraudare regium est et pontificium, diripere et furari etiam sacrum. Hinc tu laude conatus es reuocare hos: benigne id quidem, sed vincente ipsorum dementia nihil eblanditus es. Iam non est igitur  
 85 tempus vt desperata sanitate, cuius in tantum capaces isti non sunt, abiiciamus putrida cadauera, exuramus et aboleamus? Quod si vi et armis conemur efficere vt his obsaeuiamus furiis, eritne qui fortitudini nostrae temeritatis appellatione obructabit? Fuerit. At nos hanc gloriam existimabimus; neque sequemur tamen gloriam, sed  
 90 libertatis studio periculis vltro nos obiciemus. Neque enim seruire poterimus, quibus etiam seruientes in Germania videre alios graue est: et fortasse inuitis hominibus suae libertatis authores erimus. Quae ideo pluribus ad te scripsi, vt vbi quae hic parentur scires, cognoscere tibi liceret quam non sis tutus illic, vbi maxime obsistitur  
 95 remergenti tandem libertati et tenacissime haeret seruitus.

Quare consilium est meum ne tanti facias illud istic ocium, vt in summo periculo conquiescere in animum inducas. Multum te cupiunt

60. indignationem β. 69. β: praecindet α. 74. commoneri β: com-  
 moueri α. 87. β: obraeuimus α. 97. cupiunt α: capiunt β.

70. edictum] See Ep. 1192. 66n.

72. Aliquando] With this passage may be compared Hutten's *Anzeig wie alhwegen sich die Römischen Bischöff oder*

*Bäpst gegen den teütschen Kaysseren gehalten haben*, (? Tübingen, T. Anshelm, 1520): see his *Opera*, ed. Böcking, v. 363-84, and HE. pp. 69\*-71\*.



Basilienses tui: quae mora est quin eo concedas quamprimum? praesertim nusquam liberiores cum sint homines, suapte alioqui natura, nunc Lutheri etiam scriptis et meo quodam poemate Germanice scripto mire inflammati? In summa isthinc te eripe et manifestum discrimen prudenter declina.

Hoc te ego hortor; quem vt id faciam, cum ipsi persuadere tibi non possent, communes amici pie admodum exorant. Da aliquid omnium votis, si non parcis tuae saluti: nouum hoc tuum in commune benefactum erit. Cede nostris praecibus, qui istorum terrorem contemnis; concede amicorum desideriis, si istorum vim non fugis. Non tanti fuerit Erasmo Louanium vt illius ergo sui fructu vniuersam fraudare velit Germaniam: nimis magni constiterit vnius vrbs amor, si hanc publico praeferas desiderio. Memineris venenum esse clam, et sicas esse memineris, si manifesta non times. Hoc qui te amant efflagitant: quorum tandem studiis concede, et te nobis in commune serua, ac optime vale.

Ex Ebernburgo per amanuensem. Idib. Nouembris Anno MDXX.

Quae in puerum meum contulisti, in ipsum me collata arbitrare. Reddam vicem. Ipsum non remittam hinc; neque enim carere possum fido ministro.

Desyder. Erasmo Roterodamo, theologo Christianiss., amico adorabili, salut. Moguntiae, Coloniae aut vbi vbi est.

#### 1162. TO THOMAS MORE.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 589.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xvi. 1: LB. 554.

(c. November) 1520.

[Subsequent to Ep. 1153. Ep. 1164. 40-2 shows that while at Cologne (pp. 370-1), Erasmus was in hopes that a settlement with Egmondanus had been attained. It may therefore be inferred that the interview with him in Rosemond's presence, which is described here (see also Ep. 1173), had then already taken place. The probable course of Erasmus' movements (see p. 370) leaves room for that interview, perhaps c. 20 Oct., before his departure to Aachen and Cologne; but scarcely for a report of it to have reached More and for his letter inquiring about it to have then come back. This letter must therefore be later than Erasmus' time at Cologne; and may be placed conjecturally in November, after his return.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS CLARISS. VIRO THOMAE MORO S. D.

QVAE tibi narrata sunt de concertatiuncula quae mihi fuit apud huius Academiae Rectorem cum Nicolao Egmondano, nec omnino vera sunt, neque tamen nihil habent veri: sic enim solet rumor, et augere quod gestum est, et variare fabulas. Neque vero mihi tam

1162. TIT. CLARISS. VIRO *om. H.*

1161. 100. poemate] *Clag vnd vormanung gegen dem übermäßigen vnchristlichen gewalt des Papsts zu Rom*, (?Mainz, J. Schoeffer, 1520): see *Hutteni Opera*, iii.

473-526 and HE. pp. 65\*-68\*.

119. Moguntiae] For a report that Erasmus had gone to Mainz cf. BRE. 182, of 11 Nov. 1520: and see Ep. 1101. 1.

5 inimicus est vt patiar illum mendaciis traduci. Rem igitur, vt habet, accipe; quandoquidem video vobis isthic tantum esse oculi vt quid hic ineptiamus, vacet cognoscere.

Vbi literis expostulassem apud huius Academiae Rectorem quod Egmondanus in concione nos perstrinxisset, rescripsit ille, si placeret  
10 ipsum audire coram sua verba sonantem, fortasse rem posse componi. Respondi me nihil detrectare, tametsi non essem nescius ab illo μηδὲν ὑγιὲς proditurum. Conuenimus, consedit Rector; huic ego dexter assedi, sinister ille. Nec erat inanis ordo. Nouerat Egmondani mores, ac de me sibi falso persuaserat eum esse qui possem  
15 irritari: proinde medius consedit, quo pugnam dirimeret, si forte λογομαχία ad ungues ac pugnos efferuisceret. Rem igitur paucis exponit Rector. Ibi composito ad miram sed ridiculam grauitatem vultu infit Egmondanus: 'Ego nulli feci iniuriam in sacris concionibus. Si Erasmus se putat laesum, proferat; sum illi respon-  
20 surus'. Rogabam an putaret vllam atrociorē iniuriam quam hominem immerentem in publica concione traducere mendaciis. Ibi continuo commotus homo, et relicta quam coeperat persona, magis etiam purpurascens—nam rubebat et antea; erat enim tempus pomeridianum—: 'Et cur' inquit, 'tu nos traducis tuis sacris libris?'  
25 'In libris' inquam, 'meis nusquam est nomen tuum.' 'Nec in concionibus' inquit, 'meis auditum est nomen tuum.' Negavi libros meos esse sacros, in quibus aliquando narrem etiam somnia mea nihilque non nuger; non idem licere in sacris concionibus. 'Praeterea longe minus' inquam, 'scripsi de te quam res habet. Tu de  
30 me publice mentitus es, dicens fauisse Lutherō; cui nunquam faui in eum sensum in quem tua dicta interpretatur populus, et ipse sentis.' Ibi iam non commotus sed furenti similis, 'Imo,' inquit, 'tu es autor horum omnium, tu es versipellis ac veterator, et nihil non intorques cauda quadam'. Atque his similia multa euomuit  
35 verius quam dixit, quae illi tum suggerebat splendida bilis.

Sensi et mihi concitari stomachum, iamque vox quaedam eruperat, sermonis non satis temperati prooemium, non quidem Racha, sed aliud quiddam, quod peius oleat quam sonat. Sed repressi me illico, satius ducens et meae (nam parum valebam) et Rectoris parcere  
40 valetudini, cui et ipsi cum medicis res erat; postremo stultum et indecorum ratus aduersus furentem furere. Itaque subridens verti me ad Rectorem. 'Possem' inquam, 'testari de insigni contumelia, possem regerere conuicium. Appellat me versipellem; liceret ipsum vicissim appellare vulpem. Appellat me duplicem; possem ipsum  
45 appellare quadruplicem. Ait me cauda contorquere omnia; possem dicere illum lingua sua inficere omnia. Sed haec nec viris digna sunt, ac vix etiam mulieribus. Agamus argumentis, finge me . . .' Hic ille protinus interpellans magno clamore nautico, 'Non fingo,' inquit, 'nolo fingere; hoc vestrum est. Vos poetae fingitis ac menti-  
50 mini omnia'. Iam magis ridere libebat quam indignari. 'Si fingere non vis,' inquam, 'da igitur.' 'Nolo' inquit, 'dare.' 'Fac'

41. ratus *add. H.*43. conuicium *F*: conuicia *H.*

8. literis] Ep. 1153.

35. splendida bilis] Cf. Hor. S. 2. 3.  
141.

39. parum valebam] Of this indisposition I find no other trace.

40. valetudini] Cf. Ep. 1153. 228.

inquam, 'ita esse.' 'Non faciam', inquit. 'At pone ita esse', inquam. 'Non ponam', inquit. 'Sit igitur ita', inquam. 'At non est', inquit. 'Quid igitur' inquam, 'vis me dicere?' 'Dic', inquit, "Ita est."

55

Vix Rector impetrauit vt sineret me loqui. 'Vt verum sit', inquam, 'me in libris meis quaedam scripsisse secus quam oportet, non tamen hoc erat tuum, ad animi tui vindictam abuti sacri loci, sacrae concionis autoritate, et populi simplicis credulitate. Poteras vicissim in me scribere, poteras me in ius vocare. Nunc non tam mihi facis iniuriam quam toti huic Academiae, quam toti populo, quam sacrae concioni, quae longe aliis fabulis dicata est.' Hic quum deesset homini quod responderet, alio, vt solet, deflexit. 'Ia', inquit, 'optares tibi similem autoritatem.' 'Quam?' inquam, 'concionandi?' Annuit. 'Atqui' inquam 'et olim sum concionatus, et 65 arbitror me posse meliora dicere quam audio te aliquando proferentem.' 'Quin igitur' inquit, 'facis?' 'Quia puto me' inquam, 'maius operaeprecium facere scribendis libris; tametsi tuam industriam non improbarem, si modo doceres ea quae faciunt ad bonos mores.' Ibi venit homini in mentem quod scripsissem in 70 literis ad Rectorem (legerat enim), haec mihi immerenti, imo bene merenti, indigne fieri. 'Vbi' inquit, 'tu bene mereris?' 'Fatentur' inquam, 'hoc plurimi, me non male meritum de bonis literis.' 'Ia', inquit, 'sic vos eas appellatis; sunt malae literae.' 'Et in sacris' inquam, 'literis multa restitui.' 'Imo,' inquit, 'multa falsasti.' 75 'Cur igitur' inquam, 'approbat Romanus Pontifex suo diplomate?' 'Ia, diplomate' inquit: 'quis vidit tuum diploma?' subindicans a me confictum esse. 'An postulas' inquam, 'vt diploma per singulos circumferam aut in foro exhibeam? Exhibui Atensi, vidit Dorpius.' 'Ia, Dorpius' inquit; additurus et in illum aliquid conuicii, ni 80 Rector illum suo vultu compescuisset. 'Videbis et tu, si voles', inquam. 'Nolo' inquit, 'videre tua.' 'Cur igitur damnas?' inquam. 'Cur in Luthero damnando tantum apud te valet Pontificis autoritas, in meis probandis pluma leuior est?'

Hoc sermone omisso coepit commemorare, iam velut affectum 85 moturus arte rhetorica, quantis honoribus affecissent me theologi Louanienses priusquam in eos scripsissem. 'Quid non fecimus' inquit, 'tibi?' Caeterum de virulentis obtrectationibus quibus me lanierat Egmondanus, etiam priusquam Louanium commigrarem, nulla mentio. Respondi non esse mei moris extenuare cuiusquam 90 in me beneficium, caeterum me haecenus theologorum beneficio non admodum vsu fuisse. Ibi nescio quo pacto factus mitior, 'Verum', inquit, 'quia non potuimus'. 'Ergo' inquam, 'ne imputes quod non praestitistis. Nam quantum potueritis malefaciendo, sensi; officii nihil expertus sum, nisi quod me vocatis ad actus quos vocatis, 95 et conuiuia quaedam solennia, a quibus nemo magis abhorret quam

65. N: At qui F. Cf. Ep. 1167. 52.

77. H: subiudicans F.

65. sum concionatus] Cf. I, p. 37. 15, 16 and Ep. 43 introd.

70. scripsissem] Ep. 1153. 196.

76. diplomate] Ep. 864.

84. pluma leuior] Cf. Plaut. Men. 488, Poen. 812.

88. obtrectationibus] This passage, combined with Ep. 1196. 115 seq., shows that Egmondanus was the Carmelite of Epp. 483. 26, 7, 948. 136-43.

95. actus] Cf. Epp. 695. 18-19, 719. 3; but see the *Acta Acad. Louan.*, f<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>3</sup>.

ego: tantum abest vt existimem me hoc nomine multum debere vobis. Vos me vltro inuitastis ad amicitiam, ego vt nunquam ambii, ita nunquam dedi ansam dirimendae.

- 100 Ex hoc sermone venit homini in mentem de sarta inter nos amicitia, vno ipso nondum satis placato; cum nemo stolidius lae-  
sisset quam ille. Putant hoc esse religionis colophonem, vt illis supplices sint, etiam qui non ferendis iniuriis sint affecti: tantum abest vt quenquam ipsi reconcilient, aut iuxta doctrinam Euangeli-  
105 cam benefaciant ei qui laeserit. 'Bene mones' inquit; 'iactas inter nos sartam fuisse concordiam.' 'Quid? an non fuit' inquam. 'Nonne compotauimus splendide in collegio Falconis?' (Constiterat hoc prandium eius domus Moderatori non mediocri pecunia. Et quoniam erat dies Mercurii, tantum piscium erat paratum vni Egmon-  
110 dano quantum satis esset quatuor athletic) 'Nonne proposita pacis conditio, vt vtrunque deleteret offensas omnes amnestia?' Negauit ille fortiter quod tot testibus actum erat. Rector interpellans ita moderatus est litem vt fateretur inter omnes Christianos esse aliquam concordiam; caeterum eam pacem non fuisse numeris omnibus  
115 absolutam.

- Ego arridens rogabam quota compotatione pax theologica absolueretur: me simplicem arbitrari vel sine compotatione confici pacem inter bonos. Hinc rursus aliud illi venit in mentem. 'Recte admones' inquit; 'tu nos habes ludibrio et traducis tanquam  
120 ebrios.' Expostulante me vbi vocassem eum ebrium, 'Scribis' inquit, 'me fuisse vuidum a prandio largiore; quid hoc aliud est quam esse ebriosum?' 'Hoc' inquam, 'neque te nominato scripsi, et narro ab aliis dictum: nam tui Carmelitae hoc lemmate te excusabant, ne quis grauius ferret quod dixisses vuidus a prandio largiore.'

102. H: Putat F.

124. dixisses F: dixeras H.

101. amicitia] Cf. Ep. 1016. 15n.

108. Moderatori] Nic. Coppin or Meurans († 16 June 1535) of Mons, was M.A. in 1497 from the Collège du Faucon, and became its Principal c. 1505, teaching philosophy there. He was Rector of the University 1512, 1520, 1528: D.D. 26 Jan. 1513; Professor of Philosophy and therewith canon of St. Peter's 2 Nov. 1514. About 1520 he succeeded Adrian of Utrecht in another canonry at St. Peter's; and in 1525 was Dean of the Chapter and Vice-Chancellor of the University (Ep. 1608).

For his attitude towards Erasmus at that time see Ep. 1549. In his later years he was appointed Inquisitor (cf. Ep. 1209. 4n); and in that capacity examined and approved Faber Stapulensis' French translation of the Bible, printed by M. Keyser at Antwerp, 1529-32. By his will he founded scholarships in his own college and in that of the Saint Esprit.

See de Jongh, pp. 160-1; and Val. Andreas, pp. 100-1, 265.

109. dies Mercurii] If this day is correctly named, de Jongh's suggestion (cf. Ep. 1016. 15n) that Friday 7 Oct. 1519 was the date of the formal reconciliation, is impaired. But Erasmus may quite likely have confused one fish-day with another, especially in view of Egmondanus' practice of abstaining from meat on Wednesdays—perhaps something out of the common—to which both the *Epistola de magistris nostris Louaniensibus* and the *Vita S. Nicolai* testify (cf. Zw. E<sup>2</sup>. pp. 385. 8-10, 396. 18-20). The *Apol. de loco 'Omnes quidem resurgemus'* shows that in general Wednesday was not so strictly observed as Friday (LB. ix. 440 E); cf. the *De esu carniū* (ibid. 1212 AB): An English poem recommending the practice was printed by Wynkyn de Worde c. 1500: see E. G. Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books*, 1917, no. 413.

120. Scribis] In Erasmus' first reply to Lee (see p. 109), the *Apologia qua respondet*, f. f<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup>, Jortin ii. 521. For a similar indiscretion cf. Ep. 1170.

'Ia, tui' inquit; indignans, opinor, quod *tui* dixissem, non *vestri*.<sup>125</sup>  
 'Quod si maxime' inquam, 'aedissem nomen, quid erat flagitii si  
 quod tu publice ausus es dicere, ego simili libertate retulissem?  
 Nunc honoris tui gratia supprimo nomen tuum, et rem atrocem  
 ciuilitate narro. Dixeras Fabrum ac me, qui nunc pugnaremus inter  
 nos, olim pugnatos in profundo Tartaro.' 'Ia', inquit, 'hoc ab<sup>130</sup>  
 aliis audisti.' 'Verum,' inquam, 'at non ab vno. Sed audes tu  
 negare dictum?' Obtulit; qua quidem in re primum sum admira-  
 tus nouum hominis pudorem.

Mox in alium campum expatiatus negauit se vnquam facturum  
 finem vociferandi in Lutherum donec illum confecisset. Respondi<sup>135</sup>  
 per me licere illi vociferari vsque ad ilium diruptionem, modo ne  
 in me blateraret; neque me queri quod in Lutherum clamasset, sed  
 quod in me: quod ipsum, si illi vsque adeo cordi esset, pergeret,  
 nihil tamen lucri facturum nisi vt esset bonis omnibus ludibrio,  
 quandoquidem in ea concione vidissem passim omnes ridentes. Hic<sup>140</sup>  
 ille 'Ia', inquit, 'illi tui erant'. 'Quam mei sint' inquam, 'nescio;  
 plerosque ne de facie quidem noueram.' Inter caetera crimina  
 obiecit et hoc, quod allegarem Epistolas illustrium virorum, qui mihi  
 nonnihil tribuerent; significans eas a me confingi, nec vllos esse  
 qui mea probarent, cum ego ferme totum hoc epistolarum genus<sup>145</sup>  
 premam: simulque indicans nihil oportere probatum haberi quod  
 ipsius calculo non esset commendatum. Hinc conicere licet simul  
 et modestiam hominis, qui sibi tam parum tribuat, et simplicem  
 pureque Christianum animum, qui nihil mali non suspicetur de  
 proximo.<sup>150</sup>

Cum inter caetera dixissem non debere videri mirum sicubi querar  
 nonnihil de theologis in libris meis, cum Ioannes Standitius Minorita,  
 theologus, Episcopus a sancto Asino, apud Regem ac Reginam Angliae  
 multis proceribus et eruditis adstantibus impudentissime me detu-  
 lerit tribus nominibus; primum quod tollerem resurrectionem, deinde<sup>155</sup>  
 quod nihili facerem sacramentum matrimonii, praeterea quod male  
 sentirem de Eucharistia: cum in omnibus libris meis nihil magis  
 asseram quam resurrectionem, ac matrimonium aedita Declamatione  
 sic praedicarim, vt theologi putarint errorem esse haeticum quod  
 matrimonio plus satis tribuerim; postremo cum de Eucharistia nus-<sup>160</sup>  
 quam neque scripserim neque loquutus sim, nisi sicut decet, id est  
 summa cum reuerentia: 'Ia', inquit, 'haec omnia fortasse sunt  
 vera'. O vocem impotentis animi sibi que nihil non indulgentis!  
 Cur haec potius in me vera essent quam si quis dicat Egmondanum

154. adstantibus H: adsimilibus F.

129. Dixeras] Cf. Ep. 1144. 32n.

143. Epistolas] Ep. 1196. 603-5 shows that Erasmus was not referring to the volume with the title given here (see Ep. 300 introd.); but to Evv (see p. 210).

146. premam] Cf. Epp. 993. 52n, 1157. 1-4.

152. Standitius] See Epp. 608. 14n, 1126. 43-253. As so often (cf. Ep. 1054

introd.), Erasmus has the Christian name wrong.

153. a sancto Asino] That this is not merely a scurrilous jest is shown by a register of shipping payments for 1524, in which Standish appears as the bishop 'of St. Asse' (Brewer iv, App. 87); cf. Brewer ii. 4074.

158. Declamatione] See Epp. 604. 10n, 670 introd.

- 165 compilasse sacrarum aedium gazophylacium? quam incantasse morituros vti sibi traderent haereditatem, frustratis haeredibus? quam ad quaestum prodidisse quae audiuit in arcanis confessionibus? Haec fortasse probabilius in illum competerent quam quae volebat ille videri non abhorrentia a veris in me. Huic diuo committant
- 17c parentes liberos suos vt imbibant verae religionis semina.
- Quid tibi nunc referam singula? Quicquid quocunque casu dicebatur, rapiebatur in occasionem conuicii, non aliter quam solent pueri rixantes ac mulierculae procaces; quicquid dixeram regerebat in diuersum. Obiiciebat epistolam ad Lutherum scriptam. 'Illic'
- 175 inquam, 'moneo quid debuerit vitare.' 'Imo', inquit, 'doces eum scribere.' Etiam hoc videbatur male habiturum hominem, si Lutherus aliquanto melius scripsisset: adeo illum perire cupiebat, non corrigi. Sed illud nullo modo concoquebat quod adiecissem, 'non admoneo quid facias, sed vt quod facis perpetuo facias'. Hic cum
- 180 excusarem ciuilitatem rhetoricam, qua negamus nos admonere cum maxime admonemus, rursus incanduit. 'Pulchre' inquit, 'dixti; hoc vere rhetorum est, omnia fucare, fingere, mentiri.' Arridens fassus sum aliquando mentiri rhetores, sed interim mentiri nonnunquam et magistros nostros. Rursum cum dicerem me consuluisse
- 185 dignitati theologorum, respondit, 'Nobis hanc curam relinque; nos prospiciemus'. Cum adderem, exurendis Lutheri libris eum e bibliothecis eximi posse, ex animis non item: 'Ia', inquit, 'ex animis; ibi eum tu posuisti'.
- Cum nihil inter nos conueniret—adeo vt si dicerem literas bonas,
- 190 ille continuo vocaret malas; si librum castigatum, ille falsatum; si me dixissem alienum a factione, ille protinus caput factionis appelleret; negaturus et intra oleam esse duri quicquam aut extra iuglandem esse duri quicquam, si quid tale affirmassem—, Rector intersecans rixam iam nimis longam negauit haec esse digna theologis: se l-
- 195 bentius auditurum si quid faceret ad concordiam sarciendam. 'Age', inquam, 'quando negas eam concordiam vnica computatione potuisse coire, quid superest ad consummandam?' Hortante Rectore dixit, 'Vt sarcias famam nostram abs te laesam.' 'Vbi?' inquam: 'in Epistolis?' Annuit. 'Illis' inquam, 'iam euulgatis mihi non est in manu
- 200 quod petis, quanquam illic nullius famam laesi.' 'Ergo palinodiam' inquit, 'cane.' 'Quam?' 'Scribe Louanii synceres et probos esse theologos.' 'Id' inquam, 'haud vnquam negaui; sed quos ego taxaui, si mihi praebebunt probam materiam, magnifice de illis scribam.' Hic irritatus, 'Et tu', inquit, 'si nobis praeberis bene
- 205 loquendi materiam, bene de te loquemur. Tu stilum habes, nos

170. liberos *H*: libros *F*.  
 Corrig.: synceros *F* *Lond*.

200. quod petis *add. H*.

201. synceres *F*

165. morituros] A common charge: cf. *Epp.* 230. 34, 1196 introd. It is brought against Egmondanus in *Epist. de magistris nostris*: *Zw. E.*<sup>2</sup> p. 383. 19.

174. epistolam] *Ep.* 980.

178. adiecissem] *Ep.* 980. 52: again, as in *Ep.* 1143. 32-3, not quoted literally.

186. exurendis] Cf. *Epp.* 1153. 157-8,

1157. 6n.

192. intra oleam] Cf. *Hor. Ep.* 2. 1. 31.

198. Epistolis] e. g. in *Epp.* 539, 908, 936, 946, 948, 950-1, 967, 980, 991: cf. *Ep.* 1164. 6, 23.

201. Louanii] Cf. *Ep.* 1173. 35-6. synceres] *Ep.* 1196. 618-19 shows that Erasmus believed Egmondanus to have used this form.

linguam habemus.' 'Taxas' inquit, 'nos quod tibi oblatremus a tergo; audeo tibi in os dicere.' 'Nec mirum', inquam; 'tu quibus es moribus, auderes etiam conspuere os boni viri.' Negavit se adhuc esse tam contumacem.

Hoc sermone interrupto Rector admonuit ut de Luthero, quod 210 erat caput, ageretur. 'Age' inquit, 'scripsisti pro Luthero; nunc scribe aduersus illum.' Hic inficiatus me scripsisse pro illo, sed pro theologis potius aduersus illum, cum excusassem multa, ocium, imperitiam, metum, inter alia praetexui suspicionem crudelitatis, si saeuirem stilo meo in hominem prostratum ac victum. 'Imo, hoc ipsum' inquit, 'scribe, Lutherum a nobis victum esse.' Respondi 215 non deesse qui hoc vociferarentur, vel me tacente: praeterea magis fore decorum si ipsi suam celebrarent victoriam qui peperissent: postremo mihi non constare quod eum vicissent, cum libri illorum nondum prodissent in lucem. Sub haec desperans, versus ad Rectorem ait, 'Nonne praedixi nos nihil acturos? Quam diu' inquit, 220 'detrectat scribere aduersus Lutherum, tam diu habebimus eum pro Lutherano.' 'At isthoc' inquam, 'nomine tu mihi Lutheranus eris, qui nihil scribas aduersus illum; neque tu solus tantum, sed innumeri tecum.' Atque ita non dicto sed significato vale Rectori, 225 non mihi, discessit: quemadmodum qui in gladiatoria schola vulnus praeter certaminis leges acceperunt, caeteris quidem dant dextram, ei a quo laesi sunt non dant.

Habes fere summam illius praeclari colloquii, quod illi tamen visum est admodum blandum, cum hoc ageretur ut me pelliceret 230 eloquentia sua ad insectandum stilo meo Lutherum. Neque passus est ille sibi perire huius conflictationis gloriam. Iactitauit apud compotiores suos quam fortiter obstitisset in os Erasmo. Rector eadem suis denarrans, non sine risu, negavit se vnquam crediturum fuisse mihi tantum esse temperantiae: quanquam non hinc mihi 235 laudem hanc arrogo, qui prorsus insanus fuisset, si cum illo contendissem. Et tamen est vnus aut alter hoc sceleratior. Nam hic ut molestus est et pertinax, ita minus habet fuci, semper sui similis. Talem aiunt fuisse puerum, talem magistellum, talem baccalaureum, talem theologiae professorem, qualis nunc est Carmelita. Ne Vulcanus quidem hunc recudat, neque refingat Mercurius. Sibi tamen 240 videtur praecipua basis Christianae religionis et ordinis Carmelitici decus. Tam iucundus est huic Academiae quam sunt fici in oculis. Sed vomica hanc potest excutere.

Bene vale, mi More.

Louanii. Anno millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo.

245

246. Anno . . . vigesimo add. H.

212. aduersus illum] Cf. p. 344.

213. multa] These points are related far more fully in Ep. 1173. 38 seq.

216. victum] Cf. Ep. 1173. 93-7.

222. pro Lutherano] Cf. Epp. 1164.

70, 1166. 90n.

241. recudat] The classical authority for this word seems to be very slight.

See Forcellini.

243. fici] Cf. Ar. Ran. 1247; quoted in *Adag.* 1765, with the explanation, 'De iis dicebatur qui pertinaciter vrgerent premerentque negotium ali-quod: sumpta similitudine a ficis, hoc est vitio quod oculis adnascitur, nec facile potest auelli oculo incolumi'.

## 1163. TO ADRIAN BARLAND.

Epistolae selectae, 1520, f<sup>o</sup>. M.

Louvain.

30 November 1520.

[This and Ep. 646 are the two letters in Barland's *Epistolae aliquot selectae ex Erasmicis*, Dec. 1520 (see App. 12 in vol. iii) which are not known from any other source. The volume was being prepared for use in schools, and was to consist mainly of a selection from the *Farrago* (E). In view of the date of the book, the year-date of this letter needs no confirmation.]

ERASMVS BARLANDO SVO S. P.

Non dubito quin tua prudentia selegerit eas epistolas quae nihil habeant aculeorum: nam vides vt hodie quidam ad quamlibet occasionem irritentur. Quanquam optassem tibi aliud consilium venisse in mentem: nam vereor ne hoc ipsum male habeat eos, quod videant  
5 aliquid meum in hoc parari, vt praelegatur in scholis.

Ego aegre impetraui a typographis ne rursus aederent Farraginem. Eam recognoui sublati nonnullis, quibusdam etiam mitigatis; vt sic potius exeat quam vt ante fuit excusa, non autore me, sed tamen in hoc amicorum affectibus indulgente.

- 10 Dispicet quod Theodoricus recusarit excudere librum M. N. Turenhout. Primum praestabat non indicare suum animum. Deinde multis nominibus vellem hoc opus exire. Vir est rei theologiae cum primis peritus, nec dubito quin vt disputauit, ita et scripserit, solidis argumentis rem gerens, non conuiciis. Et vt non probabam  
15 Lutherum vociferationibus et conspiracyonibus opprimi, ita maxime vellem illum sacrae Scripturae testimoniis verisque rationibus reuinci. Vt plurimum tribuatur Bullae pontificiae, tamen haec res magis moueret eruditos aut etiam ingeniosos. Suadebis igitur homini ne recuset posthac: ego pro mea quoque virili idem conabor.  
20 Bene vale.

Louanii. Natali diui Andreae. An. M.D.XX.

3. irritentur] Cf. Ep. 1159. 22-3.

6. ne rursus aederent] i. e. without revision by the author: see Epp. 1040, 1206 introdd.

10. Theodoricus] Martens. For another refusal by him see Ep. 1030. 10-11.

Turenhout] John Driedo (†4 Aug. 1535) of Turnhout, 20 ms. E. of Antwerp, was now one of the rising theologians of Louvain. He had been educated at the Collège du Faucon, and was first in the promotion of 1499. On 17 Aug. 1512 he proceeded D.D., and soon became professor of theology. Between 1515 and 1531 he was six times dean of the Faculty of Theology; in 1518 and 1533 rector of the University; and from 1519 to 1529 President of the Collège d'Houterlé. At some period he was resident tutor to the youthful Charles Croy (c. 1508-1564), brother of

the Cardinal Abp. of Toledo (see Epp. 492, 647 introdd.). He wrote some considerable works of dogmatic theology; two of which were published in 1533-4, and the rest by his friends after his death. There is also a collected edition by Ruard Tapper (Ep. 946. 3n), printed by Barth. Gravius, Louvain, 1552-6. See Val. Andreas, pp. 100, 302; and de Jongh, pp. 156-9.

The estimate of him here as a fair and moderate controversialist is repeated in Epp. 1164, 1167, 1173; but Ep. 1165. 28-9 gives a different view. The book which Martens refused to undertake, was never printed. It was probably a refutation of Luther's *Conclusiones*, and may have been delivered as an oration at the beginning of the October term 1519: see de Jongh, pp. 158, 159 n. 8.

17. Bullae] See Ep. 1141. 20n.



## 1164. TO GODESCALC ROSEMONDT.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 490.  
HN: Lond. xii. 18: LB. 491.

(Louvain.)  
(December 1520.)

[Subsequent to Erasmus' visit to Cologne (l. 40) and to St. Catherine's day: probably therefore about the same date as Ep. 1165.]

ERASMVS EXIMIO THEOLOGO D. GODSCHALCO ROSEMONDIO,  
INCLYTAE LOVANIENSIVM ACADEMIAE MODERATORI, S. D.

INVITVS te toties interpello meis literis: sed hoc tamen vtrique nostrum est commodius. Conticuerat ad tempus Phrysius ille Praedicator, pridem Moriae nostrae interpret, nunc Antibarbarorum, nullis conuiciis non debacchans in nomen ac famam meam. Et putat se recte facere, vel hoc argumento, quod in scriptis meis monachos attigerim, quanquam vbique abstinens ab atrocibus illis, — quae tamen heu nimium frequenter, atque vtinam falso, de illis narrat vulgus, nuper etiam in frequenti conuiuio Card. Sedunensis — semperque nominibus parcens atque etiam ordinibus. Nisi forte totum ordinem Praedicatorum ledi putant, si quis queratur sibi a Praedicatore quopiam factam iniuriam. Hieronymus nonne monachorum et monacharum vicia depingit ipse monachus? Si non est fas vlllo pacto attingere monachorum vicia, ne sacerdotum quidem aut aulicorum licebit. Sed in hos isti velut e plaustris magna licentia vociferari solent. In Antibarbaris quid aliud illis impingit Battus, quem facio loquentem, nisi odium politioris literaturae? An non hoc ipsi vel me tacente declarant, vbique tam odiose concionantes in linguas ac bonas literas? multum hic certe dissidentes a summo Pontifice, qui in suis ad me Breuibz ait eas et dici et esse bonas, multum a Synodo proxima Lateranensi, quae totos quinque annos tribuit his studiis; nec post interdicit, si modo nonnihl studii grauioris admisceatur.

Iam cum fateatur se ideo lacerare me quod attigerim monachos, nonne palam declarat animo vindicandi sese hoc facere? Quid autem turpius quam ad vltionem abuti templo, abuti suggestu prae-

III. ERASMVS *add. N.* EXIMIO THEOLOGO D. *om. H.* ROSEMONDO N. INCLYTAE *om. N.* 10. praedicatorum F: dominicanorum H. queratur H: quae-  
ratur F. 11. praedicatore F: dominicano H. 25. suggesto H: cf. Ep.  
1062. 8on.

2. Phrysius] See Ep. 1166. 26n.

3. Antibarbarorum] See Ep. 1110.

6. monachos attigerim] Cf. Ep. 1162. 198n.

atrocibus illis] Cf. Ep. 1141. 10n.

8. Sedunensis] Cf. Ep. 1155. 1n. The subject of his communication about the Dominicans is evidently that mentioned in Ep. 447. 596-600: a passage which must therefore be taken as a later insertion, made at the time of printing.

16. Battus] Cf. Epp. 35 introd., 706. 37 seq.

20. bonas] Cf. Epp. 338. 36, 339. 3.

Lateranensi] At its eighth session, 19 Dec. 1513, it ordained 'ne quisquam de cetero in sacris ordinibus constitutus . . . in studiis generalibus vel alibi publice audiendo philosophiae aut poesis studiis vltra quinquennium post grammaticam ac dialecticam sine aliquo studio theologiae aut iuris pontificii incumbat. Verum dicto exacto quinquennio, si illis studiis insudare voluerit, liberum sit ei, dum tamen simul aut seorsum aut theologiae aut sacris canonibus operam nauauerit': see J. D. Mansi, *Conciliorum noua collectio*, xxxii (1902), 843.

dicandae Christi gloriae destinato, abuti plebis imperitae credulitate? Et haec eo turpius fiunt quod fiant in hac celebri Academia et in oculis vestris; quasi vobis autoribus aut certe approbantibus. Quid iam erit syncerum, si sermo diuinus nobis vertitur in telum quo  
 30 iugulemus proximum? Ingens flagitium est si quis indigne sumat corpus Dominicum. At plus exitii redit ad multos, si quis adulteret sermonem Euangelicum. Si laesi sunt, est alia vliscendi via citra iniuriam sacrae concionis. Iam hoc, opinor, erit quibusdam voluptati, si mihi senserint aliquid aegre esse. Ego quidem et maiora tuli et  
 35 adhuc ferre possum: mentiar tamen si dicam me nihil hisce rebus commoueri. Minus indigne feram si me feriat mulus aut homo furiosus: sed tamen malim non feriri. Vt vitae, ita famae alienae dominus est, qui suae contemptor est. Cuius in procliui est laedere. Et absit vt ego vicissim, quid hac in parte possim, velim experiri.  
 40 Cum tot dies agerem Coloniae, nulli verbo questus sum, fretus tua oratione, quod diceres te sperare futurum vt in posterum consileret Egmondanus. Nam ab hoc Phrysio nihil expectabam nouae tempestatis. His malis autoritas tua vel verbo potest finem imponere. An debeat, ipsa viderit: ego debere arbitror, si non mea  
 45 causa, certe publicae tranquillitatis gratia.

Antequam perficerem hanc epistolam pransus cum R. D. Maximiliano, abbate Midelburgensi, quoniam erat in proximo, adii per occasionem Priorem Praedicatorium. Is negauit se scire quid ille dixis-

46. R. D. om. H.  
 calium H.

Maximiliano add. H.

48. praedicatorium F: domini-

40. Coloniae] Cf. Ep. 1155 introd.  
 46. Maximiliano] of Burgundy (+1534), son of Baldwin (+1508), natural son of Philip the Good; and thus nephew to Charles the Bold, to the Bps. of Utrecht, David (Ep. 603. 111) and Philip (Ep. 603), and to Antony of Burgundy (Ep. 80 introd.), and first cousin to Philip, the father of Adolphus of Veere (Ep. 93). See Stokvis iii, ch. 10. 1. His mother was of the blood royal of Portugal. Through Leo x he was appointed to the Abbey of the Premonstratensians at Middelburg, 12 Nov. 1518; see G. Brom, *Archivalia in Italië*, i, 1909, nos. 1927-8, 2022. He was Abbot on 18 June 1524, when Adr. Barland dedicated to him a volume of *Ioci veteres*, Louvain, P. Martens, June 1524; with a preface which says that Erasmus had recently extolled him to Barland. Erasmus dedicated to him (Ep. 1563) a translation of Chrysostom *De orando Deum*, Basle, Froben, April 1525; and speaks of him as 'iuuenis ex aula subito translatus ad monasterium'. Barland in *Brabant. Duc. Hist.*, Antwerp, H. Tilianus and J. Hoochstratanus, 1526, in mentioning his Abbey (f. 1<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup>) writes of him with eulogy, and also describes him as

'iuuenis'. An epitaph on him by his brother, Francis of Burgundy (see BN.), is printed by F. L. Hoffmann from a ms. in the Town Library at Hamburg; see *Bibliophile belge* xvii (1862), pp. 153-225. On 13 Aug. 1525 Charles v wrote, perhaps not without prompting (Brewer iv. 1213), to Clement vii, asking that Maximilian, 'consanguineus noster', should be made coadjutor to Quintin Benoist, the aged Abbot of St. Ghislain's, a Benedictine house in Hainault (Simancas MS., Est. 1554, f. 471); but, as there is no mention of Maximilian in GC. iii. 98, nor in P. Baudry's *Annales* of St. Ghislain's, ed. de Reiffenberg, 1848, both of which name another coadjutor, it seems that the application was not successful. In Oct. 1524 he took Geldenhauer into his service: see Ep. 487 introd., and cf. the late Prof. de Jongh's *Renseignements*, p. 13, in the *Mélanges Charles Moeller*, Louvain, 1914.

A volume of Erasmus' *Adagia*, Basle, Froben, (1515), which belonged to Maximilian, and which he gave in June 1521 to Jo. Largus, 'decretorum scriba', is among the books of Jo. de Hondt in St. Martin's church at Courtray.

48. Priorem] As Dominican Priors

set, sed tamen vultu, gestu totoque sermone declarauit se conscio ac volente haec fieri. Postridie eius diei venit ad me Phrysius ille 50 veluti purgaturus sese, iuuenis mire confidens, et qui sibi videatur nihil loqui nisi gemmas meras, meros flosculos et oracula mera. Is fassus est se in die diuae Catherinae plura dixisse quam mihi fuerat delatum. Et in purgationem sui mira confidentia proposuit quaedam tam stulta vt stultissimum fuerit respondere: tametsi respondi tribus 55 verbis. Edmondanus in auspicando Paulo precatus est vt, quemadmodum Paulus ex Ecclesiae persecutore factus est Ecclesiae doctor, ita conuertantur aliquando Lutherus et Erasmus. Quid fiet istis? Nihil magis optent quam vt aliqua ratione molesti sint. Et male habet illos quod Lutheranus non sim: vt re vera non sum, nisi 60 seruiat gloriae Christi.

Scio me esse linguae licentioris: nullus tamen audiuit me probantem Lutheri doctrinam. Libros illius nunquam studui legere, praeter paucas pagellas, easque degustatas verius quam lectas. Disputationibus vestris aduersus Lutherum semper constantissime faui: 65 sed multo magis scriptis, maxime M. N. Ioannis Turenhouti, qui docte et sine affectibus disputauit, vt audio. Cum exurerentur libri, nemo me tristiorem vidit. Constanter fassus sum mihi displicere in eo permulta. Scripsi priuatim multa et dixi multa quae illum ab hoc seditioso scribendi genere compescerent: et Lutheranus vocor. 70 Hi ioci si vestrae placent Academiae, sum is qui possim ferre. Nam id malo quam vlscisci. Sed mea sententia praestiterit rem aliis rationibus agi. Imputat mihi Vincentius tumultum Hollandicum, quod illic post stultissimam concionem propemodum fuerit lapidatus a plebe; cum ego nulli Hollando neque bene scripserim de Luthero 75 neque male.

Bene vale in Christo, magnifice D. Rector. [M. D. XIX.]

Erasmus tuus ex animo.

53. Catharinae H. 56. Edmondanus N. 66. M. N. om. H. Ioannis  
add. H. Turenhouti scripsi: Turenhonti F: Turenholtii H. 74. quod  
illic . . . 75. plebe add. H. 77. M. D. XIX add. H. 78. Erasmus tuus ex animo  
om. H.

did not hold office for life, it is not easy to determine who is meant here: perhaps Eustace of Sichem (de Jongh, pp. 167-70), who was at some time Prior at Louvain (B. de Jonghe, *Belgium Dominicum*, 1719, p. 151), and became a bitter opponent of Erasmus. See also Epp. 1144. 34n, 1147. 91, 1166. 47-9. Or Aegidius Poorter, S.T.B., who died as Prior, 19 Feb. 1523: see Molanus, p. 242.

53. Catherinae] 25 Nov., Sunday.

56. auspicando] sc. in ordinaria lectione theologica: cf. Epp. 1173. 25, 1192. 48-9.

57. Paulus] Cf. Epp. 1173. 119-20, 1192. 49, 1196. 584-6.

62. licentioris] Cf. Ep. 967. 182.

66. Turenhouti] See Ep. 1163. 10n.

67. exurerentur] Cf. Ep. 1157. 6n.

70. Lutheranus] Cf. Ep. 1166. 90n.

73. Hollandicum] For this incident at Dordrecht see also Epp. 1165. 6-10, 1186. 17, 1196. 145.

## 1165. TO WOLFGANG FABRICIUS CAPITO.

Basle MS. Ki. Ar. 25. a. 98.

Louvain.

Hess ii. 551

6 December 1520.

[An original letter actually sent: autograph throughout, with the address on the lower half of the verso. Many of the lines are worn away at the ends: the letters missing are shown here in angular brackets.]

The manuscript year-date is fully confirmed by the contents.]

S. P. Hollandi nostri fortiter reiecerunt Bullam Pontificiam, vel Louaniensem potius. Praesidens respondit se expectare scriptu(m) a Pontifice melius informato: Principis mandatum nondum accepisse, sed, si veniat, se scire quibus modis possit placari Prince(ps). Nec  
5 Episcopus Traiectensis dicitur admisisse.

Vincentius quidam M. N., sceleratus et stolidus oblatrator Erasmi, cum Dordr(a)ci concionaretur aduersus Lutherum, vix descenderat e sugges(tu), cum pastor ascendens hortatus est populum vt ne ferrent Euangelice doctrine subuersores. Mulieres lacerarunt pallium illius  
10 volentis obsistere. Vincentius vix effugit. Louanium reuersus iactat stolidus id meis litteris procuratum. Theologi volebant eo extrudere Egmondanum Camelitam; sed is diffidens recusat fieri martyr. Louanienses propemodum poenitet omnium. Latomus et Turnhout non auden(t) suos libellos edere: me tamen hortante, quo magis  
15 Lutherus eximatur ex animis.

Exortus est hic quidam alter Predicator, baccalaureus currens, iuuenis stolide confidentie. Is palam deblaterat in Erasmm, sed ita stolide vt rideatur a pueris. Lector quidam Predicatorius et Lector Carmelita miserunt libellum de In principio erat ser(mo) in me  
20 scriptum, quem curauit edendum in ipsorum gloria(m). Nihil insanius.

2. Praesidens] Nic. Everard; see p. 237.

3. Principis] Charles v.

5. Episcopus] Philip of Burgundy; see Ep. 603 introd.

6. Vincentius] See p. 463.

7. Dordraci] See Ep. 1164. 73n.

12. Camelitam] A common nickname for Egmondanus. In Ep. 483. 26 it is substituted in F for *Carmelita*: see also Ep. 1173. 113.

13. Latomus] His book was a defence of the Louvain condemnation of Luther (Ep. 1030. 16n), and was entitled *Articulorum doctrinae Fratris Martini Lutheri per theologos Louanienses damnatorum Ratio*, Antwerp, M. Hillen, 8 May 1521 (cf. p. 112). The preface, 31 Dec. (1520), is printed by de Jongh, pp. 69\*-80\*.

14. edere] Cf. Ep. 1153. 148-9.

16. alter] Laurentius: see Ep. 1166. 26n.

baccalaureus currens] 'qui in cursu est ad licentiam' (Bulaeus, *Hist. Vniu. Paris*, 1670, v. 377, cited by Böck-

ing): a stage earlier than the 'bacc. formatus', who had completed his courses (Ep. 143. 113n) and only needed to take his degree. In Ep. 1147. 92 Laurentius is described as 'theologiae candidatus'.

19. libellum] Evidently *Apologia F. Iacobi Hasardi Angiani, Praedicatorii lectoris theologi*, Louvain, Th. Martens, 1520: described in its colophon as 'theologica' and 'scripta per manus sui germani Iuliani Hasardi, Carmelitani lectoris theologiae'. Of this volume, which is not in van Iseghem, only one copy is known to me—at Schlettstadt (Cat. Rhen. 197). It is very brief, having only two signatures, a and b, each of four leaves. Though it criticizes Erasmus' principle of close verbal translation, the *Apologia* is on the whole a defence of him: maintaining his rendering of *sermo* for *verbum* (cf. Ep. 1072), and supporting his contention that a new version need not displace the old.

Vidi finem dialogi in quo fit mentio Card. Angliae. Si potes subodorari quis sit autor, mone vt libellum premat, nec sinat rursus excudi; neque posthac in eo genere sese exerceat, in quo non admodum valet. Leus in Anglia conspirat cum Polydoro et molitur n(escio) quid. Sed habet a quibus exerceatur. Theologi nunc Dorpio blandiuntur, et precipue Camelita: signum mal(e) conscientie. Turnhout nuper velut afflatus furore derepente in conuiuio coepit odiosissime in absentem me deb(ac)chari, admirantibus omnibus. Paucis post diebus venim(us) in colloquium, et blandissime mecum egit. Ego vicissim dissimulaui me scire quid ille blatterasset: o sanctum genus! Antwerpiae fuerat tranquillitas, donec pastor ecclesiae summe, licentiat, Louanium accitus et instructus coepit tumultuari apud populum: nec aliud quicquam quam odi(um) sibi conciliat. Mechlini fuit tumultus foeminarum ob charitatem frumentariam; ac paulo post Louanii. Hac gratia adsunt hic satellites regii.

Neseno scribe vt, si edat Vitam S. Nicolai, quod prorsus ille meretur, addat suum nomen, ne quem alium grauet suspitione. Theologi putant Lutherum non posse confici nisi meo stilo, et id tacite flagitant, vt scribam in illum. At ego absit vt sic insaniam. Dorpius nullo pacto miscendus est huic inuidie; sed tamen non potest amantiorem prebere se quam prebet.

Bene vale Louanii. Natali. S. Nicolai 1520.

Videntur Itali conspirasse in hoc, vt totam eruditionis gloriam

22. dialogi] Probably the *Hochstratus ouans* (Böcking, Eov. 463-88); an anonymous dialogue, sometimes attributed to Hutten (cf. Ep. 1083. 23n), which began to be circulated just about this time: cf. a letter from Capito to Luther, dated 4 Dec. 1520 from Mainz, and announcing its appearance at Cologne (LE<sup>2</sup>. 370. 26, 7), and see also BRE. 194 and Böcking, p. 49. Lee is attacked in it; and in § 6 an English bishop is mentioned, who seems intended for Wolsey. Erasmus says of it in the *Spongia* (LB. x. 1641 BC = HE. 333, § 96): 'Videri poterat in gratiam meam scriptus. Nonne constanter et palam illum damnaui ac modis omnibus egi vt premeretur?' For earlier endeavours by Erasmus to restrain Hutten and the young German party see Ep. 967. 105-52.

25. Leus] For his return to England see Ep. 1140. 17. conspirat] For this suspicion cf. Ep. 1175. 117-18.

Polydoro] Vergil; see pp. 426-7.

27. Dorpio] Cf. Ep. 1044. 16n.

28. Turnhout] See Ep. 1163. 10n.

32. pastor] Henry Hoevelmans of Westerhoeven in N. Brabant, Lic. Theol. at Louvain, 26 Jan. 1518 (de Jongh, p. 43\*). See Al. E. i. 45; Molanus, p. 648; and P. Kalkoff, *Alean-*

*der gegen Luther*, 1908, pp. 93, 4.

35. tumultus] These riots, and at Vilvorde also, are mentioned by Geldenhauer, *Collectanea*, ed. Prinsen, 1901, p. 2.

38. Vitam S. Nicolai] A particularly scurrilous lampoon on Egmondanus; printed, s. l. et a., at the end of G(u-lielmi) N(eseni) N(astadiensis) *Epistola de magistris nostris Louaniensibus* (Zw. E<sup>2</sup>. 378-420). Kalkoff ascribes it there to Nic. of Hertogenbosch, to whom he wrongly applies Ep. 1302. 83-4. In Ep. 616. 14n I accepted his explanation of those lines, and therefore ascribed the *Vita* to C. Grapheus, to whom they in fact refer. But the present passage points conclusively to Nesen; especially if the expansion of the initials above, which is commonly accepted, is correct. Of Erasmus' authorship there appears to be now no question: though in 1532 he thought well to deny it, in the letter to Bucer quoted in Ep. 495 introd., 'De trucibus apostolis prorsus non memini, nisi forte sentis de Vita Stulti Nicolai. Nam quidam hoc libelli a me profectum suspicabantur'. In 1524 he was concerned that it should not be printed again by Botzheim (Ep. 1519).

ille] Egmondanus.

41. Dorpius] Cf. Ep. 1024. 5n.

Germanis adimant. Id Aleandro magis est cordi quam Lutheri negocium. Quod si illi per Germanos sit impune, ego fio Gallus. Rursum vale.

Saluta Carinum meum et Hertmanum. Cum dabitur certus nuncius, fac me certiores quo in me sit animo Card. Mogontinus. Adero rursus, vt spero, in Martio. Permissi Comiti Nouae Aquilae vt tuas litteras resignaret, et eas rursus obsignaret suo signo.

Insigni theologo Wolphango Capitoni, reuerendissimi Card. Mogontini a consiliis. Mogontie.

1166. To —

<Louvain.>

LB. App. 511.

<December 1520.>

[This letter, like Epp. 681, 1208, is one of the few for which I have no earlier source than LB., but which probably came from the Deventer Letter-book (see vol. i, p. 609). The contents show that it is contemporary with Epp. 1164, 1165, 1174. The person addressed was evidently a man of position, with whom Erasmus had not yet corresponded, and was familiar with Dorp. Erasmus may also have had reason to know that he was interested in affairs in Holland; but beyond this the letter, which is incomplete, gives no clue. Either Meynard Mann (Ep. 304. 161n) or Hugo of Assendelft (Ep. 1044. 26n) or Cornelius Hoen (cf. Ep. 1358. 26n) or Bernard Bucho (Ep. 1237) satisfies these conditions; but the evidence is not sufficient to confirm such conjecture.]

ERASMVS ROT. . . .

Qvo magis mecum reputo quam nihil est in fortunis meis quod tuum fauorem aut emeruerit vnquam aut emerere possit in posterum, hoc magis admiror genuinum animi tui candorem, qui cum crebro in tuis ad Dorpium litteris nostri facias mentionem, nunc etiam  
5 epistola propria dignatus sis, praesertim in tantis negotiorum vndis assidue versans. In ordinem consiliariorum iam ante triennium eram adscitus. Tantum deerat diploma Principis, in cuius vicem Ioannes Syluagius, quondam Cancellarius, suam interposuerat fidem:

1165. 46. Germanis] Cf. Ep. 1110. 67n.

Aleandro] Before long Erasmus seems to have modified this view: for on 29 March 1521 Capito, writing to Aleander of an interview he had had at Frankfort with a supporter of Erasmus and Luther, mentions as one of the arguments with which he had convinced his opponent of Aleander's moderate attitude, 'optime tibi cum Erasmo conuenire. Produxi in hoc literas illius ad me, quibus tui commeminit honorifice'. See P. Kalkoff, *W. Capito*, 1907, p. 135.

47. fio Gallus] Cf. Ep. 1147. 28n.

49. Carinum] See Ep. 920 introd.

Hertmanum] of Halwil; see Ep. 561. 63n.

51. Permissi] Cf. the way in which Ep. 867 was shown to numerous friends along the road before it was delivered to Beatus at Basle: see Epp. 877-83.

Comiti] See Ep. 442 introd.

1166. 6. ante triennium] This statement, which is repeated in Ep. 1174. 9, appears to be another example of Erasmus' habitual inaccuracy in regard to figures (cf. Ep. 1143. 25n); for his appointment as councillor to Charles dated back to 1515-16 (see Ep. 370. 18n). It is possible that he was thinking of the interval between his nomination and the death of Le Sauvage in June 1518 (Ep. 410); but the wording of Ep. 1174 makes such an interpretation difficult.

at illi mors fidem non seruauit. Sed hoc totum tale est vt non videam cur mihi sit magnopere gratulandum: nec mihi cum aula 10 conuenit, nec aulae mecum. Bonis litteris iuuandis videor mihi propemodum pro mea portione satisfecisse; quas tamen non deseram, sed paulatim me subducam ex arena, nisi rerum humanarum status in diuersum mutetur; cuius adhuc non affulget alicunde spes aliqua probabilis, adeo succedit res istis qui sub praetextu religionis pro 15 ventre tyrannideque sua aduersus optima studia doctrinaeque Euan- gelicae sinceritatem digladiantur. Proceres aulici alias res agunt: proceres ecclesiastici venantur mitras et galeros. Theologi veteris farinae adiungunt sese Praedicatoribus et Carmelitis; quos nihil omnino pudet neque dicere neque facere. Est hic Egmondanus 20 Carmelita, qui saepenumero me stultissime taxat in publicis concionibus ac professionibus ordinariis: ridetur ab auditoribus veluti furiosus, et tamen homo senex sibi non potest displicere sic ineptiens.

Venit ante menses aliquot Phrysius quidam Praedicator, nomine 25 Laurentius, iuuenis indoctus, sed ad insaniam vsque sibi placens. Is hebdomades aliquot interpretatus est populo locos aliquot e Moria, magnis conuitiis debacchans in me: tandem me dissimulante indictum est rabulae silentium nomine Academiae. Siluit aliquandiu. Nuper coepit rursus insanire, nescio quo instigante; nec vllius 30 auctoritate potest compesci. Indoctus est, stolidus est, ac depugnare paratus; et habet qui illi sic currenti suffundant frigidam. Si litigem cum illis, cum belluis et cum populis bellum suscepero; si scribam aduersus eos, iampridem perfricauerunt frontem. Sic cogitant secum. 'Scribat ille doctis, qui pauci sunt; nos latrabimus apud 35 populum.' Si vrgeas, extremum est, qui peccauit relegatur in aliud monasterium; vt satius sit in vno clamari loco. Ad hoc conuiuent Magistri nostri; quorum nonnulli mihi iampridem parum aequi sunt, nec video quamobrem. Nec expostulant mecum, nec possunt placari; et subinde nouis suspicionibus exasperantur, quas iam semel 40 compererunt falsissimas.

10. cum aula] Cf. Ep. 1148. 9n.

16. ventre] Cf. Epp. 1171. 92, 1174.

4, 1177. 39, 1191. 26, 1205. 27.

20. Egmondanus] See Ep. 878. 13n; and, for his recent encounters with Erasmus, Epp. 1144, 1147, 1153, 1162.

22. ordinariis] Cf. Ep. 1164. 56n.

23. senex] He was now about 58. For other cases of the application of this term see Ep. 1025. 16n.

26. Laurentius] Laur. Laurentii, a young Frisian Dominican, with the degree of B.D. (Epp. 1147, 1165). His attacks had begun in July, while Erasmus was at Calais (Ep. 1173. 100-4); and were directed against the Moria. For a time Aleander silenced him (Ep. 1172. 32n); but before the end of 1520 (Epp. 1164, 1196. 204) he had renewed his attack, this time upon the *Antibarbari* (Ep. 1110), which had just appeared.

On 28 Oct. 1521, just before finally leaving Louvain, Erasmus heard himself once more the object of hostile criticism from the same quarter (Ep. 1342. 113 seq.). Laurentius afterwards rose to be Prior of the Dominicans at Groningen, 1523, Inquisitor for the dioceses of Utrecht and Münster, 1530, and in 1533 'Diffinitor' of the Provincial Chapter. See B. de Jonghe, *Desolata Batavia Dominicana*, 1717, p. 156; NNBW. ii. 789; and perhaps VE. 246. Erasmus' first mention of him is in Ep. 1144. 34; but his name is given only here and in Ep. 1582.

A volume of Buridanus' *Quaestiones* on Aristotle's Ethics, Paris, P. le Preux, 1513, which belonged to Laurentius, is now in the Groningen University Library: see A. G. Roos' *Catalogus der Incunabelen*, 1912, no. 180.

Est hic Vincentius quidam Dominicalis, Alemariensis, magister noster, homo minime doctus et natura fatuus. Is quum vbique iam diu deblaterasset in me, nec finem faceret semel atque iterum  
 45 monitus, tandem adii hominem, hortatus sum vt coram diceret, si quid haberet. Ostendebat loca quaedam in libris meis quae notarat, quorum nullum omnino intellexerat. Est et Priorculus quidam idiota, sed meretricia malitia, ex isto profectus monasterio: is auctor est huiusmodi naeniis. Quod si erit istis impune, vt si quid illis  
 50 dolet aut si quid suspicantur, abutantur auctoritate loci sermonisque diuini ad vliscendos affectus suos, cum obscurum non sit quales sint, quid, obsecro, futurum est denique?

De Luthero scis fumum aliquem excitatum Louanii, videlicet hoc agentibus theologis, a quibus nata est Bulla: mox Leodii, conuiunte  
 55 Episcopo, qui ambit galerum cardinalitium: postremo Coloniae multo etiam odiosius, vbi regnat Hoogstratus. Sed vt Lutheri scripta non probantur omnibus, ita nulli non displicuit rei modus et s[c]aeuitia tam tyrannica. Nec id fecissent impune Coloniae, ni praesentia Regis obstitisset. Nunc Lutherus illic venditur vt antea.  
 60 Hic duo scripserunt aduersus Lutherum, Latomus et Ioan. Turenhout, sed neuter videtur librum editurus; diffidunt, opinor, sibi: et longe facilius est sic bullis et fumo vincere quam argumentis. Nunquam me admiscui causae Lutheranae, tametsi neque clamores horum vnquam probaui, neque libellos eorum qui hactenus repugnant  
 65 Lutheri. Et hoc male habet istos. Si Luthero adessem, iisdem machinis et me adorirentur; si repugnem Luthero, Germanorum odio, quod in meum caput concitarem, abuterentur in meum exitium, homines Euangelicae mansuetudinis ac simplicitatis. Me suis mendaciis detulerunt apud Nuntium Apostolicum, quasi solus sustineam  
 70 Lutheri negotium, ne possit perdi: nam hoc solum moliuntur; corrigi non cupiunt.

Dux Franciscus Singlius narrabat se expostulasse cum Caesare Carolo, quod tale mandatum edidisset quale ferebatur, atque illum respondisse se nihil tale mandasse. Dux Saxoniae Fridericus, cum  
 75 ageret cum illo de Luthero, hoc accepit responsum: 'Non damnabi-

42. Alemariensis] Vincent (see p. 463) is usually said to be of Haarlem. His native place was Beverwijk, midway between Haarlem and Almar.

45. adii] For this interview see Ep. 1196. 31-4. As it took place not long before the publication of the Bull against Luther (see Ep. 1141. 20n), it may be dated in the summer of 1520.

47. Priorculus] Cf. Ep. 1164. 48n.

48. idiota] See Ep. 1153. 171n.

53. fumum] Cf. Ep. 1157. 6n.

55. galerum] Erard (Ep. 738) was proposed by Leo as a Cardinal on Charles' suggestion in Aug. 1520; but the actual publication of his cardinalate was not made till 9 Aug. 1521. See Ciaconius iii. 419; and Aleander's *Journal*, ed. Omont, p. 42. In the notes on Aug. *Ciu. Dei*, Basle, Froben,

Sept. 1522 (i. 23; p. 24) Vives speaks of Erard as 'his proximis diebus in ampliss. Cardinalium ordinem cooptatus'. Bk. i was completed in Jan. 1521 (f<sup>o</sup>. aa<sup>4</sup>, 1-2); but the words quoted may well be a later insertion.

59. praesentia Regis] Charles was at Cologne 29 Oct.-16 Nov. - see Gachard ii. 28, 9.

60. Latomus] Cf. Ep. 1165. 13n.

Turenhout] Cf. Ep. 1163. 10n.

69. Nuntium] Aleander.

72. Singlius] For this form of the name cf. Ep. 999. 311: where the name is added in F.

narrabat] at Cologne. They very likely dined together with Duke Frederic on 5 Nov. (see p. 370). Cf. also BRE. 200.

75. illo] Charles v.



tur Lutherus nisi auditus'. Episcopi coacti sunt dissimulare. Solus Dux exhibitio Breui quo iubebatur Lutherum conicere in carcerem donec aliud de illo statueretur, respondit se admirari quod Pontifex talia ab se peteret, cum ipse esset laicus, nec adhuc satis constaret Lutherum esse dignum cui id fieret: proinde rem esse differendam <sup>80</sup> in Concilium Wormaciense. Id responsum pessime habet Nuntios.

Constat Bullam a Pontifice vetitam publicari. Aleander, qui attulit, non aliam docuit commissionem quam vt conferret cum Academiis. Is est homo trium linguarum peritus, sed quem omnes affirmant esse Iudaeum; certe vita est insignis omnium testimonio. <sup>85</sup> Quod hic egit in inferiori Germania, hoc agit Eckius quidam, militaris theologus, in superiore. Germani maledicis libellis rem gerunt; et miror neminem existere qui rationem inueniat hos tumultus componendi. Lutherus in dies scribit atrociora, et plane videtur spectare ad seditionem, me dehortante. Scribit se voluisse plane <sup>90</sup> contemnere Bullam pontificiam, sed ex amicorum consilio renouasse veterem expostulationem. Cardinali Gurcensi Coloniae exhibebatur Breue, quo iubebatur accersere Stupitium, vicarium generalem Augustinensium, qui fauisset Luthero, et adigere ad abiuranda omnia Lutheri dogmata: quod si nollet, coniceret in vincula, aut aliter suo <sup>95</sup> modo puniret.

Multa sunt in libris Lutheri digna cognitu; quaedam admixta sunt quae praestabat omittere: et nimium atrociter omnia, ne dicam seditiose. Quod si ea quae ad rem pertinent, moderatius dixisset, etiamsi Romanae Curiae non ferenda vitia liberrime taxasset, habuis- <sup>100</sup> set omnes sibi fauentes: et tamen nescio quo pacto fit vt qui contra illum scribunt, nihil adferant dignum lectu. Si ille delirauit scribendo, isti longe magis delirant respondendo. Et inter hos qui Lutherum velint extinctum, nullum bonum virum video. Cardinalis Adriani Traiectensis epistolae miram quandam amarulentiam <sup>105</sup>

82. Bullam] Cf. Ep. 1141. 20n.

85. Iudaeum] This allegation is made also in the *Acta Acad. Louan. contra Lutherum*, f. a<sup>3</sup>; and cf. BRE. 194. In his *Expostulatio* (HE. 310, § 120) Hutten accuses Erasmus of having invented it. Aleander had made the accusation earlier; see the *Spongia* (LB. x. 1645 E = HE. 333, § 134). For another view of his origin cf. Ep. 1161. 36.

90. me dehortante] Cf. Ep. 1141. 15n.

Scribit] Luther had written to Erasmus c. Nov. 1520, perhaps in reply to the advice just mentioned, and again (cf. Ep. 1041. 46n) in a most conciliatory tone: but neither letter is extant. See LE<sup>2</sup>. 365, from Luther to Laz. Spengler, 17 Nov. 1520 (Erlangen edit. liii, pp. 53, 4): 'So ist mirs nie in meinen Sinn kommen Verdruss oder Vnlust wider Erasmus zu haben. Es hat mir wohl gefallen dass er von mir will vngenennet sein (cf. Ep. 1113. 35-6). Hab ihm auch draufgeschrieben vnd verheissen, sein nicht mehr also zu

gedenken, noch keiner andern guten Freund, dieweil es sie beschweret. . . . Erasmus vnd ich, wills Gott, wollen wohl eins bleiben.' It was perhaps this utterance which led Andrea Rosso, secretary to the Venetian ambassador, to write to Sanuto from Worms, 30 Dec. 1520, about Luther: 'Sono molti che afirmano che l'à intelligentia con Erasmo Retherodamo et altri docti a queste parte' (Sanuto xxix. 573; Brown iii. 147).

92. Gurcensi] Matt. Lang, who was now Abp. of Salzburg; see Ep. 549. 48n, and cf. p. 371.

93. Stupitium] See Ep. 872. 4n.

105. Adriani] For his attitude of mild opposition to the new studies of the Renaissance cf. Epp. 969. 17-20, 1311. 17-21, 1314. 12. But while Cardinal, he showed himself capable of defending them against unreasonable attack: see Ep. 1225. 33-6, and Lond. xxv. 14, LB. 1176, cited by Nève, pp. 72-6. The testimony of John Theo-

sapiunt; fauet suis discipulis, ipso dignis, frigidis, fucatis, ambitiosis et vindicibus. Leodiensis expectat galerum, et abbatiam Antwerpiensem vix obtinuit. Vidi litteras Hutteni, quibus queritur Pontificem scripsisse vt coniiceretur in vincula. Is nusquam apparuit, cum essem Coloniae: fertur cum quadraginta obsidere itinera, vt interceptat Romanenses, quibus indixit bellum. Haec quem exitum sint habitura nescio. Ego me nullo pacto huic negotio admisceo. Fata viam inuenient. Minoritis Obseruantibus a suis patribus impositum est silentium: de Luthero illi sapiunt. Praedicatores sui similes sunt, semper aliquem tumultum moliantur in orbe; qui ordo subuersurus est Christum, si vnquam subuertitur. . . .

## 1167. TO LORENZO CAMPEGIO.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 526.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xiv. 1: LB. 547.

6 December 1520.

[Between the issue of the Bull against Luther (l. 399) and the publication of F. A letter of the same character as Epp. 1007, 1033, 1060, 1062, and, more recently, 1143; with which, and with Ep. 1062 in its second form, it shows considerable verbal resemblance.]

R. D. D. LAVRENTIO CAMPEGIO, TT. S. THOMAE IN PARIONO  
CARDINALI, ERASMVVS ROTEROD. S.

DECRETVM erat hyemare Romae, cum aliis de causis, tum vt locis nonnullis Pontificiae bibliothecae praesidiis vterer; apud nos enim sacrorum voluminum Graecorum magna penuria. Nam Aldina officina nobis praeter prophanos autores adhuc non ita multum dedit. Sed hi crebri regum congressus, a quibus mea referebat non prorsum abesse, nos hic remorati sunt. Itaque quod nunc non licuit, Christo fauente in proximum annum moliamur. Mihi libebit vel totum hoc aetatis

1167. TT. R. D. D. om. H.

TT. S. THOMAE IN PARIONO om. H.

dericus of Beauvais, who dedicated to Adrian an edition of Alvarus Pelagius' *De planctu Ecclesie* (Ep. 575. 34n), Lyons, J. Clein, 1 Aug. 1517, is that '(tuam) multiugam eruditionem vel ex hoc deprehendere est, quod, quanti sint Muse facundaeque Pitho (ne de sacris literis impresentiarum verba faciam) tibi esse compertissimum nemo sit qui ambigat'.

1166. 105. epistolae] Cf. Epp. 1153. 149n, 1161. 22n.

106. discipulis] i.e. the theologians of Louvain. Cf. Ep. 1225. 1, 2.

frigidis] For this epithet cf. Epp. 730. 18, 1238. 88 and de Jongh, p. 239; quoting EHR. xxii. 747.

107. galerum] Cf. l. 55n.

Antwerpiensem] On the occur-

rence of a vacancy in the Praemonstratensian abbey of St. Michael's at Antwerp in Nov. 1518, Charles nominated Erard; who on 4 July 1520 obtained Papal bulls of installation. But before long, yielding to pressure, he surrendered the abbey to an elected successor; retaining, however, a handsome pension. See GC. v. 156; and Al. E. i. 43.

108. litteras] Ep. 1135. 2, 3.

110. Coloniae] See p. 370.

111. bellum] Cf. Ep. 1161. 65 seq.

114. Praedicatores] But cf. Ep. 1006.

4n.

1167. 1. Romae] Cf. Ep. 1143. 79n.

4. prophanos] But see Ep. 770.

5. regum congressus] See Epp. 1106. 93n, 1155 introd.

quod superi volent superesse, Romae peragere: vbi bonis studiis non solum tranquillitas est verumetiam honos. Haec regio tametsi mite-  
seit indies, tamen nondum omnino exuere potest sylvestre ingenium. 10  
Et habet antiqua barbaries pertinacissimos suae factionis propugna-  
tores.

Et mea sententia peccatur vtrunque. Qui fauent melioribus studiis, malunt vt hostes irrumpere quam vt hospites paulatim in societatem et amicitiam coalescere; malunt veteres colonos suis finibus depellere 15 quam commutatis vtrunque bonis, vtrisque consulere. Contra, qui sibi stultissime persuaserunt se bonam existimationis suae partem amissuros apud populum, ni funditus extinxerint eas literas quas ipsis nec didicisse contigit nec vacat discere, tam virulentis, tam stolidis conuiciis in eas debacchantur publice, priuatim, etiam in sacris con- 20 cionibus, vt me pudeat recensere quae illos non pudet apud promiscuam multitudinem designare, in linguas, in bonas literas: quas tanti faciunt tum optimi quique principes, tum ipse Leo, summus antistes non religionis modo sed et eorum studiorum quibus intelligit Christianam philosophiam vel illustrari vel propagari vel constabili- 25 Atque haec agunt deuotis animis coniurati, et quod est sceleratius, ad rem execrandam abutentes sacris concionibus: quas magis refert ad publicos mores puras esse quam sacrosanctam synaxim. Siquidem hanc qui indigne tractat, vni sibi perniciosus est. Caeterum qui loci autoritate, qui populi docilis credulitate, non ad Christi gloriam sed 30 ad suos affectus abutitur, et multorum animos diuinae doctrinae pabulum expectantes fraudat et inficit suo veneno, et sacrae concionis eleuat autoritatem. At isti non contenti in optimas literas digna atque indigna dicere, saepenumero non verentur e sacro suggestu famam eorum incessere quorum industria putant haec studia pro- 35 uehi; inter quos cum primis ponunt Erasmus: qui si negem me fauere politioribus literis, plane mentiar; sed tamen ita faueo vt velim eas seruire gloriae Christi.

Huius fabulae praecipui sunt actores quidam e sodalitate S. Domi- nici: qui ordo, vt multos et olim habuit et nunc, opinor, habet viros 40 eruditione pietateque praestantes, ita mirum videri non debet si in tot hominum milibus existant illis multum dissimiles. Hi ascitis sibi nonnullis ex eorum grege qui se nescio quare Carmelitas appel- lant, me sibi fingunt hostem, cum nemo magis faueat verae religioni. Veneror et exosculor Christianam pietatem, in quocunque cultu, in 45 quocunque pallio sese protulerit veris indiciis, siue pullo, siue candido, siue lineo, siue laneo, siue fusco, siue flauo. Quod si quando per occasionem aliquid dicitur in vicia monachorum, non magis aequum est eos commoueri, quam ordo sacerdotum commoueretur, quoties aliquis praescribens boni sacerdotis imaginem, ostendit quan- 50 tum ab hac absit sacerdotum vulgus, aut principes, quoties illorum vicia tanguntur. Atqui si cui ordini parcendum est, in primis par-

13. Et F: Ac H. 16. commutatis F Corrig.: communicatis F. 18. ni  
F: nisi R. 34. suggesto H: cf. Ep. 1062. 8on. 42. illis F: illorum H.  
52. H: At qui F. Cf. Ep. 1162. 65.

10. sylvestre ingenium] Cf. Epp. 941. 14on.  
10-12, 998. 63-5. 26. deuotis animis] Cf. Ep. 1033. 62n.  
14. irrumpere] Cf. Ep. 1062. 56-7. 39. S. Dominici] Cf. Ep. 1062. 18on.  
22. tanti faciunt] Cf. Ep. 1062. 128n, 41. praestantes] Cf. Ep. 1006. 4n.

cendum erat sacerdotali, quem ipse Christus instituit, et cuius ipse pars fuit: parcendum erat maiestati principum, quae saepius irritata  
55 grauem perniciem excitat mortalibus.

Atque vt in totum mihi placet nullum omnino ordinem seditiosius laedere, ita nimium sibi tribui postulant, qui cum sibi nihil non permittant in alios, palam etiam ac publicitus mentientes in famam alienam, eaque vertentes in haereses aut certe odiosissime calumniantes quae nec intelligunt, non patiantur ordinem suum nominari  
60 nisi cum honoris praefatione; et totus Dominicalium ordo coniuret in eum qui inter amicos queratur sibi furto sublatam pecuniam aut constupratam vxorem ab eius ordinis sodali. Diuus Hieronymus quot locis depingit vicia monachorum ipse monachus! Vt satyrico  
65 sale defricat monacharum ac virginum vitam! et tamen huic non succenset Paula, non succenset Eustochium. Neque mihi tamen vnquam sumo quod sibi sumit Hieronymus. Nullum ordinem incesso, nullius nomen perstringo, cum ipsi frequenter a meo nomine non temperent. Tantum locis aliquot demonstro quibus in rebus sita  
70 sit vera religio: nec vsquam attingo ea dedecora quae vulgo narrantur a multis, non sine pudore eorum qui vere fauent illorum instituto.

Hic igitur est fons ac seminarium huius totius tragoediae, immediate odium linguarum ac bonarum literarum. At subinde variantur scenae, variantur histriones et personae; sed tamen eadem agitur  
75 fabula. Hinc illa tempestas in Ioannem Reuchlinum et fidei defendendae praetextus, cum reuera nihil aliud quam vni stomacho vindicta peteretur. Cum res nondum satis ex animi sententia succederet, et prodissent malis, vt videtur, auibz scripta quaedam Martini Lutheri, statim istis creuit animus, existimantibus sibi telum esse  
80 porrectum quo simul et linguas et literas politiores et Reuchlinum et Erasmus conficerent. Non dico hunc animum fuisse theologis omnibus. Sed hoc fuisse consilium primis illis huius fabulae autoribus vel illud testatur, quod aliquot eius farinae mox passim velut ex composito dato signo miris modis vociferari coeperunt in optima  
85 studia, Lutherani nominis, quod quam odiosissimum reddere conabantur, communi inuidia degrauantes; clamantes ex his literis nasci haereses, schismata, Antichristos, quae videmus plurimum et decoris et praesidii religioni nostrae contulisse: quod et Breuibz suis fatetur S. D. N. Leo, et, si literis suis non testaretur, tamen ipsa re testifica-  
90 tur, nullos magis ornans fortunis atque honoribus quam viros harum literarum peritia praestantes.

Porro quum me non fugeret quorsum illi tenderent, nimirum vt res natura disiunctas vno fasce inuoluerent, et dictis ac scriptis priuatim ac publice testatus sum nihil esse commune Reuchlino cum causa  
95 Lutheri, nihil mihi cum vtroque: nisi quod plusculum erat cum Reuchlino, quicum mihi vnum aut alterum intercesserat colloquium, et commune studium prouehendi linguas ac bonas literas, et ex huius libris olim nonnihil didici; cum Lutherus mihi ne de facie quidem vnquam sit notus, nec eo progressus sit in linguarum aut peritioris  
100 literaturae peritia, vt huius causa quicquam pertineat ad eorum studiorum fautores.

65. monacharum *F*: monachorum *H*. 89. S. D. N. Leo. *F*: Leo summus pontifex *H*. 100. quicquam *FN*<sup>2</sup>: quicquam *N* *Lond*.

94 Reuchlino] Cf. Ep. 1155. 18n. 96. colloquium] Cf. Ep. 967. 72n.

Haec, opinor, non ignorabant isti: sed quaerebatur ansa qua priuatim odium suum possent vleisci. Ea quoniam non data est, aegre ferunt; et nihil non comminiscuntur, quo me apud ignaros rei vel in odium vel in suspicionem adducant. Primum vna aut altera praefatio Lutheri libris admixta, paulo Latinior, satis erat illis argumenti Lutherum mea opera adiutum fuisse in conscribendis suis libellis: in quibus ne apiculus quidem est meus. Quasi vero desint Vuittenbergae qui possint Latine scribere: ne quid dicam de reliqua Germania. Hic ipsi sciunt me nihil confingere, et multa silentio praeterire, ne quos offendam nimis irritabiles. Sub haec prodiit epistola quaedam ad Lutherum mea; mox altera ad R. D. Card. Moguntinum, vtraque typis excusa. Qua quidem in re non queo satis admirari consilium quorundam qui statim euulgarunt quod ego cera obsignatum scripseram vni legendum. Vnde mihi suspicio est id factum inimicorum opera, vndique captantium vnde possint laedere. Nam ea quam scripseram Card. Moguntino, prius excusa circumferebatur vulgo quam obsignata ad illius manus perueniret. Prior illa primum inter episcopos et aulicos hic circumferebatur: quae videlicet plane conuinceret Erasum Lutheranae doctrinae fautorem esse. Deinde Romano etiam Pontifici delatam ex Hieronymi Aleandri literis colloquioque cognoui: cum ea magis declararet me non fauere scriptis Lutheri, nisi quis perperam interpretetur omnia.

Ex vniuersis Lutheri libris non perlegi duodecim pagellas, atque eas etiam carptim; et tamen ex his degustatis verius quam lectis, videbar mihi deprehendere dotes naturae raras, et ingenium pulchre accommodum ad explicandum iuxta veterum morem arcanas literas, ad suscitandum Euangelicae doctrinae scintillam: a qua et publici mores orbis, et scholae nimium iam indulgentes argutis magis quam necessariis quaestiunculis, vehementer prolapsae videbantur. Audiebam eximios viros probatae doctrinae probataeque religionis sibi gratulari quod in huius viri libros incidissent. Videbam ut quisque esset integerrimis moribus et Euangelicae puritati proximus, ita minime infensum Luthero. Porro vita praedicabatur et ab iis qui doctrinam non ferebant. Caeterum de spiritu viri, de quo solus Deus potest certo iudicare, malui, sicut par est, in bonam partem esse propensus quam in malam. Postremo mundus, veluti iam pertesus huius doctrinae nimium vrgentis ad humanas vel commentatiunculas vel constitutiunculas, sitire videbatur viuum illum ac purissimum laticem ex Euangelicis et Apostolicis haustum venis. Ad hoc praestandum mihi videbatur ille et natura compositus et accensus studio.

Sic igitur faui Luthero; bonis illius faui quae in illo vel videbam vel esse credebam: imo non illi faui, sed gloriae Christi. Et tamen in eodem videbam quae mihi nonnullam sollicitudinem ac suspicionem incuterent. Proinde cum ille me suis literis ultro prouocaret, statim arrepta occasione diligenter admonui quid ab illo vitari vellem; ut correctum ac purgatum illius ingenium magno cum fructu magnaue

102. priuatim N. 108. Vuittenbergae H. 112. R. D. om. H. 127. veterem N.

106. paulo Latinior] See Epp. 1217.  
59, 1225. 108-9: and cf. Ep. 1197. 18-19.

111. epistola] Ep. 980.

112. altera] Ep. 1033.

127. arcanas] Cf. Ep. 1143. 15-17.

142. bonis] Cf. Ep. 1143. 17-18.

145. literis] Ep. 933: which Erasmus answered with Ep. 980.

cum gloria simul ac lucro Christi instauraret nobis philosophiam Euangelicam iam pene frigescentem. Quod si praestitisset, non  
 150 dubitabam fore quin huius propositi Leonem ipsum haberet in primis fautorem; cui nihil arbitror esse antiquius quam Christi, cuius vices interim gerit, gloriam et gregis concrediti salutem. Videte, quaeso, an haec sit epistola Luthero fauentis, si quid ille scripsit aduersus doctrinam aut pietatem Christianam.

155 Quoniam in illius scriptis mox offenderat nescio quid saeuum et austerum, nec satis referens mansuetudinem spiritus Euangelici, admonui vt ad exemplum Christi et Apostolorum cum omni mansuetudine doceret ea quae ad veram pietatem attinent. Id quo maiore cum fructu posset, admonui vt parceret Romano Pontifici, cuius auto-  
 160 ritatem expedit haberi sacrosanctam; parceret principum celsitudini, qui conuiciis attacti aut intempestiuus admoniti non solum non red- duntur meliores, sed exacerbati perniciosas aliquoties excitant tempe- states: fitque vt et monitori sua pereat autoritas, interim et vita, et monito suus fructus. Siquidem vt veritati nunquam phas est aduer-  
 165 sari, ita celare nonnunquam expedit in loco. Semper autem plurimum refert quam in tempore, quam commode et attemperate eam proferas. Quaedam inter se fatentur theologi quae vulgo non expediat efferri. Et saepe sanat admonitio tempestiua, blanda ac ciuillis, quos perderet saeua et intempestiua obiurgatio. Non enim hic adducam, quod  
 170 Plato perspexisse videtur, multitudinem promiscuam et imperitam non posse contineri in officio nisi nonnunquam fuco doloque bono fallatur. Sed ea res vt integrum virum desiderat, ita desiderat egregie prudentem.

Admonui ne scholas aut ordines omnino contemneret, sed ciuilliter  
 175 admoneret quid mutari vellet: vt in his quae longo vsu magis quam recto iudicio recepta sunt, densis ac solidis argumentis vteretur potius quam asseuerationibus. Et quoniam non ignorabam ingenium Ger- manicum, neque nescirem eum quorundam scriptis immodice morda- cibus irritari, admonui ne conuicium conuicio regereret, sed aut in  
 180 totum negligeret aut argumentis responderet; a maledictis omnino temperaret. Ad haec quoniam verebar ne tanta libertas exiret in tumultum, admonui ne quid arroganter aut factiose vel diceret vel faceret. Postremo excuteret animum ipse suum—de quo meum non esset iudicare—, ne quid esset corruptus ira aut odio aut inani gloria,  
 185 quae mediis etiam pietatis officiis solet insidiari. Quod qui his obnoxius esset affectibus, non videatur idoneus praeco philosophiae Christianae. Obsecro, quid hic omissum est de quo fuerat admo- nendus Lutherus?

Haec cum syncero et amico scripserim animo, tamen non defuerunt  
 190 apud Germanos qui hanc epistolam Luthero impingerent veluti illius doctrinae suggillatricem, quam altera pars calumniatur vt a fautore scriptam. At quosdam hoc ipsum male habebat, quod homini

150. dubitarem *N*.

190. velut *H*.

152. Videte *F*: Vide *H*.

172. virum integrum *N*.

152. Videte] The plural into which Erasmus lapses, probably denotes that he was writing, in his mind, not for Campegio only but for general opinion among the cardinals at Rome. Cf. II.

442-7.

165. celare] Cf. Ep. 1119 40n.

170. Plato] *Rep.* 3. 389.

177. ingenium Germanicum] Cf. Ep. 998. 63-6.

responderim. Quasi vero mihi vicio vertendum sit, etiam si Sultani literis prouocatus illi respondissem: praesertim cum ille nihil de suis dogmatis mihi communicaret. Alios male habebat quod tam 195  
 ciuilibiter respondissem. Sed isti non animaduertunt quam suo quisque ingenio blandiatur, quam amara per se res sit admoneri. Lutherus mihi nec de facie notus erat, vt nec adhuc est; librorum illius nihil attigeram praeter paucas pagellas. Res nondum erat progressa in hanc contentionem: tantum a paucis reclamabatur, quos 200  
 omnes suspicabantur suum agere negotium. Flagitabatur disputatio, flagitabantur iudices. Et qua fronte ego primum ignotus, deinde nulla praeditus autoritate, deinde nimis quam tenuiter doctus, sumpsissem in illum supercilium censorium? aut quae spes fuisset illum laturum me, aut qui fructus expectari poterat, nisi vt hominis 205  
 stilum in me tandem acuerem obiurgando? Hoc ipsum parum erat ciuile, vltro admonere non consulentem. Nec eram ignarus quanto plus soleamus proficere ciuili blandaque admonitione quam obiurgatione saeua.

Non mihi sumo tantum ingenii, tantum eruditionis, vt ausim de 210  
 aliena fide pronunciare, ni plane quis repugnet articulis receptissimis. Quid alii sibi sumant, ipsi viderint. Sunt qui me negent aliud esse quam grammaticum. An ego nihil aliud sim, in praesentia non disputo: illud extra controuersiam est, illos aliud esse. Sed ad rem. An isti tulissent grammaticum de haeresi pronunciantem? Quod si 215  
 maxime suppetisset eruditio, non poteram illius libros refellere nisi semel atque iterum perlectos, nisi excussis locis autorum vnde hauserat sua dogmata. Et hausit pleraque ex veteribus: quos si nominatim vbique citasset, bonam inuidiae partem defugisset. At mihi vix erat ocium mea legendi, et si quid oculi superesset, malim, vt ingenue 220  
 dicam, veteribus euoluendis impendere. Iam cum et eruditi multi et scholae etiam hanc provinciam sibi capesserent refellendi Lutherum, quae fuisset impudentia memet ingerere transuersum, aliisque et iudicandi auctoritatem et victoriae gloriam praeripere? Caeterum quos illud offendit, quod post praescriptam docendi formam adieci, 225  
 'Haec non admoneo vt facias, sed vt quod facis perpetuo facias', mihi videntur admodum imperiti rhetoricae ciuilitatis, qua mitigare soleamus admonitionis austeritatem. Quis enim non nouit haec schemata?

Sed ego iamdudum memorem moneo, doctum doceo, et sus Mineruam. Nimirum iam imaginabar illum sua sponte facere quod ab illo 230  
 fieri volebam. Alioqui si nihil in eo displicuisset, stultum erat tot verbis aliam scribendi formam praescribere. Et isti sic interpretantur, 'Scribe seditiose, scribe haeretice'. Et tamen si maxime talis fuisset Lutherus, ne potuit quidem hoc dictum aliter intelligi quam iuxta formam praescriptam. Iam et illud peruerse interpretantur, 235  
 quod addiderim et hic et apud Anglos non paucos esse qui libris illius fauerent, quasi voluerim illum animare ad audaciam: cum potius hoc egerim, vt illum hortarer ad moderatius circumspectiusque scribendum, quo magis satisfaceret bonorum virorum iudicio, et ea

206. tandem in me N.

erat om. N.

226. facis H: facias F.

193. Sultani] Cf. Ep. 1041. 28n.

226. Haec] Ep. 980. 52; cf. Ep. 1143.

223. transuersum] Cf. Ep. 1156. 65. 32n.

240 scriberet, eaque moderatione scriberet, quae piorum et eruditorum fauorem perpetuum mereretur. Sic athletic propositis fauoribus addimus animum, non vt negligentius certent sed vt bonorum fauori respondeant. Nec interim satis animaduertunt quidam quod in eadem epistola tractem duplex argumentum, alterum de clamoribus  
245 in bonas literas et harum professores, alterum de vociferationibus in Lutherum. In priore prorsus ac palam ab illis dissentio. In posteriore me nec iudicem facio nec aduersarium nec patronum; tantum admoneo quid velim a Luthero vitari.

Iam in epistola ad R. D. Card. Moguntinum quid aliud ago quam  
250 ne per vim opprimatur, causa non cognita; ne ea fenestra aperiretur quibusdam damnandi quod non refellunt, et haud scio an etiam intelligant? Et tamen in eadem ingenue fateor mihi quaedam in Luthero displicere. Hactenus fauebam Luthero, vt nollem illum dedi quorundam libidini, qui quouis praetextu tendebant ad subuer-  
255 tendas bonas literas; sed tamen non ita fauebam quin diuinorum voluminum testimoniis reuinci, quin argumentis refelli vellem, si refelli mereretur. Generosa ingenia doceri cupiunt, cogi non ferunt. Docere theologorum est, cogere tantum tyrannorum est. Ita fauebam Luthero vt corrigi mallet quam perdi; reuocari quam extinguere, si  
260 quid erraret. Et errant quotquot hactenus scripserunt, si modo Canonicas scripturas excipias. Hoc animo puto et hodie theologos omnes probos fauere Luthero. Imo hoc animo video et ipsum esse Leonem Pont. Maximum. Amauit libros et ingenium Tertulliani Cyprianus, in dogmatibus non consensit. Amauit Origenis ingenium  
265 Hieronymus, a damnatis opinionibus abstinuit. Tychonii libris et ingenio videtur delectatus Augustinus, procul interim abhorrens ab illius factione.

Nec tamen haec velim esse fraudi Luthero. Ego de illo in neutram partem pronuncio, suos habet iudices. Vt mea laudatio nihil illum  
270 subleuaret, ita nolim illum grauari, si quid secus de illo sentio. Tantum ostendere volui quantum absim ab eo quod mihi impingunt. Primus illius libellos suspectos habui, ne quid tumultus gignerent. Primus obsteti ne Basileae excuderentur, et obsteti non leuiter; primum oratione minisque praesens, mox absens literis. Et crebro  
275 et diligenter admonui, nunc per literas, nunc per amicos, quid ab illo vitari vellem; idque feci tanta libertate vt amicorum epistolis admonerem, ne talia passim loquens qualia scriberem, plurimorum Germanorum animos a me alienarem: cum horum nihil facerent theologi qui se credebant fortiter aduersari Luthero. Nemo fraterne  
280 monebat hominem, nemo deterrebat, nemo docebat, nemo refellebat. Tantum vociferabantur exortum nouum haereticum, qui doceret non esse necesse confiteri omnia commissa capitalia: mox venturum Antichristum.

De causa nunquam pronunciaui; modum impetendi duntaxat im-  
285 probabam vt praeproperum, vt indecorum, vt inclementem, vt

240. eaque H: et ea F.

273. FN<sup>3</sup>: obstiti N<sup>2</sup> Lond., bis.

241. mererentur N.

cuderentur N.

249. R. D. om. H.

279. se F<sup>1</sup> Corrig.: sic F.

249 epistola] Ep. 1033.

152n.

257. Generosa ingenia] Cf. Ep. 1153.

273. obsteti] See Ep. 1033. 47n.



inutile. An continuo fauet parricidio qui nolit parricidii reum damnari nisi cognita causa? An hosti fauet qui monet quo pacto possit hostis opprimi minimo dispendio militum, imo qui monet tentandum an hostis sine Martis alea possit ad deditionem adigi? Si bene consulit rei publicae qui mauult hostem seruari quam perimi, 290 qua fronte reprehendunt qui idem velit a theologis fieri? Et haec loquor, fingens interim quod mihi non constabat, Lutherum erroris esse magistrum. Et tamen sic admonui quid mihi videretur optimum factu, vt nihilo secius liberum aliis facerem suo vti consilio, si magis probaretur. Videbam hoc huleus non sine periculo tangi apud 295 plebem promiscuam, in qua plurimi sunt quos onus confitendi male habet; nullum libentius excussuros, si sensissent theologum ac probatae vitae virum in hac esse sententia. Et tamen incertum est etiam nunc an in scriptis suis hoc senserit Lutherus. Deinde quid aliud quam nobilitabant eius libros eiusmodi clamoribus, ante perpauca 300 notos, et eos irritabant ad legendum qui nunquam alioqui fuerant lecturi? magna cum vtilitate bibliopolarum, qui tanto felicius distrahebant suos codices quanto isti vociferabantur impotentius. Atque interim nec populum docebant nec Lutherum. Vnde doctoris titulo gloriantur, nisi vt doceant? 305

Qualis qualis erat Lutherus, certe humanius erat sanare quam extinguere. Olim pro conuictis etiam maleficis intercedebat episcoporum autoritas: tantum abesse debent ecclesiastici viri a perdendi libidine. Augustinus pro Donatistis, qui haud scio perniciosioresne fuerint haeretici an saeuiores latrones, quos sciebat insidiari suo 310 capiti, apud imperiales praefectos intercedebat, ne saeuiretur in illorum corpora. Nimirum vir optimus eos respiscere cupiebat, perire nolebat. Superesse volebat qui possent respiscere, et superesse volebat etiam suo periculo. Olim audiebatur haereticus, etiam cum reuerentia, id quod ex Augustini libris palam est; et tamen tum 315 temporis haeretici conuicti et in errore persistentis poena nihil aliud erat quam semotio a communione orthodoxorum. Nunc nulla proscriptio saeuior est quam haeresis crimen. Et tamen nihil facilius habent in ore isti, nescio qui, qui munus episcoporum sibi vindicant; quorum aliquot scio his esse moribus, vt mihi ne pilo quidem viderer 320 melior, si sua sententia me pronuntiarent orthodoxum—vt ingenue quod sentio dicam.

Laudatur sapientum quorundam consilium, qui sceleratissimis etiam ignosci cupiebant, quod negarent perpendendum quid illis esset dignum quorum factis nullum satis dignum supplicium excogitari 325 poterat, sed quid postularet dignitas Romani nominis, quid suaderet vtilitas publica. Paulus vbique parcat pseudoapostolis, ne prouocati grauius etiam laederent teneram adhuc ac recentem Euangelicam doctrinam. Quanto minus conueniebat sic ilico saeuire in eum cuius vita praedicabatur ab omnibus, cuius scriptis tot egregii proceres, tot 330 eruditi, tot pii delectabantur! Quod si Lutherus talis fuisset qualem illi videri volebant, nullum poterat dari consilium quod magis et grauariet illum et theologorum victoriam illustraret. Illi totum Lutherum cupiebant extinctum. Quod si hominis vel error vel pertinacia merebatur extrema remedia, quae tandem tentatis omnibus adhiberi solent 335

298. etiamnum H.

327. FN<sup>3</sup>: pseudapostolis H Lond.

membris deploratis, nimirum hac ratione totus Lutherus aboleri poterat, si prius exemptus fuisset ex animis hominum, mox etiam e bibliothecis, idque citra tumultum orbis Christiani. Ex animis eximi poterat, si dogmata illius solidis argumentis ac diuinae Scripturae testimoniis refellissent ii quos et eruditio non vulgaris commendabat, quosque spectata vitae integritas vindicabat a suspitione corruptelae.

Grauis est, vt esse debet, apud omnes Christianos Romani Pontificis autoritas; sed ea quo plus habet ponderis, hoc magis circumspicendum ne priuatis affectibus quorundam nimis indulgeat, hoc minus illi sunt contemnenda doctorum ac piorum hominum tacita iudicia. Siquidem illud non verebor in genere dicere, nullos magis officere Pontificiae dignitati quam qui illi vel stulte fauent vel corrupte. Quis enim nescit Romano Pontifici esse quo vel perdat vel terreat quos velit? Sed quod vnquam fuit imperium tam instructum quod solus metus reddiderit diuturnum? Ipse Deus amari quoque voluit, non solum timeri. Proinde vt dicere coeperam, quo grauior est ac latius patens Pontificis autoritas, quo res est atrocior, hoc erat mea sententia lentius ac moderatius agendum. Hoc si solus suassem, non eram, opinor, reprehendendus. Nunc hac in parte video mecum sentire si qui sunt cordati, non hic solum verumetiam Romae, non tantum apud prophanos verumetiam apud theologos, atque adeo apud ipsos Dominicales. Ex his quibus damnatus Lutherus placet, sic damnatus non placet. Non enim hic excutiam quales sint per quos potissimum agitur hoc negotium, non referam pro damnatis Lutheri dogmatis qualia nobis inferant, fortassis, vt nunc sunt res mortalium, longe tutiora, sed si quis pietatis Euangelicae negotium spectet, non paulo perniciosiora; quae nec ii ferunt theologi, qui alioqui Lutherum omni machinarum genere adoriuntur.

Hoc igitur meum consilium hactenus modo fauit Luthero, ne praeter meritum, ne praeter ius, ne per tumultum, ne magno orbis tumultu opprimeretur. At multo magis fauere videbatur dignitati Romani Pontificis, auctoritati ordinis theologicis: cuius et iudicia oportet esse grauissima, et mores quam maxime sedatos, et ab omni suspitione stulticiae, inuidentiae, auaritiae, ambitionis, odii, adulationis caeterarumque cupiditatum quae nobis iudicium adimunt, remotos. Vt nemo minus fauet Romano Pontifici quam qui fauet imprudenter, qui fauet corrupte; ita nemo magis officit nomini theologico quam qui hoc agunt, vt ex theologis faciant vel adulatores vel tyrannos. Moses non dubitauit sequi consilium Iethro soceri; et mihi pro fidei consilio indignantur, cui tamen per me liberum erat non parere. Si verum audire cupimus, sit cuique liberum suam dicere sententiam, sit venia vel male consulenti, modo id faciat

374. ex theologis F: theologos H.  
F: fiat N.

faciant H: faciat F.

378. faciat

343. Grauis] Cf. Faber's *Consilium* (see p. 357): 'Atqui quo sanctior est omnibus Ro. Pont. autoritas, hoc diligentius perpendendum ne quid ab eo proficiscatur quod illo videatur indignum tacitis bonorum virorum iudiciis, quae nulli quantumvis magno principi sunt negli-

genda.'

346. tacita iudicia] Cf. Ep. 1155. 16.

365. meum consilium] Ep. 1033.

374. agunt] For this change of number cf. Epp. 1191. 32, 1192. 14.

375. Moses] For this figure cf. Ep. 1006. 352n.

animo sedulo. Quod si huic praemium est mitra, illi magnum malum, quae spes est cognoscendae veritatis? Ex tot Academiis 380 duae duntaxat damnarunt aliquot Lutheri paradoxa. Nec hae prorsus inter se consentiunt, imo nec alterius theologi inter sese prorsus consentiunt. Expectabatur sententia Parisiensis Academiae, quae semper in re theologica non aliter principem tenuit locum quam Romana sedes Christianae religionis principatum. Cum huius expectaretur 385 iudicium, an mihi fraudi esse oportuit, etiam si fauissem quibusdam Lutheri dogmatis? Nunc nihil vnquam illius tutatus sum, etiam cum liceret; tantum illorum praecipitatum ac tumultuosum iudicium improbaui, qui displicuerunt et iis qui Luthero aduersabantur.

O nouum Lutheranium! Primus Lutheri libros hactenus certe 390 damnaui quod viderentur spectare tumultum, a quo ego semper et constanter abhorruui; primus obsteti ne lucubrationes illius aederentur. Pene solus omnium illius libros non legi, solus nihil vnquam illius sum conatus defendere, ne inter pocula quidem, vbi quod effutitur, in vino scribi solet. Semper hortatus sum vt qui possent 395 disputarent aduersus Lutherum, scriberent aduersus Lutherum. Id vbi Louanii coeptum est, constanti vultu probaui quod vtinam non fecissent praepostere. Exiit duarum Academiae praedudicium aduersus Lutherum. Prodiit Bulla terrificata Romani Pontificis titulo. Exusti sunt codices. Clamatum est apud populum. Res odiosius 400 agi vix potuit. Bulla visa est omnibus inclementior quam pro lenitate Leonis nostri; et tamen huius saeuitiae non parum additum est ab his qui rem exequabantur. Nullus interim vidit Erasmus aut inquietum aut solito tristiore.

Quae Syluester Prieras scripserat aduersus Lutherum, a nemine 405 hactenus audiui probari, vel ex eorum numero quibus Lutherus est inuisissimus. Augustinus Minorita minus etiam placuit quam Syluester. De Thoma Rodagino, quoniam degustauit duntaxat, nihil

381. damnarant *N.*  
408. *F* Corrig.: Rodagino *F.*

392. obstiti *Lond.*

405. Prieras *add. H.*

381. duae duntaxat] Cologne and Louvain; see Ep. 1030. 16n.

383. Parisiensis] Cf. Ep. 1141. 19n.

399. Bulla] Cf. Ep. 1141. 20n.

400. Exusti] Cf. Ep. 1157. 6n.

405. Syluester] See Ep. 872. 16n.

407. Augustinus] of Alfeld, s. of Hildesheim; 'lector sacrae theologiae' to the Franciscans at Leipzig. Nothing is known of him before the appearance (a. 5 May 1520: LE<sup>2</sup>. 302, cf. 335) of his first book in defence of the Papacy against Luther. This at once drew down vehement attacks upon him from Luther and his followers; and in the course of 1520 he published at least four more pamphlets on various aspects of the case. Altogether fifteen works by him, most of them controversial, have been discovered. He was still living on 6 Oct. 1532.

See LE<sup>2</sup>. 296n; Epp. 1153. 146, 1154.

41n; and a life, 1899, with an excellent bibliography, by a brother Franciscan, L. Lemmens, who speaks highly of his theological attainments.

408. Rodagino] Thos. Radinus, or Rhadinus, Todischus (15 March 1488—May 1527), belonged to a family of German origin long settled at Piacenza. He joined the Dominicans, and as a young man published two books, *Sideralis Abyssus*, Pavia, Jac. de Burgo Franchio, 15 March 1511, and *Calipsychia, siue de pulchritudine animae*, Milan, G. Ponticus, 9 Oct. 1511. The latter I have not seen: the former is an astrological work, which 'shows the virtues of Thos. Aquinas figured in the stars'. In the colophon to it he gives his own age. Later he went to Rome and taught philosophy in the University. While there he entered the lists against Luther with an appeal *Ad principes et*

interea dicam. Vnus erat Louanii vir, scholasticae theologiae non  
 410 vulgariter eruditus nec veteris illius rudis, nomine Ioannes Turen-  
 hout. Is publice multis diebus disputauit aduersus aliquot axiomata  
 Lutheri, et disputauit vt theologum decuit, absque conuiciis. Idem  
 scripsit super hoc argumento libellum; nec dubito quin ea modera-  
 415 tione scripserit qua disputauit. Nemo vehementius adnissus est vt is  
 libellus publicaretur quam ego. Haec nimirum ageret qui Lutheri  
 faueret erroribus? Quid mihi necessitudinis cum Luthero? aut quid  
 ab illo sperem praemiorum, vt ab eo stare velim aduersus doctrinam  
 Euangelicam? aut aduersus Ecclesiam Romanam, quam opinor a  
 catholica non dissentire? aut aduersus Pontificem Romanum totius  
 420 Ecclesiae Principem, qui nec episcopo meo peculiari velim aduersari?  
 Non sum tam impius vt dissentiam ab Ecclesia catholica, non sum  
 tam ingratus vt dissentiam a Leone, cuius et fauorem et indulgentiam  
 in me non vulgarem sum expertus. Postremo non sum tam impru-  
 dens vt obsistam ei cui nec regibus tutum est obsistere, etiam si illius  
 425 causa mihi parum probaretur; praesertim cum nulla spes esset boni  
 fructus.

Si corrupti mores Romanae curiae postulant ingens aliquod ac  
 praesens remedium, certe meum aut mei similium non est hanc pro-  
 uinciam sibi sumere. Malo hunc, qualis qualis est, rerum humanarum  
 430 statum quam novos excitari tumultus, qui saepenumero vergunt in  
 diuersum atque putabatur. Qui mare admittunt in nouas lacunas,  
 saepe falluntur, quod semel admissum non ea fertur qua destinarat  
 admissor, sed quo lubuit proripit sese magno malo finitiorum. Ego  
 sciens nec fui nec ero magister erroris, nec vllius tumultus vel dux  
 435 vel comes sum futurus. Affectent alii martyrium, ego me non arbi-  
 tror hoc honore dignum. Scio me quibusdam inuisum—non quod  
 Lutheranus sim; nam hoc ipsum indignatur, quod Lutheranus non  
 sim—, sed iis qui nulli placent nisi stultis mulierculis, idiotis et  
 superstitiosis. Nec prorsus aliis displicet Erasmus nisi quibus displi-  
 440 cent bonae literae et Euangelica veritas, hoc est quos alit ac ditat  
 populi stultitia.

Haec pluribus ad te scripsi, vt, si qui forte sunt istie qui me vocant  
 in suspicionem, ne quid commouearis istorum calumniis; illud certis-  
 simum habens ac persuasissimum, Erasmum et fuisse semper et  
 445 semper futurum Romanae sedis, cui scio me multis nominibus  
 obligatissimum, cum primis studiosum, habiturum pro aduersario  
 quisquis illi aduersatur. Atque vtinam Germani maluissent pru-

410. Turenhout *F*: Turenholtius *H*. 433. sed *F* *Corrig.*: se *F*. 438. nullis *N*.

*populos Germaniae*, Rome, J. Mazochius, Aug. 1520; which Luther and his friends at first thought to be by Emser (LE<sup>2</sup>. 355, &c.). Melancthon rejoined with an *Oratio pro Martino Luthero* (Wittenberg), s. n., 1521, under the name of Didymus Faentinus (cf. Ep. 1199. 24); and to this Radinus, encouraged by Leo x, replied with another *Oratio*, Rome, Mazochius, 1 May 1522, which ended the controversy. He lost his life in the Sack of Rome.

See F. Lauchert, *Ital. Gegner Luthers*, 1912, pp. 177-99, with a detailed analysis of the three books last mentioned. The first two of them are printed as ME. 86 and 103. The name of Radinus can hardly have been familiar yet in the North. The form found here perhaps owes something to Erasmus' acquaintance with Caelius Rhodiginus (Ep. 469. 8n).

410. Turenhout] See Ep. 1163. 10n.  
 438. idiotis] Cf. Ep. 1153. 171n.

dentem aliquam rationem excogitare negotium hoc Lutheranum et ex dignitate Romani Pontificis et ex publica tranquillitate componendi, quam procacibus ac seditiosis libellis huleus hoc per se satis atrox exasperare! Multorum grauium ac prudentum iudicio videbatur res feliciorem exitum habitura, si per graues, doctos ac sedatos viros maiore moderatione, minore saeuitia fuisset acta, hoc est si Leo Papa maluisset hac in re suam sequi naturam quam aliorum affectibus indulgere. Sed vtcunque res coepta est, precor vt Christus opt. Max. det exitum felicem omnibus, ipsi gloriosum, S. D. N. splendidum et honorificum; cuius gloriae pro mea virili nunquam sum defuturus, si quid tamen hae valebunt literae. Bene vale.

Louanii Natali. S. Nicolai An. M. D. xx.

# 1168. TO CHRISTOPHER HEGENDORFER.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 540.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xiv. 12: LB. 548.

13 December 1520.

[Between Melanchthon's marriage (l. 8n) and the publication of F.

Christopher Hegendorfer (c. 1500—8 Aug. 1540), was the son of a silkworker who had migrated from the neighbourhood of Bamberg and settled at Leipzig. Christopher matriculated at the University in 1513, was B.A. 1515, M.A. 1520, Rector 1523, and LL.D. 1526; and he lectured there on Priscian, Terence, Vergil, Quintilian between the years 1521-5. He attended the Leipzig Disputation in 1519, and afterwards spent a few months at Wittenberg (cf. Ep. 1102. 10n), where he became attracted towards Luther. But apart from this he remained fixed at Leipzig till 1530. He then migrated to Posen (cf. ME. 1139, 1148) at the invitation of the Bishop, as head of the town-school; but left in 1535, being attacked by the Archdeacon for his Lutheran sympathies (cf. A. Jochera, *Obraz . . . w Polsce*, ii, 1842, pp. 237-8, 514-15, nos. 3138-40). During these years he seems to have wandered as far eastwards as Brest-Litovsk; perhaps c. 1531-2 (cf. La. E. 21). After a short period as Professor of Law at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, in 1537 he went as Syndic to Luneburg. About Michaelmas 1539 he was invited for a time to Rostock, to help in the reorganization of the University, which had suffered in the struggles of the Reformation; but he returned to Luneburg as Superintendent of the church (cf. ME. iv. 1063), in tenure of which office he died.

His literary activity was ceaseless. Beginning in 1518 with some slight volumes of verse, he produced a rapid succession of small educational books, notes on classical authors, theological and moral works, and legal commentaries; the last of which gained him most fame (cf. VE. 1190). See an admirably careful sketch of him by O. Günther in *Plautuserneuerungen*, 1886, pp. 70-91; an excellent bibliography by F. Cohrs in *Evang. Katechismusversuche (Mon. German. Paedagog. xxii)*, 1901, 347-414; and EE. Two autograph letters from him to Capito, whom he styles 'praeceptor', are in the Basle MS. Ki. Ar. 25. a. 76-8.

His relations with Erasmus were few. This is the only known letter which passed between them; and Erasmus rarely, if ever, mentions his name elsewhere. The letter which this answers, perhaps had its origin in Hegendorfer's desire to explain the appearance of two of his *Dialogi* appended to an edition, Strasburg, J. Knoblauch, 8 Aug. 1520, of Erasmus' *Fam. Colloquiorum Formulae*, according to the last recension (cf. Ep. 1041). In a later edition by Knoblauch, April 1521, the *Dialogi* are mentioned on the title-page, but do not appear in the text: see BEr<sup>2</sup>. *Colloq.* i, pp. 83, 93.]

456. S. D. N. F: Leoni H.

ERASMVS ROTEROD. CHRISTOPHORO HEGENDORFINO LIPSIO S. D.

TAM ego absum ab Vlysse, quem me facis in literis tuis, quam tu procul abes a Thersite, cui te confers. Doctrinae laudem quam ad inuidiam vsque mihi tribuitis, toties iam frustra deprecor. Humanitatis et candoris laudem libens agnoscerem, si per occupationes et  
 5 fortunae malignitatem tantundem praestare possem quantum cupio. Eruditione volens cedo quibuslibet; humanitatis officiis quod superior nonnunquam, necessitas est in causa, non natura. Si Philippus Melanchthon duxit vxorem, quid superest nisi vt illi bene ominemur? quando quod factum est, rescindi non potest. Quorsum igitur attinet  
 10 nunc amicorum colligere sententias?

Quod isthic agit Eccius, hoc hic quidam agunt maioribus etiam studiis. Sed huius fabulae semper decreueram esse spectator, sic vt nec si bene cesserit, mihi laudis aliquid postulem, nec, si secus, reprehendi possim. Fata viam inuenient. Caeterum quod in Eccium  
 15 schedis affixis ludunt, multis modis mihi displicet. Primum exemplum periculosum est, quod in quemuis ilico possit recidere. Deinde quid stultius quam eos prouocare quos non possis coercere? Postremo quid minus decorum Germanis, quibus praecipuam laudem olim peperit bellica virtus, quam anonymis libellis pugnare? quorum  
 20 interim suspicio multos grauat innocentes, cum aduersariorum causam reddant etiam meliorem.

Vt armis rem gerere nisi cum vrget necessitas, non est mei consilii, ita libellis pugnare nimis ineptum, nec satis viris dignum iudico. Magis illud ad rem pertinebat, circumspicere rationem  
 25 aliquam qua sine tumultu totum hoc negotium possit componi. Nunc Lutherus eos prouocat qui, etiam si malam causam haberent—quod ego non iudico—, ne possint quidem opprimi. Et interim bonas literas degrauat inuidia, in quas crabrones hos immittit, vix tolerabiles etiam cum res illis male succedunt: quis autem feret gestientes  
 30 victoria? Aut ego nihil video, aut alio tendunt quam ad Lutherum.

1. literis] Not extant.

8. vxorem] Catherine Crapp (1497—11 Oct. 1557), daughter of the burgo-master of Wittenberg. The marriage took place on 26 Nov. 1520. See ME. 85, 89, 90, 94; LE<sup>2</sup>. 338, 364.

11. Eccius] Cf. Ep. 1166. 86n.

15. schedis affixis] Placards publicly posted; cf. Ep. 1061. 505n.

18. Germanis] Cf. Ep. 1225. 131-2; and for other aspects of their character in the letters of this period see Epp. 998. 64n, 1155. 28-9, 1167. 9-10, 1186. 22-3.

19. bellica virtus] Cf. Epp. 307. 14, 380. 6-7, 875. 1, 919. 35-6, 939. 26-9. In *Adag.* 844 Erasmus describes the Junker of his day: 'Atque haec (pecunia) est vna non minima pestis Germaniae nostrae, praecipue apud eos qui nobilitatis titulo gloriantur: quam sunt in his qui nobilitatem fin-  
 gunt, vt haec faciant impunitius; qui

subornant a quibus vocentur Ionckheri, iactant arces paternas, addunt plumam galero, pingunt clypeum in quo dextra librans macheram dissecet elephantem, subscribunt epistolis suis tres literas, "Equ." Si quis sit natus viculo quopiam, puta Ornithoplutus, dicto Isocomo, non se scribit Isocomensem—nam id plebeium est—sed Ornithoplutus ab Isocomo. Atque tum sibi ius esse putant indicere bellum cui visum est. . . . Curritur in militiam, redeunt cum praeda non ab hostibus parta. His rudimentis exercitati nullum horrent facinus'; a passage inserted in Sept. 1528, with some points of resemblance to the colloquy *Ἰππεὺς ἀντιππος* (p. 303). At the same date he added to *Adag.* 1724 a characteristic of the German soldiery, 'vt dextra sublata laeticiam indicent animi'.

20. grauat] Cf. Ep. 1165. 39.

Musarum aciem expugnatum properant. Non recusauero videri  
vanus, nisi res ipsa mihi fidem arroget. Bene vale.

Louanii Id. Decemb. Anno M. D. xx.

# 1169. TO AUGUSTINE SCARPINELLUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 568.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xv. 12: LB. 549.

13 December 1520.

[1520 is the only year in which Erasmus returned to Louvain from Aachen at this season.

Augustine Scarpinellus of Naples was in attendance upon Marlianus at the Court; and in that position had perhaps made Erasmus' acquaintance as early as 1516-17. After the coronation he went on with Marlianus to Worms (cf. Epp. 1195, 1198); where during the Diet he fell ill. He was perhaps already a person of importance; for in 1522 he was sent as Milanese ambassador to England. He remained there till 1532, enjoying the credit of 'a man of great ability' (Brown iv. 69). Numerous dispatches from and to him are to be found in Brewer iii, iv; Bergenroth iii, iv; Brown iv; and Hinds.

He has been identified, quite probably, by P. Kalkoff (*Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft* xxvii, 1904, p. 348n) with the 'meister Augustin Lumbarth' to whom Dürer (*Tagebuch*, ed. F. Leitschuh, 1884, p. 54) presented two woodcuts at Antwerp in Aug. 1520: in view of Scarpinellus' connexion with Marlianus and Milan, Dürer may easily have made a mistake as to his nationality.

I cannot discover that his interest in Cicero led him to undertake any edition. Erasmus wrote to him again with intimacy on 30 Aug. 1524 (Ep. 1478). In 1535 he wrote to Erasmus from Ferrara (LB. 1277).]

ERASMVS ROT. CLARISS. VIRO AVGVSTINO SCARPINELLO

NEAPOLITANO S. D.

TALE iter hostibus eueniat quale mihi contigit huc reuolanti. Qui  
venti, qui nymbi, quae inundatio! Parum abfuit quin in ipsis  
montibus naufragium fecerimus; nam equis erat nauigandum.  
Equus famuli vix enatauit incolumis; nos enim alieno periculo  
maluimus sapere. Aragoniae Regina iam progressa Aquisgrano 5  
sesquimiliarium, coacta est in urbem redire cum suis. Ego vir  
fortis turpe ducens si velut victus redirem vnde veneram, hospiti  
meo risui futurus, homini hominum qui viuunt humanissimo—is est  
Leonardus Priccardus; qui nullis precibus quieverat impetrare vt eum  
diem adhuc darem amicis cupientissimis—, pertendo quo coeperam. 10  
Quid enim conuiciorum in me non dixisset ille, si quod tantus  
amicus, nec solus, quod dies Dominicus, qui ferias impetrat et ab  
agricolis, non impetrasset, ventus et hymber extorsissent? Totum

1169. TIT. CLARISS. VIRO *om.* H.

N: NEAPOLITANO SCARPINELLO F.

1169. 5. Regina] Germaine (c. 1488—  
18 Oct. 1538), sister of Gaston de Foix,  
niece of Louis XII, and grandniece of  
Ferdinand of Aragon; whom after  
dispensation she married as his second  
wife in March 1506. At his death she  
married on 17 March 1519 John, Mar-  
grave of Brandenburg († 1526), who was  
appointed Governor of Valencia, and

created King of Bogya in Africa, in  
order that her rank might be preserved  
to her (Brewer iii. 130). She was at  
this time much with the Court. Finally  
she married Ferdinand of Aragon,  
Duke of Calabria. See NBG.

9. Priccardus] See Ep. 972 introd.

12. dies Dominicus] Perhaps 18 Nov.;  
see p. 370.

ferme iter equitauimus soli; latronem nullum vidimus, etiamsi  
15 multos terrebant saevi rumores.

Tu vero quid isthic rerum geris? Iamne satis Germanice spiras?  
Quomodo te beant aestuaria Germanica? O te felicem, qui in media  
bruma fruaris aestate! Sed quid tandem agit amasius tuus Cicero?  
Quae spes habet te fore vt ille totus aliquando reuiuiscat? Verum  
20 etiam atque etiam vide ne sic adames M. Tullium vt cum Hieronymo  
flagris liuentes scapulas referas. Rides somnium? at expertus ille  
somnia esse negat. Sed ego, mi Augustine, serio iam laudo  
studium tuum qui totus in Cicerone verseris. Quod idem si fecissem,  
fortasse meliorem gratiam retulissent ingenia candidiora, quam nunc  
25 referunt quidam, quibus benefacere periculosissimum est.

Breui me reddam vestro contubernio. Interim salutabis meis  
verbis mitissimum Saeuerum, congerronem tuum, et insignem heroa  
Aloysium Marlianum, Tudensem episcopum. Bene vale.

Louanii. Id. Decembr. ANNO M. D. XX.

# 1170. TO LEONARD PRICCARD.

Opus Epistolarum p. 716.

N. p. 683: Lond. xix. 105: LB. 287.

Louvain.

(December 1520?)

[The year-date given in H is as fanciful as most of those added in that edition to letters of the earlier periods: for Ep. 867, which was the cause of the trouble, was not written till 1518. Moreover, though Ep. 867 was shown in ms. to numerous friends (cf. Epp. 877. 32-3, 878. 8-9, 879. 16, 880. 6-8, 881. 3-4, 882. 2-3, 883. 2-3, 885. 31-2, 886. 11-12, 887. 2-3), including the Count of Neuenahr, who had given Erasmus his introduction (cf. Ep. 867. 111), it probably did not attract the notice of the Canons of Aachen until its appearance in E, c. Nov. 1519 (see Ep. 1040 introd.).

The changes in Ep. 867 made in F may certainly be attributed to the remonstrances which Erasmus answers here: so that this letter cannot be later than 1521. The coincidence of ll. 17-18 with the passage substituted in F suggests that this letter was written about the time when Erasmus was revising E for the new edition (see p. 390). It may be placed conjecturally in December 1520, after his visit to Aachen mentioned in Ep. 1169. On such an occasion he might well have heard hints of dissatisfaction with the language of Ep. 867. The words 'vetus vlcus refricuisse' (l. 6) suggest that the question had been raised before; and show also that this letter must be placed as late as possible within the limits of time indicated. For Priccard see Ep. 972 introd.]

ERASMVS ROT. LEONARDO PRICARDO, CANONICO AQVENSIS, S. D.

ERVDTISSIME Pricarde, vt eleganter scripsit Aristophanes,

'Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔνεστι συκοφάντου δῆγματος.

Aduersus aspidum virus reperta sunt incantamenta, aduersus viperarum et canis rabiosi morsum remedia monstrarunt medici;

1169. 20. M. F: Marcum H.

27. Seuerum H.

1169. 17. aestuaria] Cf. Ep. 236. 41; and, for their effect upon Erasmus, Ep. 1248. 10n.

20. Hieronymo] Ep. 22. 30.

26. vestro contubernio] The corps of diplomatists and officials, with whom Erasmus had been in close contact during the ceremonies at Aachen and Cologne. It appears that he contem-

plated rejoining them at Worms; on his way to Basle (cf. Ep. 1189. 1n).

27. Saeuerum] mentioned again in Epp. 1195, 1198: perhaps the Benedictine of this name of whom Vives writes in Ep. 1271. 142.

28. Marlianum] See Epp. 411. 8n, 1114, 1195.

1170. 1. Aristophanes] Pl. 885.



aduersus calumniatorum morsus nullum est remedium. Audio 5 theologum quendam isthic vetus vlcus refricuisse, imo ex obducta cicatrice graue vulnus fecisse. Ait per me factum vt tui canonici rideantur in scholis ob epistolam quandam ad Beatum Rhenanum. Primum quod ad animum attinet, nihil vnquam minus venit in mentem quam vt talibus viris quibus ego plurimum debeo, vllam 10 scriptis meis notam inurerem; imo nihil recusaturus sum, si quo officio possim illis vel ornamento esse vel vsui. Quid enim me fuerit in orbe terrarum inhumanius, si pro summa humanitate reponere voluissem ignominiam?

Hoc de meo animo cum primis testatum esse volo. Iam quid est, 15 obsecro, in ipsa re quod illorum minuat dignitatem? An quod in multam noctem productum est conuiuium? Nimirum sero coeperamus accumbere, et hoc ipsum humanitatis erat, quod mea causa vocatis aliquot, reddidere conuiuium prolixius. Nec enim fuit illic vlla com- potatio, neque quisquam omnium non minus potus erat quam ego. 20 Porro quod Decanus me reluctantem eo pertraxit, quid aliud incuso quam illius insignem humanitatem? Sic et duo discipuli compulerunt Iesum vt apud se diuersaretur.

Quid autem probri impingitur Vicepraeposito, si quum tempestas arceret piscatores a piscando, nihil erat in conuiuium praeter anguillas 25 et pisces vento duratum? Quasi Romae non idem accidat aliquando summis cardinalibus. Et tamen hoc pisce durato natura delector. Porro quod admixta fuerint quaedam fragmenta non satis percocta, illud suspicabar esse quod affluerint plures conuiuae quam expectabat. Certe Vicepraepositus ille visus est iuuenis singulari praeditus humani- 30 tate planeque sobrius. Denique vix vnquam incidi in sodalitiū quod mihi magis arrisisset si valuissim. Quid autem scommatis esse videtur in mentione periodi? Quasi non is mos sit apud plerosque canonicos multis nominibus laudandus, vt conuiuiis in orbem actis inuicem agitent sodalitia; vel ob vitandam prophanorum 35 consuetudinem, ne familiaritas pariat contemptum, vel ob temperandum sumptum, qui minor est vbi plures conueniunt. Et interim discitur aliquid in conuiuiis, tractatur aliquid negotii, nonnunquam corriguntur et errata quaedam. Vnde et Plato, philosophorum seuerissimus, probat huiusmodi compotatiunculas, nec improbat 40 etiam inuitatiunculas ex more Graecorum ad largius bibendum, modo ne praetereatur πάντων μέτρον ἄριστον.

Quare te rogo, mi Leonarde, vt quod ille sycophanta male narrando deprauauit, tu bene interpretando corrigas; ac meo nomine promittas dominis meis quicquid ab homine memori et grato debet expectari. 45 Quod si diffidunt dictis meis, faciant in re periculum. Nihil refugiam, etiamsi res sit magni laboris. Saluta mihi Vlatenum ac caeteros omnes. Louanii, Anno † M. D. XVII.

8. epistolam] Ep. 867.

17. multam noctem] Cf. Ep. 867. 115. sero ... accumbere] See the correction made in F for Ep. 867. 115.

19. compotatio] Cf. Ep. 867. 112, 131: altered in F. See also Ep. 1033. 22.

21. pertraxit] Cf. Ep. 867. 111-12, 117.

22. compulerunt] Luke 24. 29.

24. Vicepraeposito] See Ep. 867. 117-22.

33. periodi] Cf. Ep. 867. 118.

39. Plato] *Leg.* 1. 640 B seq.

47. Vlatenum] John of Vlaten; to whom Erasmus dedicated an edition of *Cic. Tusc. Quaest.*, Basle, Froben, Nov. 1523 (Ep. 1390).

## 1171. TO MATTHEW SCHINNER.

Paraphrases in Epistolas Canonicas, f<sup>o</sup>. F.  
Lond. xxix. 77 : LB. vii. 1113.

Louvain.  
16 December 1520.

[The preface to the Paraphrase on the Epistle of St. James. Like most of Erasmus' other Paraphrases on the Epistles (Epp. 710, 916, 956, 1112, 1181), this would naturally be printed at Louvain by Martens. BER<sup>1</sup> mentions such an edition, Dec. 1520; but no copy of it seems discoverable (cf. p. 180). The earliest edition that I can find is Froben's of March 1521 (a), with the title, *Paraphrases in omnes Epistolas Pauli germanas et in omnes canonicas, diligenter ab autore recognitae ac marginalibus indicibus illustratae*; the verso enumerating all the Epistles of the New Testament except Hebrews (Ep. 1181). The volume is composite, of several parts, with signatures running in regular sequence throughout, and three intermediate title-pages. The first of these mentions Tim. Tit. Philem. (Ep. 1043) and the Canonical Epistles; the second has only the latter item, Peter and Jude (Ep. 1112), James (Ep. 1171) and John (Ep. 1179); and the third runs, *In Epistolam Pauli Apostoli ad Hebraeos Paraphrasis per Erasmus Roterodamum extrema*, 1521 (Ep. 1181), with the colophon dated March 1521. The text of this preface is followed by all the early Froben editions (p. 123), except for a necessary correction in July 1521 (β), and a lapse in the octavo of 1523 (γ), corrected in the folio of 1523-4 (δ). But in 1532 (ε), as in Epp. 916, 1062, 1112, there is some revision.

REVERENDISSIMO DOMINO D. MATTHAEO CARDINALI SEDVNSI,  
COM. VALESII, ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVS S. D.

IAM videbar ad huius curriculi metam peruenisse, et ipse mihi  
ferias destinabam in hoc duntaxat genere studiorum, propterea quod  
omnes Epistolas explicuissem quas Pauli germanas esse iudicabam;  
quibus adiunxi Petri duas et Iudae vnam, quod hae non solum  
5 consentirent cum Paulinis in vigore doctrinae Euangelicae, verum  
maioribus etiam tenebris quam illae essent inuolutae. Siquidem  
quae fertur ad Hebraeos, praeterquam quod multis argumentis  
coniici potest non esse Pauli, cum stilo rhetorico verius quam  
Apostolico sit scripta, non perinde multum habet difficultatis:  
10 quemadmodum nec eae quae Iacobo Ioannique tribuuntur. Nam  
Ioannes ipsa sermonis copia veluti sui ipsius interpret est, et Iacobus  
fere versatur in locis communibus. Quod genus sunt: Ob Christum  
fortiter tolerandas res aduersas, et in his Dei praesidiis maxime  
nitendum: Homines non naturae Deiue vicio, sed suapte culpa fieri  
15 malos, siue saeuat fortuna siue blandiatur: Non temere loquendum  
aut irae indulgendum: Non satis esse verbotenus tenere professionem  
Euangelicam, nisi factis et affectibus exprimamus: Inanem esse  
religionem quae cum intemperantia linguae sit coniuncta: Veram  
pietatem sitam esse in officiis, quibus proximum egentem miseri-  
20 corditer subleuamus: Neminem aestimandum e bonis externis sed  
e veris animi bonis: Fidei professionem inutilem esse, ni piis factis  
comprobetur: Nemini temere suscipiendam docendi prouinciam:  
Praecipuam vitae pestem nasci ex lingua effreni, quemadmodum  
contra bona moderataque lingua nihil vtilius: Plurimum interesse  
25 inter mundanam et Christianam sapientiam: Non constare pacem,  
nisi submotis ex animo cupiditatibus humanis: Nihil conuenire huic  
mundo et Deo: A Deo destitui qui elati suis fidunt opibus, cum iis

faueat ille qui sibi diffusi ab ipso pendeant: Deo facere iniuriam, qui condemnat ac iudicat proximum: Euanidam ac fugacem esse praesentis vitae felicitatem: Potentes quibus hic impune licet quodlibet, 30 post acerbissimas datus poenas: Vindictam malorum Deo Iudici relinquendam esse: Preces piorum hominum plurimum valere apud Deum: Hoc officio maxime flecti Deum ut nostris peccatis ignoscat, si nos fratri in nos peccanti condonemus, et si aberrantem amanter in viam reuocemus; aliaque id genus, in quibus non potest admodum 35 esse multum difficultatis in explicando, cum plurimum sit in praestando; et tamen incidunt loca quaedam in quibus erat nonnihil luctandum, velut in illo in quo haeret Augustinus, Quisquis offenderit in vno, factus est omnium reus. Item, quod negat fidem valere absque factis; cum Paulus ex aduerso contendat Abrahae non ex 40 factis sed ex fide contigisse ut iustus haberetur apud Deum et amicus Dei diceretur. Iam quaedam etiam hiare videntur, ut in connectendo nonnihil fuerit negotii.

Sed haec vtcunque habent, cum primum hanc operam susceperem, non erat animus hoc honoris impendere, nisi duobus illis Apostolorum 45 et Euangelicae philosophiae principibus, Paulo et Petro. Et ecce iam metam amplexum, iam spectantem oculum, tua vox me reuocat ad stadium, etiam atque etiam hortans ne quam huius laboris portionem aliis relinquam: non solum ob hoc, quod iudicares studium hoc vel praecipuam vtilitatem allaturum Euangelicae philosophiae candidatis, 50 verumetiam quod cum his temporibus pene nihil sit intactum a sycophantarum morsibus, tamen hoc vnum opus adhuc Momis omnibus ἀμωμον, ut ita loquar, fuerit. Sequor quo tua vocat autoritas, reuerendissime D. Non me clam est quam ex animo faueas doctrinae vere Christianae, in qua tu non paucos annos feliciter es versatus; 55 quam non fecte faueas Erasmo, quam sis ingenio perspicaci, quam certo, quam non vulgari iudicio. Quales si complures haberet Ecclesia catholica, multo florentiores et aliquanto tranquilliores essent res Christianae.

Quis autem spiritus agitet istos, qui suae quoque famae et autoritatis dispendio, cum iniuria sacrarum etiam concionum, tam pertinentibus studiis conantur ut e nostris lucubrationibus minus fructus redeat ad studiosos, ipsi viderint. Me magis mouet aliorum iudicium, quos et eruditio non vulgaris et morum integritas ab omni suspitione liuoris ac malevolentiae vindicat. Ego nullius obscuro gloriam, 65 neminem e cathedra sua depello, nullius obstrepro studiis; non ambio dignitates, non venor quaestum, sed quaecunque talentulum meum in commune profero. Cui mea non placent, liberum est abstinere: nos haec gratis largimur. Si quis volet dare meliora, fauebimus utroque pollice. Nulli me factioni vnquam admiscui; 70 nemo meis scriptis vel pilo factus est nigrior.

Nulla seculo non licuit alicubi dissentire a quamlibet probatis

28. ille add. ε.

pendent ε.

38. Quisquis] James 2. 10. Erasmus quotes his own translation.

40. Paulus] Rom. 4. 3 seq.

47. tua vox] Probably on the occasion mentioned in Ep. 1155. 1-2. Subse-

quently it was at Schinner's instigation that Erasmus proceeded from the Epistles to the Gospels: cf. Ep. 1248. 14n.

71. nigrior] Cf. Ep. 1007. 81n.

autoribus. Si a solo Thoma dissentirem, videri possem in illum iniquior. Nunc et ab Ambrosio et ab Hieronymo et ab Augustino  
 75 non raro dissentio, sed reuerenter; in Thomam etiam candidior quam vt multis bonis et eruditis viris gratum sit. Sed hanc reuerentiam non opinor me debere Hugonibus aut Lyrano omnibus. etiam si Lyrano non nihil debemus. Nullum fuit seculum tam felix quin optima paucioribus placuerint. Sed haud scio an villo plus  
 80 licuerit inscitiae, audaciae, impudentiae, stoliditati linguaeque petulantiae. Libris diffidunt, qui tacita doctorum hominum iudicia subire coguntur; res geritur linguis veneno tinctis, idque apud imperitam plebem, apud credulas mulierculas. In horum simplici credulitate tota victoriae spes illis sita est. O fortes viros, qui hoc vno telo  
 85 formidabiles sunt, quo metuuntur et scurrae! Et postea nobis imputant, si qui peius de ipsis sentiant, si pauciores sese adiungant sacrosancto ipsorum gregi; cum ipsi publicitus etiam declarent ipsa re quanto propius absint ab impiis sycophantis quam a vere pietatis cultoribus. Sed illis continget aliquando sua Nemesis, videlicet ipsis  
 90 suo sibi iumento malum accersentibus, et continget alicunde malo nodo malus cuneus. Neque enim consultum arbitror dimicare cum ventribus coniuratis, qui nec aures habent nec mentem. Et viro Christiano dignius est ferre scurras quam imitari. Nos tuo tuique similium hortatu, sed in primis auspice Christo, pergemus et nos  
 95 ipsos et alios huiusmodi vigiliis ad meliora prouocare. Bene vale, patrone cum primis colende.

Louanii .xvii. Calen. Ianuarias. ANNO M.D.XX.

#### 1172. To GODESCALC ROSEMONDT.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 561.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xv. 3: LB. 557.

(c. 17 December) 1520.

[An approximate month-date can be assigned from the new attack upon Erasmus: see l. 2n.]

ERASMVS ROTEROD. INSIGNI THEOLOGO D. GODSCHALCO ROSEMVNDO,  
 LOVANIENSIS ACADEMIAE RECTORI, S. D.

MAGNIFICE D. Rector, non dubito quin tu scias id quod nemo nescit, quam seditiose debacchatus sit in nomen meum alter quidam Iacobita, priori illi rabulae succenturiatus, a nullo conuicio tempe-

1171. 73. possim e. 83. ad: credulitati γ. 86. si ante pauciores om. ε.  
 91. nodo β: modo α. 97. a Christo nato post ANNO add. Lond.: om. LB.  
 1172. TIT. INSIGNI THEOLOGO om. H. 1. D. om. H. 3. Iacobita F: Dominicanus H.

1171. 73. Thoma] Cf. Ep. 1126. 262n.  
 78. Lyrano] See Ep. 182. 116n.  
 81. tacita... iudicia] Cf. Ep. 1155. 16.  
 86. pauciores] Cf. Ep. 1183. 121-3.  
 92. ventribus] Cf. Ep. 1166. 16.

1172. 2. alter quidam] The preacher of 16 Dec.; see Ep. 1173. 108-9.  
 3. Iacobita] Cf. Ep. 1153. 113n.  
 priori... rabulae] Laurentius; see Ep. 1166. 26n, and l. 32 *infra*.

rans atque interim manifeste mentiens. Quid enim istos pudet? Vbi vsque ad suam sacietatem et omnium nauseam deblaterasset, 5 tandem scurra facetus iussit orarent Deum pro me, vt aliquando conuerterer ad meliorem mentem. Haec nisi fierent vel instigantibus vel conuiuentibus theologis quibusdam, non auderent hac vti petulantia in Academia tam celebri, idque in sacris concionibus atque etiam sine fine. Nihil admiror haec audere Iacobitas; illud admiror, haec 10 probari ordini theologico. Ille non poterat ferre vnam vocem 'mataeologi' tortam oblique in Egmondanum: et haec seditiosa, haec plusquam scurrilia patiuntur aequis animis ac, ni fallor, incitant. Haec scilicet placuit illis ratio conficiendi Erasmus. Quod si ego pariter cum illis insanirem, nonne tumultus egregius nasceretur? 15

Hic animus sibi bene conscius et grauiora potest perpeti; sed interim quale est hoc exemplum petulantiae? et quem exitum habiturum? et quam speciosus hic est ludus sub Christi natalem! Non tam sum insanus vt velim cum Praedicatorum populo depugnare. Ego illos quales quales sunt, Deo iudicandos relinquo. Ego nec 20 monachorum sum hostis, nec theologorum: nisi forte Christianorum omnium hostis est, qui in illorum moribus aliqua non probet. Si quid habet aduersum me Theologica Facultas, expostulet mecum. proponat quid velit. Sum paratus reddere rationem studiorum meorum omnibus sobriis; nam cum Egmondano colloqui, non est collo- 25 qui. Vere dixit Mimulus ille, Cum absente loquitur, qui cum ebrio litigat: sed multo magis qui cum furioso litigat. Tumultus hic scurrilis displicet etiam laicis; quo minus addubito quin displiceat etiam tibi viro optimo. Sed tua lenitas in me, imo in hanc totam Academiam, crudelitas est. Eius officium erat vel me tacente toti 30 monasterio, imo concionatoribus omnibus a tali petulantia silentium indicare. Alter vetitus erat sub poenis grauissimis. Quis vnquam exegit vel minimam? Haec quid sibi velint intelligunt et pueri.

Posthac non ero tuae magnificentiae molestus, spero te functurum officio tuo; sin minus, mihi est animus qui ista flocci non faciat. 35 Quod si quid tumultus extiterit, imputabitur iis qui vel dissimulant, vel fauerunt exordiis. Tu certe dissimulare non potes. Bene vale, magnifice D. Rector, et si quid me facere voles, impera; experieris obsequentissimum. Louanii, M.D.XX.

8. hac F: tam scurrili H.  
26. cum ebrio qui H.  
dissimulauerunt H.

10. Iacobitas F: Dominicanos H.  
20. Ego ante illos om. H.  
33. minimum N.  
38. D. om. H.

19. Praedicatorum F: Dominicanorum H.  
22. probat H.  
36. quid F: quis H.  
39. Louanii, M.D.XX add. H.

11. mataeologi] Cf. Ep. 1173. 112-13. Erasmus habitually uses the word as an insulting corruption of 'theologus'.

25. cum Egmondano colloqui] Cf. Ep. 1162.

26. Mimulus] Cf. Publ. Syr. Sent. A. 12.

32. vetitus erat] For the temporary silencing of Laurentius (l. 3n) cf. Epp. 1164. 2, 1166. 28-9, 1173. 105. It proceeded from Aleander, who acted upon suggestion from Erasmus: see the *Spongia* (LB. x. 1646 c = HE. 333, § 142) and Epp. 1581, 1582.

1145<sup>1173</sup>. TO FRANCIS CRANEVELT.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 562.  
HN: Lond. xv. 5: LB. 550.

Louvain.  
18 December 1520.

[The year-date is confirmed by the mention (l. 100) of Erasmus' visit to Calais in July 1520.]

CLARISS. IVRIS VTRIVSQVE DOCTORI, FRANCISCO CRANEVELDIO,  
VRBIS BRVGENSIS A CONSILIIIS, ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVS S. D.

NIMIRVM hoc est quod vulgo dici solet, vnica filiola mihi duos conciliaui generos. Agis mihi gratias, cuius opera tibi contigerit Morus tam candidus amicus: at ille mihi vicissim gratias agit, per quem contigerit nosse Craneueeldium. Sciebam ilico, quae morum  
5 et ingeniorum est similitudo, nascituram inter vos amicitiam, si modo vterque alteri innotuisset. Talium amicorum vt est cum primis preciosa, ita rarissima est possessio, praesertim hisce temporibus: quo magis est propaganda atque etiam tuenda.

Commigravit isthuc Petrus cognomento Amicus, iuuenis moribus  
10 ingenioque longe candidissimo. Complures annos egit cum Aegidio Buslidio, cuius liberos instituit, cui non aliter charus fuit ac filius, ob fidei vitaeque synceritatem. Is nunc venatur fortunam aliquanto benigniorem, ac mea sententia dignus est amplissima. Est vtriusque linguae pulchre peritus, ad haec in iuris studio nec paucis annis nec  
15 infelicitate versatus. Postremo notarius est haud malae fidei. Nihil addubito quin ipsius dotes sint hominem abunde commendaturae. Sed tamen existimat se bonis omnibus commendabiliorem etiam fore, si vestro gregi ascribatur amicus. Equidem non recuso meum nomen rursus in tuo scribi diario, si quid officii collocaueris in homi-  
20 nem mihi charissimum: sed tamen arbitror fore vt quemadmodum antehac, ita nunc quoque geminam ineam gratiam.

Amici veteres hic non desinunt esse sui similes, conspirant, musant, oblatrant, minitantur: mihi imputant quod Lutheri negocium non tam atrociter succedit quam vellent. Carmelita Egmondanus in  
25 sacris concionibus, in praelectionibus publicis, subinde me lapidat, atque interim ridetur etiam a suis Carmelitis. Cum me citante comparuisset pridem apud Rectorem huius Academiae, tantum conuiciorum mendacissimorum congegit in os meum, vt paratus fuerit me sacrilegum aut paricidam, aut peculatorem aut quiduis aliud  
30 facere, si illi venisset in buccam. Atque ita sibi vir fortis videbatur; Rectori ac mihi, id quod erat, furiosus videbatur. O prodigiosam linguae petulantiam in theologo, in monacho, in sene! Ad primam

TIT. CLARISS. . . . DOCTORI *om. H.*

ROTERODAMVS *add. H.*

9. Amicus] († 1556), a native of Tholen in Zeeland; LL.D. at Louvain 13 Sept. 1530, Professor of Law and 'Dictator' of the University 1533. See Val. Andreas, pp. 156, 185-6, and cf. VZE. 33. His present fortunes can be followed in Ep. 1212. He taught for a

time in the Chapter School at Tournay; see A. Hocquet, *Tournai et le Tournaisis au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1906, p. 283.

11. Buslidio] See Ep. 689 introd.

24. Egmondanus] See Ep. 878. 13n.

27. apud Rectorem] See Ep. 1162.

32. sene] Cf. Ep. 1166. 23n.

hominis petulantiam coeperat mihi bilis moueri; sed mox magis libuit hominem ridere quam refellere.

Tandem huc euasit longa rixa; si vellem scriptis testari Louanii pro-<sup>35</sup> bos et synceros esse theologos, si vellem Lutherum meo stilo confodere, tum nos fore fratres; non alia lege fore concordiam. Respondi vt ipsi se potius praestarent quales vellent haberi. De Luthero respondi mihi non esse in animo nunc admisceri causae tam odiosae, cui me nunquam admiscuissem: nam quod mihi non placebat illum impeti<sup>40</sup> clamoribus apud populum, sed potius libris aeditis esse refellendum, hoc consilium aduersus Lutherum pro theologis facere; sic enim totus poterat aboleri, si prius exemptus fuisset ex animis hominum, cum nunc libri tantum eximantur e bibliothecis, ipse maneat infixus animis. Plurimum habere ponderis Pontificum bullas, sed apud<sup>45</sup> eruditos viros longe plus valere libellum bonis argumentis ac Scripturae diuinae testimoniis non cogentem sed docentem: generosa ingenia facile duci ratione, non perinde cogi imperio. Nec enim hoc tantum esse spectandum, quid mereatur Lutherus, sed qua ratione potissimum liceat huic mederi malo.<sup>50</sup>

Deinde non videri aequum vt ego me vltro negotio admiscerem, cuius initium a me non esset natum: magis autem conuenire vt ipsi qui fabulam hanc agere coepissent, peragerent, ipsi telam quam essent orsi absoluerent, ipsi mortarium alliatum quod intriuissent exederent. Alioqui cur ego potius in Lutherum scribam quam quiuis alius? <sup>55</sup> Quod si insanum sit omnes theologos in vnum scribere, et a paucis id praestari possit, maxime congruere vt illi in eum scriberent, qui in illum disputassent, qui in concionibus illum proscidissent, qui suo praeiudicio prius illum condemnassent quam summus ipse Pontifex. Nam si quid stilo valerem, nec solum valere me, nec hanc rem ele-<sup>60</sup> gantia geri, sed eruditione, quam ipsi sibi potissimum vindicarent. Ad haec crudele videri posse me stilo confodere hominem iam prostratum, fustum atque etiam exustum. Praeterea ne tutum quidem esse irritare in caput meum hominem nec edentulum nec mutilum, et qui plane, quod libri testantur, foenum habeat in cornu: neque<sup>65</sup> mihi consultum esse tot principum Germanorum, tot eruditorum hominum odia in me sine causa concitare. Quin etiam temerarium videri, si mihi prouinciam sumerem quam nemo cum autoritate delegasset, praesertim cum videam tot monachorum ordines, tot scholas malle spectare fabulam hanc quam agere: fortassis ob id<sup>70</sup> quod addubitent cuiusmodi futurus sit exitus. Nec enim abest a periculo ne catastrophe futura sit tumultuosa, ni res moderatioribus consiliis componatur: sed quicumque futurus sit exitus, praecor vt cedat in gloriam Christi. Fortassis aliqui me dixerint audum gloriae, qui bello confecto accurrissem, rerum ab aliis gestarum<sup>75</sup> laudem mihi vindicaturus.

Postremo me non esse vsque adeo mihi ignotum, vt tenuis theo-

35. Louanii] Cf. Ep. 1162. 201-2.

42. hoc consilium] Cf. Faber's *Consilium* (see p. 357): 'Hoc qui consulunt non fauent Luthero, sed ordini theologico Pontificiaeque dignitati. Siquidem hac via Lutherus plenius aboleri poterat, primum exemptus ex animis homi-

num, deinde etiam ex bibliothecis. Nunc exurendis libris fortassis aliqua ex parte diuelletur e bibliothecis, sed interim illius opiniones infixae sunt animis plurimorum.' Cf. Ep. 1153. 154-8.

47. generosa ingenia] Cf. Ep. 1153. 152n.

logus, vel magis grammaticus, vt ipsi solent dicere, tam arduam  
 prouinciam mihi sumerem, quae et summum theologum et autoritate  
 80 praeditum postularet. Neque enim libet suspicari hoc agere quosdam  
 animo non sincero, vt posteaquam scriptis in Lutherum libris  
 Germanorum animos in me prouocassem, hoc odio protinus in meum  
 exitium abuterentur. Addebam hoc laboris mihi frustra sumi: quid  
 enim momenti sit habiturum meum iudicium apud eos quos duarum  
 85 Academiarum sententia, quos summi Pontificis diploma non permo-  
 ueret? Horum si nihil esset, tamen refelli non posse quod non  
 semel atque iterum a capite ad calcem vsque perlegeris: Lutherum  
 πολυγράφον esse. Porro mihi vix otium esse meis ipsius libris reco-  
 gnoscendis. Suos potius aederent libellos, quos iam paratos habe-  
 90 rent Latomus et Turenhoutus, vtrique docti, alter etiam non prorsus  
 infacundus.

Tandem Egmondanus hoc erat futurus contentus, vt si nollem  
 pugnare cum Luthero, saltem testarer illum esse victum a Louanien-  
 sibus. Respondi non deesse qui hoc praedicarent: mihi nondum  
 95 satis liquere eum esse victum, priusquam prodirent illorum argu-  
 menta; neque enim speciosam esse victoriam aut magnopere praedi-  
 cabilem, praesertim theologis, bullis et fauillis vincere. Sic ab eo  
 colloquio tantum non consputus discessi.

Nunc nescio quomodo rursus irritati, videntur in hoc conspirasse,  
 100 vt me concionibus suis conficiant. Cum essem Caletiae in Regum  
 congressu, Iacobita quidam iuuenis, sibi placens et fidens, Phormio-  
 nem esse diceret, hebdomadas aliquot in me debacchatus est Louanii,  
 non aliter quam e plaustris lapidans me conuiciis. Moriam interpre-  
 tabatur populo iuxta sensum cacologicon. Tandem me dissimulante  
 105 indictum est homini silentium, sed posteaquam quicquid libuit effu-  
 tiuerat. Nuper rursus coepit etiam atrocius, irritatus libello Anti-  
 barbarorum, quem non intelligit: rursus, iterum atque iterum tacere  
 iussus nondum sibi temperat. Tandem nudius tertius alter quidam  
 Iacobita, reuersus, vt ferunt, e Gallia, prodiit in concionem, et nihil  
 110 conuiciorum non congessit nominatim in Erasmus, tam petulanter  
 vt omnibus etiam laicis displiceret. Et, o nouam theologorum leni-  
 tatem! haec ferunt aequis animis, qui vocem vnicam 'mateologi',  
 oblique tortam in Camelitam Egmondanum, magnis tragoediis exagi-  
 tarunt. Nemo non intelligit haec fieri theologis quibusdam partim  
 115 conniuentibus, partim etiam instigantibus. O telum theologis dignum!  
 Coram non expostulant, a tergo mordent, conspirant clanculum, per

90. Turenhoutus H.  
 Dominicanus H.

95. prodirent F: prodierint H.  
 fidens F: confidens H.

101. Iacobita F:  
 109. Iacobita F: Domi-  
 nicanus H.

82. Germanorum] Cf. Ep. 1161. 66, 7.  
 85. Academiarum] Cologne and Lou-  
 vain: see Ep. 1030. 16n.  
 diploma] Cf. Ep. 1141. 20n.  
 90. Latomus] See Ep. 1165. 13n.  
 Turenhoutus] See Ep. 1163. 10n.  
 93. victum] Cf. Ep. 1162. 216.  
 100. Caletiae] See p. 296.  
 101. iuuenis] Laurentius: see Ep.

1166. 26n.  
 102. hebdomadas aliquot] In Ep.  
 1581 Erasmus says 'sesquimensem'.  
 106. Antibarbarorum] See pp. 277-8.  
 108. nudius tertius] 16 Dec.: Sunday.  
 alter quidam] I cannot identify:  
 see also Epp. 1172. 3, 1581.  
 112. mateologi] Cf. Ep. 1172. 11-12.  
 113. Camelitam] See Ep. 1165. 12n.



tales scurras suam agunt fabulam. M. N. Nicolaus Egmondanus cum publice auspicaretur epistolas Pauli, admiscuit bellam facetiam, Paulum e saeuissimo persecutore factum esse mansuetissimum Euan-  
gelistae praeconem. 'Ita precandum' inquit, 'vt Lutherus et Erasmus 120  
ab erroribus suis conuertantur': quasi mihi plus esset negotii cum  
Luthero quam sit ipsi Egmondano. Visum est hoc illis bellum  
sophisma sed inter pocula natum, si Lutherum et Erasmum eodem  
iugo copulassent, perinde quasi taurum iungas damae.

Miraris fortasse iamdudum cur te hisce naeniis onerem. Sic lubi- 125  
tum est, cum amico miscere fabulas, et quicquid est nugarum in tuum  
sinum effundere. Sed admiror cur ordo, cui prae caeteris faueo, ac  
verius fortasse quam ipsi faeant sibi, potissimum huiusmodi tragoe-  
diis delectetur: quasi tot excitatis tumultibus, primum de conceptione  
Deiparae Virginis, deinde Florentiae per Hieronymum Sauoronellam, 130  
mox Bernae per alios longe sceleratissimos, rursum in Ioannem  
Capnionem per Iacobum Hogestratum, et *avθις av* in Comitem Nouae  
aquilae, virum toti Germaniae charissimum, non satis inuidiae sibi  
conflarint, nisi denuo tam seditiosis in me clamoribus magis etiam  
irritent in se odia bonorum omnium; nam probis displicet tanta 135  
petulantia, etiam iis quibus fortasse non placet Erasmus. Ac me  
fingunt hostem a quo nunquam sunt laesi, imo pro benefactis malam  
referunt gratiam. Cum saeuiret in illos Capnion, vnus atque alteris  
litteris illum admonui ne laederet ordinem, sed in eum duntaxat  
saeuaret, a quo fuerat laesus. Rursum cum optimo iure offensus 140  
Hermannus Nouae aquilae Comes excluderet omnes Iacobitas a colli-  
gendis caseis, diligenter egi cum illo per literas vt sineret illos:  
atque ille, vt dignum est vere generoso excelsoque pectore, neglexit  
contumeliam ac remisit vindictam; atque hanc gratiam nunc refe-  
runt mihi. Totum ordinem existimant esse laesum, si quid dicatur 145  
in monachos improbos, perinde quasi nulli sint improbi; cum illis  
potius debuerint indignari, qui suis moribus dedecorant ordinem:  
imo si quis describat formam boni monachi, se notari putant.

Quod si iure suo faciunt, merito succensebunt Chrysostomo, qui

117. M. N. *om.* H.  
cf. Ep. 1033. 25on.

128. faueant F: fauent H.  
141. Iacobitas F: Dominicanos H.

130. Sauonarolam H:  
149. suo *om.* H.

117. M. N.] Magister noster.  
Egmondanus] Cf. Ep. 1164. 56-8.  
127. faueo] Cf. Ep. 1006. 4n.  
129. de conceptione] The Domini-  
cans steadily refused to accept the  
theory of the Immaculate Conception of  
the Virgin put forward by the advanced  
theologians of the day; cf. Epp. 1126.  
294n, 1106. 51-7. For Gaguin's contro-  
versy with Vincent Bandello of Castro-  
novo on this question see Thuasne in  
GE. i, pp. 72-6, and Renaudet pp. 106-7.  
130. Sauoronellam] See Ep. 1033.  
25on.  
131. Bernae] See Ep. 1033. 25on.  
139. admonui] Cf. Ep. 300. 21-4.  
141. Hermannus] Cf. Ep. 877. 16 seq.  
142. literas] Not extant.  
149. Chrysostomo] These extracts are

found in *Homil. ad populum Antiochenum*,  
56 and 57; pp. 569, 571, 573 of vol. iv  
of Erasmus' edition, Basle, Froben,  
1530. The latter homilies of this  
series, 22-80, appear first in a Latin  
version by Lucas Bernardus Brixianus,  
a Benedictine of St. Justina's at Padua,  
who edited some of Chrysostom's works,  
Venice, Greg. de Gregoriis, 9 Feb. 1502.  
They were reprinted at once by Ja.  
Pfortzen, Basle, 4 Dec. 1504, and the  
additional homilies appear in subse-  
quent editions until 1547, when Sig.  
Gelenius, in a revised Froben edition,  
marked them off as spurious; and as  
such they have now disappeared from  
Chrysostom's works. See pp. 1, 2, 61  
of Fronto Ducaeus' notes to vol. i of  
his edition, Paris, 1621.

- 150 Homilia quinquagesima et aliquot sequentibus sic depingit ideam vitae monasticae, vt nemini non multa succurrant, qui cum nostri temporis monachis habuerit commercium. 'Fora' inquit, 'fugientes et ciuitates et medios tumultus, in montibus vitam elegerunt cum praesenti commune nihil habentem, nihil sustinentem humanum, 155 non secularem tristitiam, non dolorem, non curam, non pericula, non insidias, non inuidiam, non zelotypiam, non absurdos amores, non aliud quicquam huiusmodi.' Deinde cum de vilitate victus ac vestitus, de laboris industria, de hospitalitate, de sacro studio, multa dixisset, mensae quoque sermones depingit hunc in modum: 'Et si 160 vis' inquit, 'illorum discere mensam, accede propius, et eos experieris talia eructantes, omnia mitia et iucunda, et spiritali odoris suauitate plena; nullum turpe verbum illa possunt ora emittere, nihil scurrile, nihil asperum, sed omnia coelis digna.' Mox vbi virulentas prophanorum obtrectiones commemorasset Chrysostomus, subiecit, 165 'Horum autem ora riuis comparanda sunt, melle manantibus et pura diffundentibus fluentia.' Rursus Homilia proxima: 'Migremus igitur ad illos, inde sciemus mensam apponi bonis innumerabilibus suauissimam, nunquam deficientem, a solitudine liberam, inuidiae, liuoris et omnis pestis immunem, et bona spe refertam, et multa statuentem 170 trophaea: non est illic tumultus, non morbus, non ira, omnia tranquillitas, omnia pax.' Haec illis sunt eradenda, nisi malunt sui esse dissimiles; at non haec solum, verum omnia quae Hieronymus, quae Bernardus de vera religione prodidere scriptis. 'Expedi' inquit, 'vt vulgus de monachis optime sentiat.' Id verum est 175 fortassis, si modo probi sint; sed magis expedit vt tales sint quales haberi volunt. Alioqui magna perniciēs est, si sub praetextu religionis imponant orbi. Expedit vt de pastoribus suis bene sentiat populus, vt de episcopis, de magistratibus: at in hos isti, quoties libuit, licentissime debacchantur.
- 180 Verum de his iam nimis multa. Si me audies, quam minimum te istiusmodi tragoediis admiscebis. Bene vale, vir optime.  
Louanii xv. Cal. Ian. AN. M.D.XX.

## 1174. TO MARTIN LYPsius.

Rotterdam MS., Erasmus III. 102, p. 77 (a).  
Horawitz v. 33.

Louvain.  
20 December (1520).

[This letter evidently is connected with Ep. 1189, which again is connected with Ep. 1190. The points of contact here with Epp. 1166, 1177 and the obvious allusion in Ep. 1190 to the gathering for the Diet of Worms make it easy to assign the year-dates 1520 and 1521.]

ERAS. ROTEROD. D. MARTINO LYPs. BRVX. S. D.

<N>ON dubito, mi Martine, quin iam dudum in me desideres humanitatem: sed haec me docet non natura sed ineuitabilis

1173. 174. est *add. H.* 182. Ianuarii H. 1174. 2. haec *corr. Horawitz*: hac a.

1174. 2. humanitatem] In dealing with critics: cf. Ep. 1029. 9n.

necessitas. Ad omnes rumores iam occallui. Res in rabiem exiit. Regnant ventres, regnat scurrilis impudentia sub religionis praetextu. Satanias iam canit, Io triumphat. Nos hic versabimur in philosophia Christi: ut non simus factionis aut tumultus auctores. Et si mundus erit ingratus, Christus abunde diues est, qui nostras vigiliolas rependat.

In numerum consiliariorum ante tres annos fuimus adsciti; sed Syluagii mors in causa fuit quo minus absolutum fuerit diploma. Atque ego sane sic instabam quasi negligere. Id nunc paratum est. Hoc quanti momenti sit nescio; me certe non magnopere mouet.

Volumen Vtriusque Testamenti Graeci, quum peteres, erat apud Minoritas: nunc mihi est opus in recognitione Noui Testamenti. Tamen perquiram an hic habeatur venale. Sed vereor ne magno ematur; nec diuidi potest. Versor in restituendo Augustino. Si quid codicum veterum habet vestra bibliotheca, fac uti sciamus. Bene vale, teque sacris studiis suauiter oblecta.

Louanii 13 Cal. Ian.

20

# 1175. TO POLYDORUS VERGIL.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 632.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xvii. 3: LB. 602.

23 December 1529.

[This letter may best be illustrated by quotations from the document it is intended to answer: Polydorus Vergil's preface to his *Adagiorum liber*, Basle,

4. Regnant ventres] Cf. Ep. 1166. 16n.

9. consiliariorum] Cf. Ep. 1166. 6-9.

14. Vtriusque Testamenti] Clearly Erasmus' own copy of the Aldine Greek Bible (see Ep. 770); which he used for the third edition of his New Testament (l. 15n; see Ep. 373 introd.). Having failed to find a copy for Lypsius at Louvain or Antwerp, Erasmus subsequently lent him this one: see Ep. 1189. 4-9. The scarcity of the book is shown by a note of Vives on Aug. *Ciu. Dei* (xviii. 30: p. 604), written between 1 April and 14 July 1522 (see Epp. 1271, 1303): 'versionem autem Septuaginta (in) felicitatis meae fuit, dum haec aederem, non potuisse nancisci. Nec est aliquis in hac tanta regione qui habeat. Nam Erasmus, qui vnus habet, nunc agit Basileae.' In 1520 Froben was asking 10 florins for a copy of the Aldine Bible at Basle (Zw. E<sup>2</sup>. 133, 156 = BRE. 180). Before long the Complutensian Polyglott was put into circulation: see Ep. 1213. 82n.

15. Minoritas] For friendly relations between Erasmus and the Franciscans of Louvain see Epp. 1044. 30-5, 1189. 7-8. The defilement in their library of Lee's book against Erasmus (Ep. 1037) is narrated in Lond. xix. 29, LB. 1031, 21 March 1529. The appreciation

of Erasmus' work by Franciscans some years later is shown by an *Epitome* of his Annotations on the New Testament made by John Mahusius of Oudenarde, Antwerp, J. Steels, 1538.

Noui Testamenti] This had been proposed a year ago (Epp. 1029, 1030); but under the stress of controversy Erasmus seems not to have taken it seriously in hand until now (cf. Ep. 1143. 79n). The text was sent to Basle some time before 27 May 1521 (Epp. 1206. 65-6, 1207. 17-22: cf. Am. E. 10). For further progress see Epp. 1212, 1218, 1235, 1236; and, for new mss. used, Epp. 373, 1223 introd. The text was printed before Erasmus left Louvain (Ep. 1342. 90-1); the notes by Feb. 1522. Cratander writing from Basle, 8 March 1521 (VE. 247), alleges that the new edition had been forced upon Erasmus by Lee's criticisms.

17. diuidi] For the readiness with which books were cut up into sections for copying or for other purposes see Epp. 750 introd., 846. 8n, and cf. BRE. 165. But the meaning here evidently is that the New Testament could not be bought separately from the Old.

Augustino] See Ep. 1144. 71n.

18. vestra] At Val St. Martin.

19. sacris studiis] Cf. Ep. 1048. 5n.

- J. Froben, July 1521, addressed to Pace from London, 5 June 1519, and renewing a discussion on which Erasmus had already made a public pronouncement (Ep. 531. 408-14). After stating that he had first thought of collecting and publishing *Adagia* 'abhinc annos alterum et viginti'—the first edition of his *Prouerbia* appeared at Venice, Chr. de Pensis, 10 April 1498—Polydore goes on: 'Post aliquot annos . . . successorem habui nostrum Erasmum, id quod ob singularem hominis doctrinam pergratum fuit: etsi ille ceu eiusmodi commentarioli nostri minime sciens, vtrunque decus, inuentae scilicet rei atque auctae, ad se trahere est conatus. Quem tamen vix potuit ignorare, si vnquam suum ipsius Adagiorum opus Argentorati, quod est suae Germaniae oppidum, apud Matthiam Schurerium formulis excusum vidit: vidit autem dubio procul, cum illud postmodum bis terue adauxerit. Quippe in eius operis fronte Matthias attestatur se paulo ante nostra Adagia in apertum protulisse (cf. l. 24n).
- 10 'Ipsi etiam eum, cum aliquando apud nos pranderet (cf. l. 32), per iocum nostri huius instituti aemulatorem appellauimus. Ita ille rei suae intentus nuper in nouissima Paroemiarum suarum aeditione est palam professus primum se apud Latinos id genus argumenti attentasse (Ep. 269. 58), vt cui tum non venit in mentem nostri libelli imaginis. Etenim pene incredibile est Erasmum tot
- 15 titulis redundantem velle cuiquam tam modicae inuentionis gloriolam inuidere. Quanquam sunt nonnulli sagaciores qui adfirmant eum idcirco illud dissimulasse, vt qui praeter Adagiorum multitudinem nihilo plus praestiterat, ne videretur esse imitatus, atque sic primas ferret partes. Ego tamen, quia veritas procul eminet, totum istud aequi bonique faciens tantum apud te qui vtriusque nostrum
- 20 es ex aequo amantissimus, testatum esse volui, quo nihil ex eo offensionis posthac essem habiturus.' It is surprising that a controversy which so easily admitted of definite settlement, should have dragged on interminably. All that was necessary was for the date of Polydore's first edition to be advanced, and Erasmus must have been completely silenced. But in 1530, and again in 1533, he was still claiming priority: see Lond. xxvi. 63, LB. 1108, 4 April 1530, and the preface to the 1533 edition of his *Adagia*.

From internal evidence the date of this letter (1175) is not easy to determine: either 1519 or 1520 being possible. The reference to Lee at the beginning suggests 1520; as though the business were past and done with. But a clearer indication is given by Am. E. 10, a letter from Boniface Amerbach to Alciati, 11 June (1521). Boniface after residence at Avignon from May 1520 to April 1521, on returning to Basle reports to Alciati the books that he finds Froben has in hand: 'Misit ad hunc Polydorus Vergilius sua Prouerbia ex literis Euangelicis potissimum aucta.' If, as indicated here (ll. 6-8, 114-18), Erasmus had received from Froben Polydore's preface and advised the publication in 1519, Boniface would have known of the fact before going to Avignon, and would have informed Alciati of it there. Corroboration may be obtained, too, from Ep. 1210.

The year-date given in F may be a mere misprint: or perhaps an example of the rare method of dating by the incoming year after the Ides of December (see Proctor i, p. 16, ii, pp. 9, 10). The year beginning at Christmas would not affect the present case.

Polydore Vergil (1470?—c. 1555), was educated at Padua and Bologna; and studied at some time with Aleander (Al. E. i. 34). Later he became a priest and entered the service of the Duke of Urbino, his native town. His first publication was a new edition of the *Cornucopia* of Nic. Perotti, Venice, Jo. de Tridino, 20 Dec. 1496: which he collated with a manuscript in the Duke's library. To the Duke he dedicated a volume of *Prouerbia* (v. supra) in 1498; and to a friend *De rerum inuentoribus*, Venice, Chr. de Pensis, 31 Aug. 1499—a markedly rationalistic composition, which subsequently was placed upon the Index. In 1502 through the influence of his kinsman, Adrian de Castello, bishop of Bath and Wells, collector in England of Peter's Pence, Polydore was sent thither as sub-collector. Within a few years he acquired prebends at Hereford, Lincoln, and St. Paul's; and in 1508 the archdeaconry at Wells. In 1505, at the suggestion of Henry VII he began to write a History of England, which was carried down to 1509 in the first edition, Basle, J. Bebel, 1534, and to 1538 in the second, Basle, M. Isingrin, 1555. The work was carried out on scientific lines, manuscripts being consulted and oral tradition collected; and the first specimen of it is to be seen in his edition of Gildas, which he dedicated to Tunstall, 6 April 1525.

His life in England was chequered. From May to December 1515 he was in prison as the result of an attack upon Wolsey; and in consequence he spent part of 1516-17 in Italy. But he returned, and continued his life and work in

England till 1550: when he decided to spend his last years in the country of his birth.

Besides the History of England he composed during these years a commentary on the Lord's Prayer, dedicated to Fisher, 5 Nov. 1524, and first printed in a new edition of the *De inuentoribus*, Basle, J. Froben, July 1525. At his advice, too, was printed, London, J. Rastell, s. a., a treatise on *The ryghte way of matrimoni*, by Wm. Harrington († 1523), like himself prebendary of St. Paul's. His relations with Erasmus continued cordial. Each dedicated to the other a translation from Chrysostom; and their correspondence shows that both the Froben volumes mentioned above were undertaken at Erasmus' instigation. For a less favourable view of Polydore's character see Ep. 1694.

His life is discussed by Sir H. Ellis in editing portions of a contemporary English translation of his history for the Camden Society, 1844 and 1846; by J. Ferguson, with a bibliography, in *Archaeologia*, vol. 51 (1888), pp. 107-41; and in DNB. An early ms. of his History (Vatican: Urb. 497-8) is examined by Card. Gasquet in the *Trans. of the R. Historical Soc.*, xvi (1902); see also an article on his legal difficulties by I. S. Leadam, *ibid.* xix (1905), and C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, 1913, pp. 253-8.

ERASMVS ROTER. POLYDORO VERGILIO SVO S. D.

OT te hominem inclementem, cui parum est visum quod Eduardus  
Leus me Noui Testamenti recogniti gloria spoliasset, nisi tu bonam  
laudis partem ex Adagiorum opere debitae pergeres adimere. Nam  
id multis verbis agere videris in praefatione, qua librum semipaganum  
ac semichristianum lectori commendas; cuius ego successibus adeo 5  
non inuideo vt cum Ioannes Frobenius ab excudendo vehementer  
abhorreret, ego compulerim verius quam impulerim vt opus quam  
nitidissimis formulis chartisque daret in lucem. Intantum enim  
abest, mi Polydore, vt tuo nomini tuisque studiis inuideam, vt ob  
veterem inter nos actam vitae consuetudinem et adamatam ingenii 10  
tui festiuitatem vix alii faueam aequae. Sed inclementius est etiam  
quod huius argumenti primum apud Latinos tractati laudem sic tibi  
vindicas vt mihi coneris cenodoxias simul et lioris suspicionem  
impingere: quum vix alius sit qui vel candidius vel impensius faueat  
bonarum literarum cultoribus, a quibus etiam obscurari voluptati est. 15  
Adeo non hoc molior vt cuiusquam officiam nomini. Porro tu mihi  
sic charus es vt haud dubitaturus sim vel de meo largiri plus gloriae,  
quam tu quereris me mihi praeter ius vindicare.

Caeterum quod in prima aeditione nulla sit facta Polydori mentio,  
mirum esse non debet, quum id temporis nullus adhuc mihi notus 20  
esset Polydorus, praeter eum quem in tragoediis Polymnestor ob-  
truncat, et auro vi potitur. Atqui hic me putas ἀκκίλειν, negans esse  
verisimile quod aio; cum praefatio Matthiae Schurerii testetur,  
antequam meum Adagiorum libellum excuderet, se tuum formulis

TIT. SVO OM. H.

16. cuiusquam F Corrig.: cuiuscūque F.

4. semipaganum] Polydore's book is divided into *Adagia prophana* and *sacra*.

10. consuetudinem] It is clear from 11.35-8 *infra* that this cannot have begun before Erasmus' second visit to England in 1505-6. Ep. 531. 409. 411-12, implies that Erasmus did not at once make Polydore's acquaintance.

13. cenodoxias] Cf. Ep. 1334. 109n.

15. obscurari] Cf. Ep. 1107. 8n.

21. in tragoediis] Eur. *Hec.*

23. praefatio] Schürer's preface to his reprint of the *Collectanea Adagiorum*, July 1509, is dated 18 June.

24. tuum] Schürer had reprinted this in Dec. 1508. Polydore appears to have thought that Schürer's edition of Erasmus' *Collect. Adag.* was the first.

25 expressisse. Quid scripserit Schurerius nescio; illud negari non potest, libellum Adagiorum meum decem annis excusum fuisse Lutetiae per Ioannem Philippum, priusquam Schurerii nomen audissem. Quanquam quid hoc ad rem pertinet? Etenim cum ille nec tuum libellum primus excuderit nec meum, nimirum haec ratio  
30 non magis arguit vter nostrum alterum praecesserit, quam iuxta prouerbium, In albo lapide amussis alba.

Et tamen cum inter prandendum olim incidisset inter nos hac de re cauillatio, demonstraui vnde posses elenchum petere, videlicet inde vnde ipse me comperissem anteuertisse, duntaxat aeditione.  
35 Quum adhuc vterque alteri essemus ignoti, iam annis aliquot meus ille, qualis qualis est, libellus terebatur studiosae iuuentutis manibus, quum me pestilentia, non solum Lutetiae verumetiam Coloniae constanter saeuens, compulit Louanium profugere. A quo quidem loco, tametsi perquam amoeno, quur animus meus ceu fatali quodam praesagio semper abhorruerit, nunc demum intelligo. Hic Lucas quidam Sauromata, theologus, mihi dum illic agerem satis familiaris congerro, non aliam, opinor, ob causam iniquior nostris studiis nisi quod ipse multis annis parum feliciter lacesisset Musas iratas, rumorem late sparserat inter conbibones suos, me corniculam conuestire me  
45 plumis alienis; iam olim Polydorum quendam eleganter hoc argumentum tractasse, me nihil aliud esse quam plagiarium ac simium illius.

Haec quum accepissem et quid esset rei prorsus ignorarem, dedi negocium iuuenibus aliquot qui librum perquirerent Vergilii Polydori.  
50 Quum nusquam prostaret—nondum enim, opinor, deportatus erat ex Italia—, tandem mihi casu repertus est in bibliotheca clarissimi viri Hieronymi Buslidii; nam is, vt erat omnium librorum emacissimus, ex Italia secum detulerat. Gausus inopinata praeda confero diem et annum, quem ex more solent annotare typographi: nam meus  
55 absente me excusus est Lutetiae. Eum comperio exisse ex officina Ioannis Philippi Anno m.d. die Iunii xv; quemadmodum testatur epistola Fausti—quam typographus ab illo extorserat ad operis com-

37. Lutetiae *F* *Corrig.*: Louanii *F*.

44. corniculam *F*: corniculae exemplo *H*.

26. Adagiorum] Cf. Ep. 126.

27. Philippum] or Philippi, of Kreuznach. He printed in Paris 1494–1519: see Proctor, and Ph. Renouard, *Imprimeurs Parisiens*, 1898, pp. 296, 7. Besides the *Adagia* of 1500 and 1505, Philippi printed also Caminadus' Vergil and Erasmus' Cic. *Off.* (Epp. 131, 152 introd.), and a Terence; as prose (cf. Ep. 20. 101n), ed. Paul Malleolus, with a dedication to Gaguin, 21–2 April 1499. Of all these volumes except the *Adagia* of 1505 there are copies in Beatus Rhenanus' Library at Schlettstadt (Cat. Rhen. 208, 378, 349, 380).

31. In albo lapide] Cf. *Adag.* 488: 'Dicitur... in eos qui incertis probant aut significant incerta.'

37. Coloniae] Cf. Ep. 172. 6n.

38. Louanium] In Sept. 1502; cf.

Ep. 171 introd.

40. Lucas] Walteri; cf. Ep. 531. 415–18.

52. Buslidii] See Ep. 205 introd.

53. diem et annum] It is evident that the copy seen by Erasmus was of the second edition, Venice, Chr. de Pensis, 6 Nov. 1500: see Panzer iv. 453. 2619<sup>b</sup>.

55. absente me] Erasmus' movements in June and July 1500 cannot be traced; cf. Ep. 126 introd. His withdrawal from Paris after the completion of the 'copy', without waiting to see it through the press (cf. Ep. 152 introd.), may have been in accordance with recognized practice, to render possible the fiction of unauthorized publication: cf. Epp. 30. 16n, 211. 5–8.

57. epistola Fausti] Ep. 127.

mendationem ; quam tamen ante librum absolutum scriptam oportuit  
—tuum exisse in Italia tribus mensibus serius. Quod si quis proferat  
aeditionem antiquiorem ea quam nobis dedit Ioannes Philippus, id 60  
quod scio neminem facturum, non erit tamen causa cur me quisquam  
insimulet furci aut plagii. Nam fieri potuit, id quod plane crediderim  
accidisse, ut cum eadem res eodem ferme tempore utriusque veniret in  
mentem, neque tu de Erasmo neque ego de Polydoro somniamus.  
Itaque si quid est laudis ex inuento argumento, uterque sibi possit 65  
vindicare citra alterius iniuriam. Haec quum a me ioco dicta sint in  
conuiuio—nam te plane credebam iocari—, tuum erat serio conferre  
primam aeditionem tui libelli cum prima mei, priusquam haec prae-  
fatione insimulares amicam et simplicem et tuo nomini fauentem  
lioris simul et plagii.

Sed age, finge tuam aeditionem anteuertisse, finge me non latuisse,  
finge me tam audiam gloriae ut amicum non verear compilare, quaeso  
quid laudis erat hoc argumentum inuenisse? neque enim nos gignimus  
proverbia, sed recensemus. Artis medicae, astrologiae repertoribus  
multum gloriae tribuitur: quantum autem laudis debetur ei qui e 75  
publicis pratis pauculos flosculos nulli non obuios decerpserit et in  
calathum coniecerit! In tractando fortasse nonnihil est laudis, in  
colligendo perpusillum est gloriae. Quod si qua est, ea Graecis  
debetur, qui multis ante nos seculis paroemiologias nobis reliquerunt.  
Praeterea cum tua ex autoribus vulgatissimis collegisses, cur tu mihi 80  
potius citandus eras quam illi e quorum fontibus hauserant quos tu  
potissimum sequeris. Beroaldum nusquam cito; Politianum cito,  
quod is quosdam autores legisset mihi nondum lectos.

Iam accipe et aliud argumentum. Si tua legissem, tantus plagiarium  
nullum tuorum praetermissem. Nunc in tuis erant quaedam non 85  
asprnanda, quae in meis non erant.

Iam vero quod scribis me praeter multitudinem nihil addidisse,  
non satis intelligo quid sibi velit. In prima aeditione enumerabantur  
adagia ferme octingenta, cum tu citra ducenta consisteres. Nec  
vnquam auxi minuta illa Collectanea nisi semel, anno M.D.VI., cum 90  
Lutetiae adornarem iter in Italiam. Nam ad preces amici Badii  
parantis rursus aedere, adieci proverbiola plus minus viginti; idque  
ex aceruo multorum quem paraueram in Venetam aeditionem. Ac  
tua rursus eodem anno sunt excusa Mediolani per Ioannem Anglum.  
Porro in aeditione Aldina, cum Chiliadas aliquot adferam, non video 95  
cur debeat contemni multitudo, praesertim in eo argumento quod  
potissimum constat industria colligendi: praesertim cum pleraque  
contraxerim aut e Graecorum fontibus aut e scriptoribus non tam

73. hoc om. H.

61. neminem facturum] This note of confidence, on a point about which he was in fact wrong, may no doubt be explained by the claim that he was speaking in jest; cf. ll. 66-7. There is no reason to suppose that the amicable relations between Polydore and Erasmus were disturbed by this unending dispute.

82. Beroaldum] See Ep. 256. 137n.

94. Anglum] Jo. Angelus Scinzen-

zeler, successor and perhaps son of the well-known Milan printer, Ulrich of Zinzenzell, a village in Bavaria near the Danube, between Ratisbon and Passau. Jo. Angelus' printing activity lasted from 1500-1525: see ADB. 33. 478. The edition mentioned here does not seem to be known; but the British Museum has a Venice edition by Jo. de Tridino, 1506.

95. Chiliadas] See Ep. 211 introd.

vulgo protritit quam est Perottus aut Beroaldus. Caeterum an in  
100 tractando nihilo te sim superior, alii iudicent. Ego cupiam sic efflorescere literas vt me a tergo relinquant omnes, non modo Polydorus.

Verum haec cum manifestiora sint quam vt negari queant, vbinam  
est ista veritas quam in praefatione scribis procul eminere? quaque  
fretus boni consulis, quod ego callidus dissimulator conatus sim in  
105 gloriae tuae possessionem irrepere? Sic te amo, mi Polydore, sic  
tuae gloriae faueo, vt non grauer vel dimidium totius laudis tibi  
largiri, siquidem hoc tibi foret vsque adeo cordi, nisi sic tibi vindicare,  
vt nec tu mihi sis gratiam habiturus, et ego non candidus in  
amicum, sed alienae gloriae furunculus viderer posteritati, si tamen  
110 haec leget posteritas. Vtinam omnes eruditorum centuriae sic  
fauerent operi tuo, quemadmodum nos fauimus! Mihi certe multa  
ariserunt, praesertim in opere de Rerum Inuentoribus.

Vel hinc colligas licet quam non fuerimus iniqui tuo libro.  
Frobenium, vt dictum est, abhorrentem ab aeditione perpuli. Prae-  
115 fationem tuam, qua me suggillas, ad me miserant velut execrandam.  
Remisi, iussique vt bona fide, sicut abs te fuerat descripta, excuderetur.  
Deleuerant mentionem Lei, quam tu de illo sane quam honorificam facis.  
Iussi vt reponerent. Vtrum haec sunt fauentis an non? Non eget tua prudentia meo consilio. Tamen illud tibi  
120 suaserim, mi Polydore, vt posthac in aedendis lucubrationibus tuis  
Thomam Morum, Cutbertum Tonstallum, Thomam Linacrum, Gulielmum  
Latomerum, homines vere doctos et amicos, adhibeas in consilium.  
Bene vale, doctissime Polydore, ac rem literariam strennue adiuua.  
Louanii x. Calendas Ianuarii. Anno M. D. xxi.

## 1176. TO THOMAS BEDILL.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 566.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xv. 7: LB. 551.

31 December 1520.

[The year-date is sufficiently confirmed by the mention of the attacks made upon Erasmus by the friars; and of the impending Diet of Worms. For Bedill see Ep. 387 introd.]

ERASMVVS THOMAE BEDELLO, R. D. ARCHIEPISCOPI CANTVARIENSIS  
A SECRETIS, S. D.

De Praesulis optimi in me studio, vt rem mihi longe gratissimam,  
ita minime nouam nuncias; sed quod toties obiurgas me qui nihil ab

1175. 100. nihilo *F. Corrig.*: nihil *F.*  
R. D. . . . A SECRETIS *om. H.*

122. Latamerum *H.* 1176. *TTT.*

1175. 99. Perottus] See Ep. 117. 42n.  
103. in praefatione] See ll. 19-20 of  
the passage quoted in the introduction  
to this letter.

113. non fuerimus iniqui] Cf. Ep.  
1210. 1-9.

115. miserant] by Jerome Froben  
(Ep. 1210. 5), who rejoined Erasmus  
in the latter half of 1520 (Basle MS.  
G. II. 29. 115). As he found Erasmus  
at Antwerp, the sending of Polydore's

preface may be dated in Aug. or Sept.

117. mentionem Lei] This occurs in  
a second preface to Face, also dated  
5 June 1519, and prefixed to the *Adagia  
sacra* (f. h. 49, in Froben's edition of  
July 1521), with praise of many nota-  
ble Englishmen. Though the preface  
was written earlier, by the time it was  
shown to Erasmus, the controversy  
with Lee had reached and passed its  
acutest stage.



illo petam, facis inclementer, mi Bedelle. Imo iampridem oro vt ingens aliquod sacerdotium coniciat in caput meum. Non dubito quin ille sit huic corpusculo superstes futurus; sed tamen in rebus humanis certi nihil est. Verum ne nihil impudenter faciam, in praesentia cuperem mihi rursus numerari anni venturi pensionem, aut certe syngrapham mitti per quam hic aut apud Italos recipiam. Adorno enim profectionem in proximam quadragesimam, sed aestiuaturus Basileae; fortassis illinc repetiturus Italiam, nisi quid extiterit<sup>10</sup> in hoc principum conuentu quod me remoretur.

Paulus non nisi semel lapidatus fuit. Hic ego quotidie lapidorum Praedicatorum et Carmelitarum conuiciis, idque et nominatim et in publicis concionibus. Sed nihil aliud efficiunt nisi vt populus etiam intelligat illos agitari malis furiis.<sup>15</sup>

R. D. Archiepiscopo, vnico Moecenati meo, multam ex me salutem dicito; post hunc Doctori Vuelles et humanissimo oeconomio. Bene vale, mi Pylades. Louanii pridie Circuncisionis. ANNO M.D.XX.

## 1177. TO ANDREW KNOPKEN.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 556.  
HN: Lond. xiv. 22: LB. 552.

Louvain.  
31 December 1520.

[The year-date is confirmed by the Paraphrases mentioned.

Andrew Knopken (†18 Feb. 1539) of Küstrin in Brandenburg was at this time teaching in the monastic school at Belbuk, by Treptow on the Rega, near the coast of Pomerania: in close intercourse with Bugenhagen, who had been rector of the town school since 1504. Both were already inclined to sympathy with Luther, being attracted by his *De captiuitate Babylonica*, which appeared 6 Oct. 1520 (LE<sup>2</sup>. 350. 38); and in consequence were ejected by the Bishop of Kamin, Erasmus Manteufel, in the spring of 1521 (Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutherismo*, 1692, i. 179). Knopken with some of his pupils withdrew to Reval and Dorpat; finally settling at Riga, where on 23 Oct. 1522 he was appointed Archdeacon of St. Peter's church. He continued an ardent Lutheran, while appreciating also the scholarship of Erasmus. In 1524 Bugenhagen printed for him at Wittenberg, with the sanction of Melancthon, some lectures on St. Paul's Epistle to

13. Praedicatorum F: Dominicanorum H.

16. R. D. om. H.

5. superstes] This passage, the opening of which is evidently in jest, implies an expectation by Erasmus that his Aldington pension (l. 7n) might cease if Warham should die; in consequence he would be glad of ampler provision for the present. Ep. 1205. 38seq. shows that Warham was inclined to fall in with the suggestion. Erasmus' autograph statement of his income (Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 71, f. 1) shows that the Aldington pension was paid after Warham's death, as late as Michaelmas 1533.

7. pensionem] See Ep. 255 introd. It was usually paid three months in arrears: cf. Epp. 823. 10-13, 892.

10. Italiam] Cf. Ep. 1143. 79n.

12. Paulus] 2 Cor. 11. 25.

17. Vuelles] Thos. Welles († Sept. 1526: Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, iv. 634) was Fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1484, at the same time as Warham, who was Fellow there 1475-88. In 1499 he began to accumulate benefices, many of which were in Kent. From 1505 to 1511 he was suffragan to Warham, with the title of Bp. of Sidon; and also domestic chaplain (Brewer iii. 127, v. 1249). On 20 Nov. 1510 he supplicated for incorporation as D.D. at Oxford on a foreign degree: but for some reason was not admitted till 21 Feb. 1520 (Boase, *Register of Oxford Univ.*, OHS. i, 1884, p. 73).

See Jos. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. iv; and W. Stubbs, *Registrum sacrum Anglicanum*, 1897, p. 201.

the Romans, which had been delivered as a novelty to enthusiastic audiences at Riga. Bugenhagen's preface, dated 9 Feb. 1524, asseverates the orthodoxy of the work; adding that Knopken had given him full liberty to use his own judgement in editing the ms. A note printed on the title-page invites the reader to consult 'non veterem translationem, sed Desyderii Erasmi, quae iam omnium fere manibus gestatur'. A copy of Knopken's book was in Aleander's library: see L. Dorez in *Revue des Bibliothèques* ii (1892), p. 65.

Knopken married and remained at Riga; taking a prominent part in the introduction of the Reformation. He helped to construct the form of service for its new church, and to administer its government; and composed hymns, some of which appeared also in the Wittenberg hymn-book of 1533. In July 1529 Luther sends greetings to him at Riga as 'vetus commilito' (LE<sup>2</sup>, 1524).

See Thuanus, *Hist. sui temporis*, bk. 21; D. Gerdes, *Hist. Reformationis* ii (1746), pp. 55, 85; LE<sup>2</sup>, 581, n. 3; ADB; and a life by D. F. Hoerschelmann, 1896.

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS ANDREAE CNOPHAE, SACERDOTI  
OPTIMO, S. D.

Ex tribus epistolis quas ais te mihi scripsisse, duas duntaxat accepi. Primum nemo dabatur per quem responderem. Tandem Coloniae offerebat se nescio quis: is cum semel atque iterum me frustra conuenisset, non reuersus est, desperans, opinor. Nec tamen id  
5 accidit mea culpa; sed nec oculi dabatur tantum nec solitudinis. Atque, vt ingenue dicam, quoniam nihil videbam in tuis literis quod magnopere flagitaret responsum, non eram rescripturus, nisi tu tot obtestationibus, tot obsecrationibus mecum ageres.

Mentem istam tam piam tamque audum Christianae doctrinae  
10 studium vehementer exosculor: nam vtrunque testatur epistola tua. Quae quidem res hoc plus laudis meretur in te, quod haec facis inter eos qui, vt scribis, magis agunt negocium ventris quam mentis, ad haec vicinus Rutenis, quos intonsos et impexos appellas, ob morum, opinor, cultusque barbariem. Vt enim recte dictum est, Eum egregie  
15 probum esse oportet qui Athenis probus esset; ita qui vicinus haereticis non deflectit a fide Catholica, qui permixtus barbaris, gulae ventrisque mancipiis, totus viuuit honestis studiis, nec vlllo malorum contagio corrumpitur, is insigniter bonus sit oportet. Porro si ex me quaeras consilium, nihil audies nisi vt quod facis, strennue pergas.  
20 Nam ipsissimam viam mihi videris ingressus qua perueniatur ad veram felicitatem. Neque enim dubito quin huc quoque pro virili contendas, vt quos possis, ad tuos mores adducas. Atque adeo demiror, cum multi sint vbique pastores, neminem exoriri qui clementissimi pastoris exemplum imitetur, quem non piguit ob  
25 vnam ouem erraticam tantum malorum perpeti. Decimas qui petant, video permultos; qui sitiunt animarum salutem, prope nullos. Hic monachorum plena sunt omnia, vbi nihil est discriminis et messis

1. epistolis] Not extant.

2. Coloniae] See p. 370.

13. Rutenis] This term seems to be used, not with its modern designation for the inhabitants of parts of Little Russia, Galicia, and Transylvania, but for Russians in general. The estimation in which these were held at this period may be gathered from an *Elucidarius errorum ritus Ruthenici*, (Cracow, J. Haller), s. a., (Proctor 9467), written by John Sacranus, canon of Cracow:

the date of which is indicated by a reference (f<sup>o</sup>. A<sup>3</sup>) to 'Alexander magnus Lithuanie dux modernus', who reigned 1492-1501. It is dedicated to Albert (Tabor), bp. of Vilna (1492-1507); who is described (f<sup>o</sup>. A<sup>2</sup>) as 'tumultuante turba Ruthenorum tue Romaneque ecclesie infensissimorum hostium circumseptus, velud agnus inter rapaces lupos'.

15. Athenis] Cf. *Adag.* 3053, quoting Plato, *Leg.* i. 11 (642 c).

ampla. Quin Rutenos magis adeunt, eosque sua doctrina suaque sanctimonia reuocant ad caulas Ecclesiae? Hic fulciunt Ecclesiam, cui magis oneri sunt quam vsui. At vbi res poscit ingenue germaneque Christianum, qui pro lucro Christi subeat capitis periculum, ibi nusquam apparent. Ita dum suis quisque commodis studemus, negligitur populus Christi.

Ac proh dolor! nostri mores partim in causa sunt quo minus multi se conferant ad factionem nostram. Legunt Euangelicam et Apostolicam doctrinam, et vident ab hac vitam nostram longe lateque discrepare. Non iam loquor de vulgo quod tale fere est quales sunt ii qui praesunt, sed de proceribus Ecclesiae, de sacerdotibus ac monachis. Bona pars seruimus quaestui aut ventri aut gloriae aut tyrannidi. Fidei nomen praetextus tantum est. Hoc illos alienat quos oportebat mansuetudine, tolerantia et officiis allicere. Sed tamen bona quaedam spes habet animum meum, posteaquam video et isthic esse qui sic flagrent amore doctrinae Euangelicae.

Paraphrases absoluimus in omnes Epistolas, praeter eam quae fertur ad Hebraeos. Addidimus Paraphrasim in Epistolas Petri duas, Iudae vnam et Iacobi vnam: breui daturi quod superest Epistolarum Apostolicarum; sic enim visum est amicis eruditiss. Non displicuit carmen tuum quo mihi bene precaris: atque ego tibi vicissim absque carmine sed syncerissimo pectore precor immortalitatem. Bene vale, vir optime, meque tuis precibus Christo commenda.

Louanii prid. Calend. Ian. ANNO M.D.XX.

#### 1178. TO GODFREY RHODUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 533.

HN: Lond. xiv. 2: LB. 558.

Louvain.

1520.

[Godfrey Rhodus was of Estaires between Armentières and Lille. He evidently had addressed Erasmus with a complimentary poem; which seems not to survive. I can find nothing else of him but 'De totius orbis literatiss. viri D. Erasmi Roterodami felici in Christo obitu Elegia: in qua potissimum conqueritur de cuiusdam inhumanitate, ne dicam impietate, qui praeter candorem Christianum omneis in Erasmi morte a lachrymis temperantes aeternis inferorum suppliciis deuouere videtur'. This was first printed in the Antwerp edition of the *Catalogi duo operum Erasmi*, by the widow of M. Caesar, c. 1 May 1537, f<sup>o</sup>. P<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>; which is enlarged upon the Froben *Catalogi* of 1536-7 by the inclusion of a great number of poems on Erasmus. The elegy is reprinted near the end of the introductory matter in LB. i. In a copy of N<sup>1</sup> in my possession is written against Rhodus' name 'a. 2. octo. 1545'—perhaps the date of his death.

To the position of this letter I can find no clue beyond the dates assigned in F.

At this point may be mentioned a New Year's present made to Erasmus by another youthful admirer: a copy of the Aldine *Scriptores rei rusticae*, May 1514, with a ms. inscription, 'D. Eras. Roter., orbis decori bonorumque studiorum parenti, Hugo Bolonius, Musarum alumnus, don. ded. pro strenua, Cal. Ianu. m<sup>o</sup>xxi'. The donor was perhaps a Hugo Bolonius, whose name is found in a list of learned Dominicans, forming part of a catalogue of writers drawn up by Philip Wolf of Seligenstadt († 1529); see R. L. Poole in EHR. xxxiii. 515. The book was shown to me in Feb. 1912 by the late Dr. Daniel, provost of Worcester

44. H: omnes in F.

48. atque F: at N.

39. ventri] Cf. Ep. 1166. 16n.

45. ad Hebraeos] Ep. 1181.

Petri] Ep. 1112.

46. quod superest] Ep. 1179.

College, who then owned it. It has now been acquired by Prof. Campagnac for the Library of the Department of Education at Liverpool University.]

ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVVS GODOFREDO RHODO STEGRIO S. D.

Vt serius ad tua scripta responderim, Rhode charissime, turba me literis atque etiam libellis interpellantium fecit; ne quam inhumanitatis aut fastidii suspicionem de me concipias. Ingeris mihi meos labores: qui vtinam aut tam vtilis essent orbi aut tam felices auctori  
 5 quam sunt numerosi! Sed quam mihi displicui in tuo speculo, tam tuum mihi placuit ingenium. Neque enim illic te minus vidi quam meipsum; ac libentius tuam faciem contemplatus sum quam meam. Placuit ingenium sanum ac felix, sobrium, nihil habens ineptiae; placuit candor ac modestia, placuit phrasis nec affectatione molesta  
 10 nec inanibus verbis redundans. Iam illud etiam vehementer sum admiratus, te in carmine quo vix aliud legibus astrictius, tam commodum quod sentis eloqui, praesertim cum argumentum tractes et ieiunum et inamoenum. Et haud scio an hoc consilio sumpseris sterilem et infelicem materiam, quo maior esset ingenii tui gloria,  
 15 qui potueris elephantum e musca facere. Nam illud mihi displicuit, quod immeritis et immodicis laudibus nihil aliud quam oneras Erasmus. Quanquam hoc iam adeo solenne est generi poetico, vt ceu iure praescriptionis id recte facere videantur.

Quod nisi fortuna tam iniqua essem vt nemo possit a me vllum  
 20 sperare officium, fortassis existerent qui sua suspicione non minus te grauarent quam me: te qui me laudibus captasses, me qui laudibus huiusmodi delectarer. Quo magis miseret me tui qui tantum laboris absque fructu susceperis; quandoquidem ne illud quidem gratiae reditum est a me quod inuicem sibi praestant ac referunt iumenta  
 25 mutuum scabentia. Ne tamen nihil omnino rependam officii pro tam candido animi tui in me studio, consulo vt posthac bonas horas in melioribus libris colloques; nec vnquam in manus sumere velis Erasmi naenias, nisi quum nihil est bonorum voluminum. Ad haec, si quando voles exercere stilum et exercere venam ingenii tui, deligas  
 30 argumentum felicius. Vale, mi Rhode, tam habiturus Erasmus fauentem quam tu de bonis literis bene mereberis.

Louanii. Anno M. D. xx.

1179. TO MATTHEW SCHINNER.

Paraphrases in Epistolas Canonicas, f. I<sup>8</sup>.

Louvain.

Lond. xxix. 78: LB. vii. 1141.

6 January (1521).

[The preface to the Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. John, in the volume from which Ep. 1171 comes.]

R. D. D. MATTHAEO CARD. SEDVNENSI, COM. VALESII, ERASMVVS  
 ROTEROD. S. D.

NUPER Iacobum dedimus et Latine loquentem et explanatius; nunc Ioannem damus, vt et nos paulatim carpamus operis parteis,

1178. 11. H: astrictus F. 13. sumpseris F Corrig.: suppresseris F.  
 23. H: abque F. 29. N<sup>2</sup>: delegas F.

1178. 19. fortuna] Cf. Ep. 1102. 6n.

nec tuam celsitudinem negociis Imperialibus occupatissimam obruamus, si quod tamen datur tempus vacuum hisce nostris lucubrationibus cognoscendis. Bene vale, vir eximie.

Louanii. octauo Id. Ianuarias.

1143|1180. FROM LEO X.

Vatican Archives, Nunz. di Germania I, f. 44 (a).  
Jortin ii. 398.

Rome.  
15 January 1521.

[The manuscript is an original, by one of Sadoletto's scribes; the heading, the signature and the final year-date, *octauo*, are by Sadoletto himself, who adds on the verso of the next leaf 'Exemplum brevis ad Erasmum'. In the upper right-hand corner is a contemporary note, 'cum litteris 19 Martii 1521'. As the Vatican volume is composed of papers concerning Aleander's nuntiatore in Germany, it may safely be inferred that this is not the document actually sent to Erasmus, but the copy dispatched to Aleander on 19 March with a letter and two other copies (Balan nos. 49, 51, 52). This letter was printed in *Epistolae clarorum virorum*, Rome, 1754, p. 397—a volume which I have not seen, but which is reproduced by Jortin (β<sup>1</sup>); and, within a few years, in *Sad. E. i. 70* (β<sup>2</sup>). It was printed anew from the manuscript by H. Laemmer, *Monumenta Vaticana*, 1861, p. 1; and by Balan no. 53 (γ). The former's text is so faulty that no notice need be taken of it; but some of Balan's readings may be recorded.

For Leo's relations with Erasmus at this time see Pastor viii. 255-7. The suggestion made guardedly here, that Erasmus should intervene on the Papal side against Luther, was put forward much more definitely five months later in Ep. 1213. Aleander was indignant at such an indication of Papal favour towards Erasmus; whom at this time he considered to be worse than Luther, and indeed the cause of most of the trouble in Lower Germany and the Netherlands (Balan nos. 21, 32).]

DESIDERIO ERASMO ROTERODAMO.

DILECTE fili, salutem etc. Gratae nobis admodum fuerunt litterae tue; declararunt enim id de quo addubitare aliquantum ceperamus, neque tantum ex quorundam quamuis prudentium et proborum testimonio, quantum ex scriptis nonnullis tuis quae circumferuntur, te nihilominus egregia et constante esse cum in nos sanctamque hanc Apostolicam sedem, tum erga communem pacem concordiamque, et imprimis publicam Christianam et rem et legem, voluntate. Quod profecto preclare conuenit et huic ingenio, quod Dei beneficio summum ad optimas disciplinas attulisti, et eis studiis pietatis quae semper es professus. Itaque nos, quorum sepe ob animum versabatur tui quanquam absentis memoria, cum de tuis eximiis virtutibus aliquo praemio honestandis cogitaremus, paulisper ex ea opinione deturbati, valde iucunde accipimus restitutam in nobis esse, officio et diligentia litterarum tuarum, mentem pristinam diligendi tui.

Atque vtinam, quod iam nobis constat certumque est de officio et voluntate tua in hanc Sedem sanctam communemque Dei fidem, id apud ceteros omnes cerneremus constare! Nam nec tempus vllum oportunius nec causa iustior vnquam fuit, ingenium atque

1179. 3. Imperialibus] in connexion with the impending Diet of Worms.

1180. 12. praemio] Cf. Ep. 1141. 30n.

doctrinam impiis hominibus opponendi: nec vero quisquam ipso te,  
 20 vt nostrum est de tua eruditione iudicium, ad tam laudabile opus  
 aptior; in quo elaborant quidem, et elaborarunt, permulti summa  
 cum pietatis et scientiae fama. Sed et illorum corda direxit Deus, et  
 de te tuae prudentiae permittendum est. Nos ad probra et ad contumelias  
 25 seditiosorum hominum diuina ope et patientia armati, illud  
 magis moleste ferimus, quod cum zizaniis non parum bonae segetis  
 corrumpitur, omnisque de grege nobis credito iactura animum nostrum  
 sollicitudine afficit. Qui enim possumus non dolere detrimento bonarum  
 mentium, quae trahuntur in errorem, cum istos ipsos errorum et impietatis  
 30 auctores saluos esse cupiamus? Sed neque deerit nobis Deus, neque nos muneri atque officio nostro sumus  
 defuturi.

Quod autem ad litteras tuas attinet, nos et de tua optima voluntate  
 certum iam habemus, et tuum aduentum in hanc Urbem, quando-  
 cunque is fuerit, laete et gratanter sumus accepturi.

35 Datum Rome, xv. Ianuarii M.D.xxi. Anno octauo.

Ia. Sadoletus.

# 1181. To SYLVESTER GIGLI.

Paraphrasis ad Hebraeos, tit. v<sup>o</sup>.

Louvain.

17 January 1521.

[The preface to the Paraphrase on Hebrews. Of the first edition, which was by Martens at Louvain, Jan. 1521 (α), I know only one copy: in the Bibl. Nationale at Paris (A. 18182. 4). In the subsequent Froben editions enumerated on p. 123, there are only changes in those of March 1521 (β), May 1522, octavo (γ), and 1523 (δ). In 1532 and all the editions that follow, this preface was omitted; and in consequence it does not appear in Lond. or LB. For the omission I cannot conjecture any reason. Gigli died shortly after this preface was written; and there appears to have been no such ground as led to the suppression of Ep. 956.]

R. P. AC D. D. SYLVESTRO EPISCOPO VVIGORNIENSI, SERENISS.

ANG. REGIS PERPETVO APVD S. D. N. LEONEM DECIMVM

ORATORI, ERASMVS ROTERO. S. D.

MERETVR hoc tua pietas ac singularis quidam erga bonas literas  
 fauor, ornatissime Praesul, vt tuum nomen omnium calamis posteritati  
 commendetur: non quod tua modestia laudem vllam apud  
 homines moretur, sed quod complures incitentur ad honesta studia,  
 5 si conspexerint egregios viros ac de rep. Christiana benemeritos  
 non fraudari gloria, non expetita quidem illa, sed hoc magis debita.  
 Merebantur hoc tua in me officia, vt nulla esset in nostris libris  
 pagina quae Sylvestri nomen non haberet. Sed hactenus grati  
 hominis officium erga tuam amplitudinem optare magis licuit quam  
 10 praestare. Malueram autem aliquanto praestare serius, modo plenius:  
 nunc quoniam video me in dies pluribus obrui laborum molibus, et

1180. 23. ad postet αγ: om. β. 27. αγ: possumus β<sup>2</sup>. 35. xva: 11β: xviγ.

1181. 7. officia] Cf. Epp. 447 introd., 521, 567, 649, 1079.

iuxta Varronis adagium indies magis ac magis bullam fieri, visum est hanc lucubrationem tuo nomini dedicare, non in hoc, vt hoc officio me liberem aere alieno, sed vt tester pluribus nominibus obstrictum tibi quam vt vnquam soluendo fore me sperem. Et tamen si posthac dabitur vita, si dabitur occasio, conabor non vt e tuis diariis meum nomen dispungatur, quod ego sane nolim, cum nulli debeam lubentius, sed vt hominis ingrati notam effugiam.

Paulum tibi mitto, qui nostra opera didicit et fusius et explanatius dicere, idque Latine. Non quod in illius eloquentia quicquam desiderem, sed quod nostra tarditas illius sublimitatem non assequatur. Certe effeci vt frequentius teratur manibus quam antehac consuevit. Antehac vix intelligebatur ab eruditis sudantibus; nunc intelligitur et a semidoctis, modo ne sint omnino rudes sermonis Romani. Hic si nihil laudis debetur ingenio meo, si nihil eruditioni, certe non nihil debetur industriae. Dum his meis laboribus aliis laborem adimo, licebat ociari, licebat dormire, licebat potare, licebat venari fortunam, licebat aliis auocamentis indulgere: quibus rebus quidam omne tempus impendunt, praeter hoc quod impendunt carpendis aliorum laboribus. Linguae ac bonae litterae propemodum eo loci deductae sunt vt spes sit in tuto fore: quanquam etiamnum gnauiter obstrepunt veteris insecitiae propugnatores. Atque vtinam eadem esset spes de doctrina Euangelica suae puritati simplicitatique restituenda! Verum hic cruenta adhuc pugna est. Bona tamen victoriae spes est, si Christus per te tuique similes fauerit. Fauebit autem si nos illius negocium synceris animis egerimus. Ad vtrunque vero plurimum adferet momenti, si Leo, summus religionis antistes, eius gloriae constanter fauerit cuius gerit vices. Bene vale, Praesulum ornatissime.

Louanii xvi. Cal. Feb. An. M.D.XXI.

40

#### 1182. TO WILLIBALD PIRCKHEIMER.

Pirckheimeri Opera p. 272.

Louvain.

O<sup>2</sup>. p. 162: Lond. xxx. 25: LB. 234.

26 January (1521).

[For the forms of heading and address see Ep. 1085 introd. Leclerc dates in 1517; but apart from consideration of Erasmus' movements at that time, the citation of Pirckheimer to Rome (l. 4n) makes 1521 indubitable. The verbal resemblances to Epp. 1176, 1183, 1185, 1192, are noticeable also.]

S.P., ornatissime Bilibalde. Nuper mihi redditae sunt tuae litterae, quibus expostulas quod tuis non responderim. Id adeo miror, cum

1181. 29. praeter ad: propter γ. 31. gnauiter α: grauiter β. 1182. 1. S. P. P: ERASMVVS BILIBALDO SVO S. D. O<sup>2</sup>.

1181. 12. Varronis] R. R. 1. 1. 1; cf. *Adag.* 1248.

1182. 2. expostulas] This passage is rather obscure. The reference appears to be to Ep. 1095. 5-7, where Pirckheimer complains that he had never received Ep. 856 (l. 3n), but had only seen it in print in the *Farreago* (E). But Erasmus

had already answered Ep. 1095 in Sept. with Ep. 1139; so that it is not clear why he should now refer to it again. The following explanations are possible. If Ep. 1139 had not reached Pirckheimer, he might have written saying that again he had no answer to his letter (meaning Ep. 1095); a com-

mea responsio copiosa iam pridem excusa sit Basileae. Demiror te citatum esse Romam, cum sciam Pontificem hoc in primis dedisse in  
5 mandatis, ne quem innoxium laederent, imo conscios etiam ac fautores, vt ipsi vocant, haereseos modis omnibus allectarent. Sed aliter visum est furiosis theologis aliquot. Cupio te quam optime valere, ac fugere postea faeliciter.

Ego hic in quotidianis concionibus lapidor a Praedicatoribus, et  
10 Lutheri copulor, quicum mihi nihil est negotii; sed ita stolidè rem gerunt vt populus etiam crassissimus intelligat. Non poterunt magis officere Romano Pontifici, neque magis Lutherum commendare affectibus hominum. Nunc demum incipiunt illi fauere. Vtinam Leo sciret quibus modis hic res agatur! In illos primum esset leo.  
15 Bene vale, vir optime. Louanii 7. Cal. Feb.

Erasmus ex animo tuus.

Ornatissimo D. Bilibaldo Pirckheimero,  
senatori inclitae ciuitatis Nurembergensis.

1154 1183. To (ARTLEBUS OF BOSKOWITZ).

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 540.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xiv. 13: LB. 563.

28 January 1521.

[1521 is the only year possible between the issue of *Exsurge, Domine* (l. 115) and the publication of F. As this letter clearly answers Ep. 1154, I have assigned to it an address (ll. 144-5) written by Erasmus himself, at the foot of the ms. of Ep. 1154, immediately below Artlebus' signature. It is noticeable that before deciding on *Boscowici* (l. 144) as the form of this doubtless strange name, Erasmus began *Boz*, but then scratched it through. The anonymous heading (cf. Ep. 1127 tit. n) given in F probably arose from Erasmus' omission to prefix Artlebus' correct name and titles to the rough draft, from which, of course, this letter was printed; and for the subsequent editions he was no doubt unable to recall them, at any rate with sufficient accuracy.]

ERASMVS N., VIRO PRAEPO TENTI, S. D.

VIR clarissime, celsitudinis tuae literae nos offenderunt occupatissimos literariis laboribus, et redditae sunt per hominem prorsus

1182. 11. gerunt O<sup>2</sup>: gerant P. 16. Erasmus . . . 18. Nurembergensis  
om. O<sup>2</sup>. 1183. 1. clarissime N: charissime F.

plaint which under the circumstances Erasmus might easily have confused with the previous failure of Ep. 856 to reach its destination. Or perhaps Pirckheimer, finding no mention of Ep. 856 in Ep. 1139, had raised the subject again in a recent letter.

1182. 3. responsio] Erasmus clearly is referring to Ep. 856, which answers Ep. 747.

4. citatum] Eck in publishing the Bull (Ep. 1141. 20n), which commanded Luther to recant (cf. Ep. 1153. 35n), had received the power to put into it other persons as well; and had proceeded to insert the names of Hutten, Pirckheimer, and Laz. Spengler, also

a citizen of Nuremberg. Great influence was brought to bear upon Eck to induce him to cancel these names; but he was obdurate, and in time the recantation was enforced. Meanwhile a fresh mandate, dated 3 Jan. 1521, was forwarded to the nuncios (see P. Balan, *Mon. Reform. Lutheranae*, 1884, pp. 17-21, 274-5), informing them that absolution to the offenders would only be granted at Rome. See also Ep. 1244. 4n.

9. lapidor] Cf. Epp. 1176. 12, 1185.

10. 1203. 14-17, 1216. 75-6, 1263. 41-2.

10. copulor] Cf. Epp. 1155. 18n, 1192. 31-2.

12. officere] Cf. Epp. 1183. 59-61, 1192. 13-15.



ignotum, cuius nullam faciebat mentionem epistola. Et tamen viaticum erat illi a me sarcendum, quod se praedicaret a praedonibus alicubi spoliatum. Has ob causas nunc breuius rescribo; breui per 5 Fucaros scripturus copiosius, si quid dabitur oculi, aut si id te velle sensero. Librum iam ante sex menses acceperam per duos Bohemos, tametsi nondum vacauit perlegere; ac de dissidio mihi sat diligenter scripserat Ioannes Slechta. Quae sane res non mediocriter excruciauit animum meum, qui semper fauerim cum omni paci concordiae- 10 que inter mortales omneis, si fieri possit, tum maxime inter Christianos. Quum enim Deus iuxta Prophetarum testimonium regnare gaudeat in latitudine populi, cumque videamus Christianae religionis pomoria vsque adeo contracta in arctum, quis non discrucietur animo hoc ipsum quod superest, tot opinionum morbis, tot morum 15 corruptelis esse viciatum, tot sectis diuisum atque distractum? Egi super hac re nonnihil cum Cardinale Campegio, viro nec indocto nec inhumano, cum apud nos esset, ac post cum nuncio quodam Pontificio. Vterque sat benigne respondit, bonam spem ostendens sarcinae concordiae. Mihi maiorem etiam spem facit huius Leonis 20 nostri clemens ac pacis cupidissimum ingenium, si modo suo mallet vti ingenio quam quorundam affectibus obsequundare, qui nec illius dignitati mea sententia consulunt, et publicam orbis vtilitatem suis priuatis commodis posthabent.

Porro quod a me ceu regulam quandam petis, cui scribis plus 25 autoritatis fore apud tuos quam si Romanus Pontifex obuibret sua fulmina, me iam dudum abhorrentem a negotio, cui nec autoritate par sim nec eruditione, magis etiam deterret. Et haud scio an villo queas argumento me magis alienare ab eo ad quod conaris inuitare. Quis enim ego sum vt de aliena fide pronunciem, aut decernam 30 aliquid praeter id quod decreuit ac sequitur Ecclesia Catholica? Quod si mihi constaret perperam aliquid decretum esse ab Ecclesia Romana, fortasse rogarem aut reuerenter admonerem, si daretur occasio: absit autem vt mihi quicquam decernendi fiduciam arrogem. Ego studiis meis nihil aliud conatus sum quam vt bonas literas pene 35 sepultas apud nostrates excitarem; deinde vt mundum plus satis tribuentem Iudaicis ceremoniis ad verae et Euangelicae pietatis studium expergefacerem; postremo vt studia theologiae scholastica, nimium prolapsa ad inanum quaestiuncularum argutias, ad diuinae Scripturae fontes reuocarem. Nihil vnquam asseueraui, semperque 40 fugi dogmatistae personam, praesertim in iis quae iam essent inter articulos nostrae religionis recepta: tametsi fateor quaedam esse definita per theologos quosdam, quae mea quidem sententia poterant absque iactura pietatis Euangelicae relinqui in medio.

17. Campegio H: quodam F.

4. praedonibus] Cf. Ep. 1021. 59-72.  
 7. Librum] Cf. Ep. 1154. 8n.  
 duos Bohemos] Claudianus and Voticius (Woticky): see p. 291.  
 9. Slechta] Ep. 1021.  
 12. Prophetarum] Cf. Hos. 4. 16.  
 17. Campegio] See Ep. 1062; and, for their intercourse while Campegio was in England, Epp. 961, 995, 996,

1025. 4n.  
 18. nuncio] Perhaps Chiericato (Ep. 639) is intended. Ep. 1144 is on the theme indicated.  
 38. studia theologiae] Cf. Faber's *Consilium* (see p. 357): 'mundus videtur veteris ac nimium ad sophisticas argutias prolapsae theologiae pertesus, sitire fontes Euangelicae doctrinae'.

45 Quod igitur praescribam, vir optime, non habeo, quod optem habeo. Optarim enim primum istam omnem regionem sibi coniungi Christiana concordia, deinde cum caeteris omnibus citra controuersiam habere pacem ac societatem perfectam. Ac iam quidem, si non maxima, certe optima regni pars agnoscit publicam Ecclesiae concordiam. Ad haec, prodigiosam Nicolaitarum factionem etiam  
50 vulgus isthic, vt audio, execratur. Superest sola Pygardorum factio reconcilianda. Eius rei conficiendae bonam video spem, si per vos, Pontificem ac principes aliquot ad eruditos aliquot spectataeque integritatis viros, negotium hoc deferatur; exclusis ab hoc albo istis  
55 qui nulli negotio se non admiscent, cum longe aliud profiteantur. Non quod illos oderim, si modo praestarent quod profitentur: sed ex his videmus passim existere qui sic clamoribus, tumultibus et adulationibus agunt, vt ipsis videtur, Pontificis negotium, vt mea quidem sententia nemo magis officiat Pontificis dignitati. Sic enim  
60 vociferantur vt idiotis etiam putentur insanire. Nec vlli magis affectibus populi commendarunt Lutherum quam qui odiosissime vociferati sunt in Lutherum. Hi timent nescio quid, et ob id omnem mouent lapidem quo regnum suum stabiliant. Hos igitur ab hoc arbitrio velim omnino semoueri. Quod si res ageretur  
65 mansuetis ac moderatis rationibus, sperarim fore vt et Leo Pontifex auferret laudem clementiae pastoralis, et isti laudem vel fructum potius obedientiae Christianae.

Nec enim vlllo modo probandi sunt qui Romanum Pontificem vel exacerbant conuiciis vel oblationibus traducunt. Etenim si  
70 Petrus merito obiurgat eos qui glorias, hoc est viros publica potestate praeditos, aspernantur, etiam si sint ethnici, quanto minus impetendus est cui primam auctoritatem deferunt omnes ferme ecclesiae? Neque enim iam disputo vnde illi delata sit haec auctoritas, certe quemadmodum olim e multis presbyteris adhuc aequalibus vnus eligebatur  
75 episcopus, ne schisma nasceretur, ita nunc ex omnibus episcopis expedit deligi vnum Pontificem, non solum ad excludenda dissidia, verum etiam ad temperandam tyrannidem aliorum episcoporum, si quis forte suos opprimeret, ac principum prophanorum. Neque vero nescio quae vulgo querelae iactentur de sede Romana; sed quemadmodum  
80 inconsultum est statim credere quod spargitur rumore populari, ita videtur iniquum quicquid Romae geritur, imputare Romano Pontifici. Multa geruntur illo inscio—nec enim vnus potest omnia cognoscere—, multa illo inuito et reluctante. Atque vt nunc sunt res humanae, si Petrus ipse Romae praesideret, cogeretur, opinor, ad  
85 quaedam conuiuere quae nequaquam probaret in animo suo. Sed haec vtcunque habent, longe plus ageretur moderatis precibus aut rationibus aut blandis querelis, quam obtreptionibus aut scriptis amarulentis. Quod si hoc merentur nostra commissa, vt mundus magno tumultu castigetur, et si necesse est vt veniant scandala,

55. se F: sese N.

66. et add. N.

74. e om. H.

75. nunc H: vt F.

50. Nicolaitarum] See Ep. 1021. 97.

51. Pygardorum] See Ep. 1021. 181n.

54. istis] The monks and friars.

60. idiotis] Cf. Ep. 1153. 171n.

66. clementiae] Cf. Epp. 1199. 33, 1203. 23.

70. Petrus] 1. 2. 13 seq. Cf. Erasmus' paraphrase on the passage.

84. Romae praesideret] Cf. Ep. 950.

54.

89. scandala] Cf. Matt. 18. 7, Luke 17. 1.

certe ego curabo ne per me veniant. Me nullus habebit neque 90  
magistrum erroris neque ducem tumultus.

Quod libri Lutheri apud vos habentur in manibus, vti scribis, non  
admodum doleo, si modo sic legantur ab istis quemadmodum a me  
legi solent. Si quid inest boni, decerpo; si quid mali, transilio.  
Nec in praesentia dicam quid de hoc viro sentiam. Tantum illud 95  
dicam, maximam huius tragoediae partem natam esse ex immoderata  
cupiditate quorundam theologorum, maxime Praedicatorum et Car-  
melitarum; de quibus in praesentia me piget plura scribere. Vnum  
illud dicam, si Leo sciret quae nos videmus et audimus, aut prorsus  
me fallit mea de illo opinio, aut haberet illis pro sua saedulitate non 100  
optimam gratiam. Cum Luthero mihi nihil intercedit preter  
Christianam amicitiam: quod vti verissimum est, ita saepenumero  
sum testatus. Ego nec autor illi sum nec patronus nec actor nec  
iudex. Nec eadem scripsimus, opinor, nec eodem modo. De spiritu  
illius nolo, nec meum est, ferre sententiam. Nec illius admodum 105  
multa legi, videlicet meis studiis abunde distentus. Nihil illius  
vnquam nec impugnari nec defendi; tantum alicubi in illo de-  
sideravi plusculum mansuetudinis Euangelicae.

Nec tamen probavi saevitiam ac tumultum istorum qui libris  
illius nondum lectis stultissime vociferabantur apud populum, 110  
'asinum', 'gruem', 'stipitem', 'haereticum', 'Antichristum', 'pes-  
tem orbis' illum identidem appellantes, cum interim nec docerent  
hominem meliora nec refellerent: nec aliud effecerunt suo tumultu  
quam vt plures emerent ac libentius legerent Lutheri libros. Nunc  
Bulla prodita, quae nec ipsa potuit animos populi a Luthero alienare, 115  
quanquam supra modum terribilis est, coniurati quidam foedere icto  
inter pocula semper illius nomen cum meo coniungunt in concionibus  
publicis, quo videlicet me degrauent invidia communi: quem ob id  
hostem iudicant, quod alicubi scripserim eos non recte facere qui sic  
argutiis Scoticis incumbunt vt non attingant fontes diuinae sapientiae; 120  
quod aliquoties a Thoma dissentiam in Annotationibus meis; quod ad-  
monuerim adolescentes non esse pelliciendos ad vincula vitae mona-  
chalis, priusquam et sibi noti sint et intelligant quid sit religio; quod  
admonuerim veram pietatem non esse sitam in ceremoniis, sed in  
affectibus animi; quod defendam bonas literas, quibus illi iam olim 125  
indixere bellum. Cum rogantur a concione quid offenderint in libris  
meis haereticum, respondent se non legisse, sed tamen periculum  
esse propter obscuram Latinitatem. Haec respondent iidem et  
theologi et monachi, et scurrae et nonnunquam episcopi. Per huius-  
modi rabulas defenditur maiestas Pontificia, fulcitur Ecclesia. Sed 130

97. praedicatorum *F*: Dominicanorum *H*. 100. aut *add. F* *Corrig.* 112.  
identidem illum *N*. 122. monachalis *F*: monasticae *H*.

103. sum testatus] Cf. Ep. 1153. 19n.

104. iudex] Cf. Ep. 1033. 58 cr. n.

111. asinum] Cf. Epp. 1144. 41, 1192.

33-4.

115. Bulla] Cf. Ep. 1141. 20n.

119. scripserim] Ep. 456. 242-8.

121. a Thoma] Cf. Ep. 1126. 262n.

122. adolescentes] Cf. Epp. 296. 28-  
40, 447. Neither letter was yet printed;

but Ep. 296 had circulated (cf. Ep. 304.  
82-8). See also Epp. 858. 372-5, 493  
seq., 1171. 85-7, 1196. 330-2, 1202.  
219-20, 1263. 28-9.

124. veram pietatem] Cf. Ep. 296. 72  
seq.

127. non legisse] This story is related  
with more detail in Epp. 1144, 1192,  
1212.

populus passim incipit sapere, et ni melioribus rationibus rem agant, non video quid sint effecturi.

Quod hortaris vt Luthero me iungam, id facile fiet, si illum videro in parte Catholicae Ecclesiae. Non quod pronunciem illum ab hac  
 135 alienum, neque enim meum est damnare quenquam. Domino suo stat ille aut cadit. Quod si res deueniet ad extremum tumultum, vt vtroque nutet Ecclesiae status, ego me interim in solida illa petra figam, donec rebus pacatis liquebit vbi sit Ecclesia; atque illic erit Erasmus, vbicunque erit Euangelica pax.

140 Haec habui, vir eximie, quae mihi in praesentia venerunt in mentem, ne qui tuas reddidit, omnino vacuus abiret. Epistola tua nec diem habuit nec annum ascriptum.

Bene vale. Louanii v. Cal. Feb. Anno M.D.xxi.

<Clariss. viro D. Artlebo de Boscowici et Tschernaho, domino in  
 145 Vran, supremo Capitaneo marchionatus Morauiensis.>

#### 1184. TO WILLIAM BUDAEUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 557.

HN: Lond. xiv. 23: LB. 565.

Louvain.

16 February 1521.

[The year-date is confirmed by the death of William Croy.]

ERASMVS GVILHELMO BVDAEO S. D.

EN, Budaee charissime, quasi parum esset malorum, ita praeci-  
 puum e Guilhelmorum numero fatorum ademit inuidia. Periiit  
 enim, vt scis, Guilhelmus Croius, archiepiscopus Toletanus, et periit  
 veluti flosculus tener in ipso exortu succisus; simulque nos docuit  
 5 nihil esse satis firmi praesidii in rebus fortunae arbitrio subiectis:  
 qua de re librum abs te conscriptum ex hoc qui has reddidit cognoui.  
 Quid optari poterat a fortuna quod illi non affatim fuerat vltro  
 largita? Generis antiquissima stemmata; tum patruus sic apud  
 Carolum nostrum gratus, vt penes vnum propemodum videatur  
 10 esse imperii summa; aetas virens—nondum enim egressus erat annum  
 vigesimum tertium; corpus vegetum ac firmum; tam multiplex dig-  
 nitas, vt in illo vix eluceret maiestas galeri cardinalicii; morum mira  
 facilitas candorque. Toto pectore fauebat bonis studiis, nec oderat  
 Erasmum. Certe Viues noster Moecenatem amisit qualem posthac  
 15 haud facile nanciscetur.

Is mihi legit proximas tuas ad se literas. Si mihi Brixius aequae  
 ac Morus esset ignotus, tamen dolerem studiorum rem tam parum  
 bene succedere. Nunc cum vterque sit amicus, cum vtriusque

1183. 137. nutet H: nutat F: mutet F Corrig.

1184. 8. H: stemmate F.

1183. 137. petra] Cf. Matt. 7. 24, 5, rum; see Ep. 1073. 71n.  
 Luke 6. 48; also Matt. 16. 18.

1184. 2. Guilhelmorum] Cf. Ep. 1003. 27n. 8. patruus] Chièvres: see Ep. 532.

34n. 13. nec oderat] Cf. Ep. 647. 23.

3. Croius] † 6 Jan. 1521: see Ep. 647 introd. 14. Viues] See Epp. 927 introd., 958. 114.

6. librum] De contemptu rerum fortuita- 16. literas] BE<sup>4</sup>. 83; dated 10 Jan.

faueam ingenio, non potero sine summo dolore spectare concertationem istam; quae vereor ne nimium excandescat. Nam epistola 20 Mori, quam opinor te vidisse priusquam eam mihi Morus ostendit Caletii iam typis excusam, talis est ut ego qui nonnullis videar mordax, ad hanc collatus prorsum edentulus sim: et tamen mihi propemodum pollicitus est se praessurum, si Brixius conquiesceret. Amabam et festiui Hutteni ingenium: id Lutherana tempestas 25 Musis eripuit.

Qui hasce reddit literas, Guilhelmorum vnus est qui candide fauent Erasmo: qui cum ex me didicisset cuiusmodi vir esses, ambire coepit ut tibi innotesceret. Ac profecto dignus est, mea sententia, quem tua digneris amicitia: festiui ingenium est, mores niuei, summa in 30 rebus gerendis dexteritas; literarum, ut est amantissimus, ita nequam rudis. Postremo non nomine tantum tui similis est.

Cura, mi Budae, ut quam rectissime valeas; nam hoc coelo tam putri, in his studiorum laboribus, imo in his taediis et rabularum obstrepentium et pisculentorum dierum, vix satis tuemur valetudinem. Louanii xiiii. Cal. Mart. ANNO M.D.XXI. 35

## 1185. To NICHOLAS BERALDUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 567.

Louvain.

HN: Lond. xv. 10: LB. 566.

16 February 1521.

[Contemporary with Ep. 1184.]

ERASMVVS NICOLAO BERALDO S. D.

QUANTVM apparet ex Budaei nostri ad Viuem literis, fieri non potest quin Morus ac Brixius pergant inter se conflictari. Amo vtriusque ingenium, malim aliud par spectare commissum; sed quod nobis in manu non est, factorum arbitrio permittamus. Tuis literis prouocatus scripseram Hueo Decano; et ille sic obticescit quasi sit 5 offensus officio meo. Quod si est, fac mihi hominem reconcilies, cui me volebas conciliare.

Tanta hic est rabies quorundam monachorum aduersus bonas literas, ut iam taedia sint verius quam studia. Ego Praedicatorum conuiciis lapidorum quotidie, in publicis etiam concionibus; quae si 10 paterer pro negotio fidei, non cesserim vel ipsi protomartyri Stephano. Semel ille lapidatus finem inuenit malis; et saxis ille duntaxat impetitus est. Ego nec vno in loco nec semel lapidorum mendaciis et conuiciis letali veneno tinctis: atque haec dum agunt,

1184. 19. dolore *F* Corrig.: cū dolore *F*.29. quem *F* Corrig.: quam *F*.1185. 9. Praedicatorum *F*: Dominicanorum *H*.1184. 20. epistola Mori] The reply to the *Antimorus*; see Epp. 1087 introd., 1096. 121n.

22. Caletii] See p. 296.

24. pollicitus est] Cf. Ep. 1096. 102 seq.

25. Hutteni] Cf. Ep. 1119. 33n.

27. Qui hasce reddit] I cannot identify this William.

35. pisculentorum] Lent had begun on 13 Feb.

1185. 1. literis] Cf. Ep. 1184. 16.

5. Hueo] See Epp. 989. 9n, 1003.

10. lapidor] Cf. Ep. 1182. 9n.

15 ipsi semet produnt ac traducunt populo. Ac tales se praestant  
quales, si ego descripsissem, vix quisquam fuerat habiturus fidem;  
nunc ipsi fidem faciunt. Et tamen tanta est caecitas vt vel suo  
malo laedere cupiant.

Lutherus maxima inuidia grauatur et nos et bona studia. Nemo  
20 nesciebat Ecclesiam fuisse grauata et tyrannide et ceremoniis et  
decretis humanis ad quaestum repertis. Iamque multi remedium  
vel optabant vel meditabantur; sed saepe parum dextre tentata  
remedia vergunt in peius, fitque vt dum non succedit iugum excutere  
volentibus, in acerbiorum seruitutem retrahantur. Vtinam vir ille  
25 aut prorsus abstinuisset aut rem moderatius simul et circumspectius  
tentasset! De Luthero nihil laboro, sed Christi gloriae faueo: nam  
quosdam sic accinctos video vt, si his succedat res, nihil supersit  
nisi vt Euangelicae doctrinae scribatur epicedion.

Bene vale, Beralde doctissime. Saluta patronos communes, Ru-  
30 seum et Deloinum; nam Budaeo scripsi. Hermannio Phrysio, summae  
spei iuueni, multam ex me salutem dicito.

Louanii xiiii. Cal. Mart. ANNO M.D.XXI.

#### 1186. TO NICHOLAS EVERARD.

De Vos van Steenwyk MS.

Louvain.

25 February 1521.

[An original letter, autograph throughout: in a private collection belonging to Baron de Vos van Steenwyk, by whose courtesy I am allowed to print it here for the first time. I am indebted also to the kindness of my constant friend, Dr. Molhuysen, Director of the Royal Library at the Hague, in bringing the letter to my notice and procuring me a rotograph of it.]

The manuscript year-date may be accepted without question; for 1521 is the only year in which Erasmus was at Louvain in February after the publication of the *Captiuitas Babylonica* (l. 7).]

S. P., vir excellentissime. Quantis odiis Lutherus et bonas litteras  
onerat et rem Christianam! Omnes inuoluit quod potest suo negocio.  
Nemo non fatebatur esse grauata Ecclesiam tyrannide quorundam,  
ac meditabantur iam multi remedium aliquod. Nunc hic exortus  
5 ita tractauit rem vt auxerit nobis iugum, neque quisquam sit qui  
vel benedicta illius ausit tueri. Admonueram ante menses sex ne  
quid adderet odii. Captiuitas Babylonica multos ab illo alienauit,  
et indies molitur atrociora. Nec video qua spe hec inceptet, nisi  
fortasse fretus Bohemis. Ego vereor ne sic fugiamus Lutheri  
10 Scyllam vt in Charybdim incidamus. Quidam vindictae cupiditate  
nunc accipiunt iugum et frenum bullarum Pontificiarum, quod  
fortasse post frustra cupient excussum: id quod vsu venit equo ex  
Apologis. Et Lutherus veluti caper ille demisit sese in foueam, non  
satis prospecto reditu.

1185. 29. Ruseum] See Ep. 493.  
420n.

30. Deloinum] See Ep. 494.

Budaeo] Ep. 1184.

Hermannio] See Epp. 903. 12n,

1131.

1186. 6. Admonueram] Cf. Ep. 1141.

15n.

7. Captiuitas] See Ep. 1153. 146n.

9. Bohemis] For Luther's relations with the Utraquists see p. 292; and cf. LE<sup>2</sup>. 397.

10. Scyllam] Cf. Epp. 1191. 36, 1195.

85, 1205. 26, 1216. 79, 1228. 44.

Veniunt isthuc ad comburendos Lutheri libros duo, Nicolaus<sup>15</sup> Edmondanus, homo stolidi pertinacia mireque sibi placens, et Vincentius<sup>17</sup> predicator, qui dicitur male acceptus Dordraci, homo natura fatuus, nullo iudicio et in suo etiam genere indoctus, lingue procacissime. Nullus scripsit aut dixit aduersus Lutherum, cuius insecitiam aut stultitiam ille non sit subleuatus. Sylvester, Augustinus, Todischius, Eccius profuerunt hosti suo. Sed ipse seipsum suis telis conficit. Hec igitur fati arbitror relinquenda. Germani nihil non euulgant, ac stulte produnt eos a quibus poterant subleuari. Nunquam credidissem eis [non] parum esse iudicii.

Bene vale, patrone cum primis obseruande. Loua. postrid. Mathie<sup>25</sup> 1521.

Erasmus.

Eximio domino D. Nicolao Euerardo, presidenti Hollandiae dignis(simo).

# 1187. TO LORENZO BARTOLINI.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 666.

HN: Lond. xvii. 25: LB. 567.

Louvain.

1 March 1521.

[M. Delaruelle (BE<sup>4</sup>. 48, n. 1) proposes to change the year-date to 1520, which is the only other year possible: apparently in order to shorten the interval between Bartolini's visit and this letter. I cannot confirm 1521; but, in default of stronger argument against it, it may stand. Ruffus' Boethius (*v. infra*) suggests a continuance of Bartolini's relations with the North in 1521.

Lorenzo Bartolini (c. 1494—May 1533) belonged to an important Florentine family, the Bartolini Salimbeni. As early as 1505 Julius II allowed him to receive a benefice; and during his life, though residing at Florence, he amassed a great deal of scattered preferment, including the Augustinian abbey of Entremont in Haute-Savoie (GC. xvi. 505). In the summer of 1519 he travelled in the North with Longolius, visiting Budaeus at Marly (BE<sup>1</sup>. ff. 115, 58 v<sup>o</sup>, 62 v<sup>o</sup>: where he is wrongly called 'coenobiarcha Aspromontanus' or 'Asprimontanus') and Erasmus at Louvain, 15 Oct. 1519 (see Ep. 914 introd.); and gaining great credit. During that period Ant. Francinus of Montevarchi dedicated to him as protonotary apostolic the first volume of the Junta Homer, Florence, (c. 1 Oct.) 1519. He is very likely the 'protonotarius Bartholinus', of whose friendship for Longolius Bembo writes, 29 May (1520) (Lo. E. f. 153 v<sup>o</sup>) and through whom the ms. of Longolius' *Defensiones* reached Paris for Petit, Gourmont, and Gromorsus to print, 1520 (Panzer viii. 65). Two letters of Longolius in May-June (1522) show that he was then in Florence (Lo. E. ff. 143 v<sup>o</sup>, 144). G. Ruffus (Roussel) in dedicating to him Boethius' *Arithmetica*, Paris, S. Colinaeus, 11 July 1521, describes him as 'virtutum ac literarum antistes', and thanks him for long continued kindness.

See a not very accurate notice in Ildefonso di S. Luigi's *Istoria genealogica de'*

15. isthuc] To the Hague; cf. Ep. 1044. 19. I cannot find any record of such burning there. Fredericq shows (iv, pp. 76, 78, 80) that Luther's books were subsequently burnt at Ghent 24 June, at Antwerp 13 July, and at Amersfoort 19 Aug.; and that Egmondanus was present at Ghent. His presence at Antwerp is mentioned by Hedio in his additions, p. 479, to the Ursberg Chronicle (see p. 552).

16. Edmondanus] See Ep. 1166. 20n.

Vincentius] See p. 463.

17. Dordraci] Cf. Ep. 1164. 73n.

20. Sylvester] Prieras; see Ep. 872. 16n.

Augustinus] of Alfeld; see Ep. 1167. 407n.

Todischius] T. Radinus; see Ep. 1167. 408n.

22. Germani] Cf. Epp. 1188. 41-2, 1217. 39-40, 1248. 14-15, 1250. 13.

23. euulgant] Cf. Epp. 909, 948, 980, 1033, 1110, 1193, 1194, 1202. 209n, 1284.

*Bartolini Salimbeni*, pp. 355-61, 371, in an appendix to vol. xxiii of his *Delizie degli eruditi Toscani*, 1786; and Th. Simar in *Musée Belge*, xv (1911), pp. 148, 170.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS LAVRENTIO BARTHOLINO, ABBATI, S. D.

Non semel ipse mihi displicui, Bartholine optime, quod istam indolem tuam virtuti ac bonis literis natam non fuerim maiore cum humanitate complexus, quum apud nos esses vna cum Longolio. Sed ad huiusmodi officia praestanda magis deest nobis ocium quam  
 5 animus. Quis autem non admet istud ingenium tuum tam audidum eruditionis vt Italus homo per tot barbaras regiones peregrinari volueris, non tam Vlyssae cuiusdam prudentiae comparandae gratia, qui mores hominum nouit et vrbes, quam vt cum viris doctrinae opinione celebratis congradereris? Inter quos nescio quis tibi per-  
 10 suaserat esse numeratum Erasmum. Quanquam autem hac parte plane sciam te frustratum expectatione tua, tamen illud, opinor, profecisti, ne posthac tam facile credas vel laudatoribus istis vel obtrectatoribus. Sed interim exosculor Italiae candorem, quae fauet  
 15 a nobis vt disiuncti mutuis epistolis colloqueremur. Prior itaque lacezzo, tametsi in praesentia nec admodum vacabat scribere, nec erat argumentum aliquod serium. Fac recte valeas, et quid agas vt sciam. Loua. An. m.d.xxi. Cal. Mar.

1188. TO NICHOLAS EVERARD.

LB. App. 317 (a).

Mechlin.

Gudii Epistolae p. 379 (β).

(c. March 1521.)

[For the sources see Ep. 1092. Here too the year-date, though correct, is evidently an addition by the editors of LB.]

As the letter is written from Mechlin, Erasmus was presumably on his way between Antwerp and Louvain, and returning; for, if he had been going towards the Hague, whither this letter was addressed, he would perhaps not have needed to write hastily for a messenger going in his own direction. He was at Antwerp in February or March 1521 (Ep. 1189. 5n), and again in April (Ep. 1199). From the connexion with Ep. 1192 I place this conjecturally on the return from the earlier visit. Erasmus had recently corresponded with Everard: see Ep. 1186.]

ERASMVS ROT. NICOLAO EVERARDO, HOLLANDIAE PRAESIDI, S. P.

Si Lutherus moderatius scripsisset, etiamsi libere, et plus laudis ipse tulisset sibi et plus fructus attulisset orbi: sed aliter visum est fatis. Neque quicquam magis admiror quam hominem adhuc subsistere. Graui inuidia oneravit Reuchlinum, grauiore me, denique

1188. TIT. NICOLAO EVERARDO, PRAESIDENTI HOLLANDIAE, S. D. DESIDERIVS ERASMVS β.

1187. TIT. ABBATI] Evidently Erasmus, like Budaeus, was not sure of the name of Bartolini's abbey.

2. indolem] Budaeus, in the letters

cited above, selects the same points for praise.

6. Italus homo] Cf. Ep. 1110. 67n.

8. qui mores] Cf. Hor. A. P. 142.



et bonas litteras, quod quidem in ipso fuit. Rursus qui illum im-  
pugnant, tam stolidè rem gerunt ut videantur cum Luthero colludere.  
Si essem capitalis hostis Iacobitis quibusdam et Carmelitis, non  
optarem illis aliam mentem quam habent. Nuper Antuerpiae Mi-  
norita quidam, attractus in coniurationem, coepit insanire apud  
populum: nomen homini Matthias; Hollandus est. Iussus est  
a magistratu prædicare Euangelium: in concione proxima dixit,  
'Euangelium vos docet pastor vester, etiamsi pridie dormisset cum  
scorto'. Has belluas alit mundus vsque ad delicias, imo vsque ad  
tyrannidem. Aduersus hos non video aliud remedium quam ut  
subducatur illis liberalitas, nec admittantur in aedes bonorum  
viro- 15  
rum. Adolescentes a parentibus, foeminae a maritis edoceantur,  
et pastoribus suis confiteantur. Destituantur concionantes ab audi-  
toribus: imo cum sic incipiunt debacchari, surgant plerique et abeant  
domum. His rebus fiet ut certe moderatius insaniant.

Adfirmant hic diploma quoddam apparatus multo saeuus quam 20  
fuerit Bulla Pontificis; nescio quid metus obstat quo minus edatur.  
Quin et illud demiror, Pontificem tale negotium per tales homines  
agere, partim indoctos, certe impotentis arrogantiae omnes. Quid  
Caietano Cardinale superbius aut furiosius? Quid Carolo a Milticis,  
quid Marino, quid Aleandro? Omnibus placet illud iuuenile con- 25  
silium, Minimus digitus meus maior est dorso patris mei, etc.  
Aleander plane maniacus est, vir malus et stultus. Antonius Puc-  
cius apud Eluetios homo mire est iracundus et impotens. Parisiis  
duo potissimum impugnant Lutherum; Querquo Normannus, seni-

5. bonas *om. B.* 7. essent capitales hostes *B.* 12. pridem dormiisset *B.*  
14. Aduersus hos *a*: Adusque hoc *B.* 17. et scripsi, *cf. Epp.* 373. 3, 444. 17nn:  
ut *aB.* 18. imo *a*: Tunc *B.* 21. fuerat *B.* 24. Card. *B.* 25. Aleandro *B.*  
26. etc. *om. B.* 27. Aleander *B.* 28. *B.*: Heluetios *a.* iracundus *a*:  
fraudulentus *B.* 29. duo *a*: dico *B.* Querquo Normannus *B.*

7. Iacobitis] *Cf. Ep.* 1153. 113n.  
8. Minorita] This affair is narrated  
also in *Epp.* 1192, 1196. For the  
principle underlying the assertion *cf.*  
*Ep.* 1211. 48on.

20. diploma] *Cf. Ep.* 1192. 66n.

21. Bulla] See *Ep.* 1141. 20n.

24. Caietano] See *Ep.* 891. 25n: but  
*cf. Ep.* 1225. 198-201.

a Milticis] Charles of Miltitz in  
Meissen (c. 1490-20 Nov. 1529), son of  
a Saxon official, matriculated at Cologne  
in 1508, to study Law. In 1510 he  
carried these studies to Bologna, and  
in 1513 made his way to Rome: where  
he was appointed Papal Chamberlain  
22 April 1514, and afterwards Agent  
to the Dukes of Saxony at the Curia.  
Cochlaeus, who had been with him at  
Cologne, praises him highly in writing  
to Pirkheimer from Rome, 3 Oct. 1517  
(Heumann, p. 38). In 1518 he was  
sent to carry the Holy Rose to Duke  
Frederic of Saxony; and being 'a super-  
ficial, frivolous, and vain courtier',  
took upon himself to meddle without

authorization in the Lutheran business.  
He had three interviews with Luther  
in 1519-20, one result of which was  
Luther's letter to the Pope, 3 March  
1519 (*LE*<sup>2</sup>. 159) offering submission.  
But he was not destined to succeed  
where his superior Caietano had failed;  
and at the end of 1520 he returned to  
Rome. He held canonries at Meissen  
and Mainz, and for a short time at  
Freising. His death he met by drown-  
ing in the Main. See Pastor vii. 380-  
5; Creighton v. 87-91; Knod; and a  
life by H. A. Creutzberg, 1907.

25. Marino] Caracciola: see *Ep.* 865.  
67n.

26. Minimus digitus] *Cf.* 1 Kings 12.  
10, 2 Chron. 10. 10.

27. Puccius] See *Ep.* 860 introd.

29. Querquo] Wm. Duchesne († 4 Sept.  
1525), Dr. of the Sorbonne in 1496, had  
taken a successful part in the Council  
of Pisa, 1511-12: *cf. Trith*<sup>2</sup>, f. 218 v°. He  
was now one of the leaders of the  
Faculty of Theology, and was regarded  
as responsible with Bedda (l. 30) for

- 30 culus virulentus, et Bedda <Stan>donchensis, truncus verius quam  
homo. Res, vt audio, nunc agitur venenis: Parisiis sublatis sunt  
aliquot qui Lutherum manifeste defendebant. Fortassis hoc in  
mandatis est vt, quoniam aliter vinci non possunt hostes Sedis  
Romane (sic enim illi vocant qui harpyis illis non per omnia obse-  
35 quantur), veneno tollantur cum benedictione Pontificis. Hac arte  
valet Aleander. Is me Coloniae impensissime rogabat ad prandium;  
ego, quo magis ille instabat, hoc pertinacius excusavi. Aduersus  
condonationes hoc erit remedium, si nihil detur: donec dabitur  
melior occasio explodendi has impias cauponationes.
- 40 Haec liberius apud te effudi, vir optime. Cauebis ne haec epistola  
aberrer in manus multorum; nam Germani euulgant quicquid nacti  
fuerint. Bene vale cum tuis. Saluta M. Iacobum Mauricium ac  
Sasboutum.
- Mechlini. Raptim in diuersorio, cum hic forte fortuna esset  
45 oblatum.

## 1189. TO MARTIN LYPSEUS.

Rotterdam MS., Erasmus III. 102, p. 78.

&lt;Louvain.&gt;

Horawitz v. 34.

&lt;March 1521.&gt;

[The close connexion with Epp. 1174, 1190 is obvious. An approximate date is given by Erasmus' visit to Antwerp (l. 5n).]

DES. ERAS. RO. D. MAR. BRVX. S. P. D.

<A>MICE singularis, ob certas causas distuli iter in hebdomadas  
aliquot. Non dubito quin tu pro humanitate tua tribuas occupationi-

1188. 30. Beda \*\*\*\* β. 32. in mandatis α: mandatum β. 33. Sedis α:  
satis β. 36. Aleander β. 40. Haec α: Hoc β. 44. β: Mechlinia α.

the *Determinatio* about to be issued against Luther (Ep. 1202.220n); cf. Zw. E<sup>2</sup>. 183. LE<sup>2</sup>. 450. 159, and see Erasmus' *Fam. Colloq. Formulae*, Basle, Froben, March 1522, f<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>7</sup>. On 29 March 1524 the Parliament of Paris nominated him, with others, Inquisitor for a number of dioceses in Eastern and Central France; and in this capacity he acted with Bedda in making the first attacks on Berquin's orthodoxy (cf. Ep. 925. 13n; and Lond. xxiv. 4, LB. 1060). His appointment was confirmed by Clement VII, 17 May 1525 (*Actes de François I*, i. 405). See Clerval p. 4; P. Feret, *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris*, ii (1901), p. 62; and Renaudet, pp. 537, 594.

1188. 30. Standonchensis] The note in LB. shows that the first few letters of this word were not legible. But the reading given there is evidently correct; for, though Bedda had re-

signed the Principalship of Standonck's college in 1513-14, he continued to exercise a large influence in the conduct of it until his death in 1536-7. See M. Godet, *La Congrégation de Montaigu*, 1912, pp. 66-9.

31. venenis] Herminjard, 34, notes that there seems to be no other contemporary authority for this accusation. It can hardly be explained by comparison with such passages as Epp. 1171. 82, 1184. 14, 1196. 7, 26.

36. Coloniae] See p. 370.

38. condonationes] Indulgences; cf. Ep. 786. 24.

41. Germani] Cf. Ep. 1186. 22-3.

42. Mauricium] See Epp. 176 introd., 1092. 15.

43. Sasboutum] See Ep. 1092. 15n.

1189. 1. iter] The long projected return to Basle (cf. Ep. 1078. 62n); perhaps stopping at Worms on the way (cf. Epp. 1190. 9-10, 1195. 144n).

bus meis quod tui videor oblitus. Habeo tibi tres Philippicos; hi dabantur in quos voles vsus. Τὰ Βιβλία non minoris emitur quam decem florenis; nec habentur in praesentia Antverpiae. Meum 5 volumen mitto, quod tamen mox a Paschate repetam: nam mihi erit opus, si tibi non erit magnopere vsui. Valde flagitabatur a quibusdam Minoritis; sed tibi malo gratificari, siquidem res est cordi. Remitto Augustini libros contra Faustum. Scribe si quos alios habetis libros manu vetustiore descriptos; hic enim nobis 10 magno fuit vsui. Bene vale, mi Martine, meque tuis precibus Christo commenda.

## 1190. TO MARTIN LYPSIUS.

Rotterdam MS., Erasmus III. 102, p. 78.

&lt;Louvain.&gt;

Horawitz v. 35.

&lt;March 1521.&gt;

[Evidently in sequence with Ep. 1189; from the mention of the sum of money, and of Erasmus' projected journey.]

DES. ERAS. ROTERO. D. M. LYPS. S. D.

<F>RATER in Christo charissime, quo vehementius dolebat mihi morbus tuus, hoc magis gaudeo te reuixisse. Superest vt cures ne recidas, ac studium tuum modereris. Dedi huic tres Philippicos, si voles recipere. Venerando collegii vestri patriarchae, Ioanni Arnoldo, meis verbis magnas ages gratias pro munusculo: cogita- 5 bimus de pensando, cum dabitur occasio. Paraphrases nondum aduectae sunt. Visissem te, sed ex ventis cepit totum corpus meum febricula quaedam. Vbi erit meliuscule, te visam. De itinere nondum omnino certum. Expectamus literas e Wormacia. Bene vale, mi Martine. Confirmet et animum et corpus tuum Dominus Iesus, omnis 10 salutis autor et instaurator.

1189. 4. Βιβλία] Cf. Ep. 1174. 14-17.

5. Antverpiae] Erasmus had been there recently; for Dürer notes in his *Tagebuch* (ed. F. Leitschuh, 1884, p. 75) between 12 Feb. and 10 March: 'Ich hab . . . ein mahl mit maister Peter secretary (gessen), do Erassmuss Roderadamus auch mit ass'. The visit was perhaps made between 1-13 March (Epp. 1187, 1192).

6. Paschate] 31 March 1521.

8. Minoritis] Cf. Ep. 1174. 15n.

9. Augustini] See Ep. 844. 255n.

1190. 5. Arnoldo] John Aerts or Arnoldi (†27 Sept. 1537) of Nosseghem, between Brussels and Louvain, was Prior of Val St. Martin c. 1493 to 1497, when he resigned because of ill-health and went as Rector to a convent of nuns, Bethany near Leeuw St. Pierre, n. of Hal. About 1509 he was again elected Prior, and remained in office till he died. He added some fine buildings to the monastery; but his detractors nicknamed him 'Prior platteborsse'. See A.

Sanderus, *Chorographia sacra Brabantiae*, 1727, ii. 124; and Horawitz v. 49, 53, 56, 72, 80, 93.

Some verses given by Sanderus, stating that he was a monk for ten Olympiads and lived for four lustres besides, seem to indicate that he was only 60 when he died. If so, it must be inferred that instead of two tenures of office by the same person, there were two Priors of the same name. But possibly an Olympiad is to be taken there as five years; as it is by Thos. Radinus (Ep. 1167. 408n), whose *Sideralis abyssus* is said to have been printed in the first year after the 302nd Olympiad from the Nativity (1511). On such a calculation Jo. Arnoldi would have been 70 at death.

6. Paraphrases] Doubtless Froben's collected edition of March 1521 (p. 123); for the completion of which cf. Ep. 1177. 44-7.

9. e Wormacia] Such as he shortly received, in Epp. 1197, 8.

## 1191. TO LOUIS OF FLANDERS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 558.  
HN: Lond. xiv. 25: LB. 608.

Louvain.  
<c. March> 1521.

[This letter comes between the death of Cardinal Croy (l. 55) and the publication of F. It may be placed here because of the verbal resemblance in ll. 30-1 to Ep. 1192. 5-6. The figure of Scylla and Charybdis is found in Epp. 1186, 1195, 1205, 1216, 1228.

Louis of Flanders, seigneur of Praet († 7 Oct. 1555), soldier, administrator, and diplomat, was one of the foremost figures in the Netherlands during the reign of Charles v. His father died early, and his mother retired into a convent, sending the boy to be brought up, like Badius, in the school of the Brethren of the Common Life at Ghent; see Badius' preface to Vergil's *Aeneis*, Paris, 1 Feb. 1509, dedicated to him. After studying at Louvain (cf. l. 13n) Louis took part in the struggle with Gueldres in 1507. His honours and appointments were numerous: 20 April 1515-15 Jan. 1522, Grand Bailiff of Ghent; 1517, member of the Privy Council; 1522, special ambassador to England (cf. Epp. 1281, 1286); 6 Nov. 1523-6 May 1549, Grand Bailiff of Bruges; 1530, after the death of Gattinara (p. 359), one of the four ministers on whom the government devolved; 1531, Kt. of the Golden Fleece; 1544, Governor of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht; and later, Governor of Flanders.

Other books dedicated to him are Badius' edition of the *Summae Quaestionum* of Henry Goethals of Ghent, Paris, 7 July 1520; Vives' *De consultatione*, a rhetorical treatise composed at Oxford, 1523, and *De subuentione pauperum*, Bruges, H. de Croock, Sept. 1526—both said to have been written upon suggestions received from him during his embassy to England; Balbus' *De futuris Caroli Augusti successibus vaticinium*, Bologna, J. B. Phaellus, Nov. 1529; Barpt. Georgieuch's *De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis*, Antwerp, G. Bontius, 1544; and Ant. Schonhouius' edition of Eutropius c. 1545. His continued interest in serious studies in spite of the cares of office is shown in Ep. 1286. 38 seq.: also his admiration for Erasmus and pleasure at the publication of this letter. In 1528 Erasmus writes of him as 'fortissimus patronus' and in 1529 praises him as one of the glories of Ghent, 'de quo dubites litterisne sit ornatio an stemmatis' (Lond. xxii. 24, xxviii. 23; LB. 940, 1011).

See BN. vii. 82-97; OE. pp. 414, 465; Vi. E., ff. 6 v<sup>o</sup>, 44; Agr. E., p. 992; VZE. 128; EE; and Herminjard 955. For an attempt by Aleander to enlist his support in Aug. 1521 see Al. E. i. 47.]

CLARISS. D. LODOVICO A PRATO, PRAEFECTO GANDAVENSI,  
ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS S. D.

VIR non vno decorum genere clarissime, cum Antonius Claua frequenter ad me scribat, nec villo in argumento illum destituat mirabilis illa Suadela, quam illi natura insitam auxit vsus et eruditio, tamen nullam causam egit vnquam vel ardentius vel copiosius  
5 quam proximis literis; mecum maiorem in modum expostulans, quod immemor veteris promissi nihil adhuc scripserim celsitudini tuae sic de me merita cotidieque merenti. Facit ille quidem amice quod extimulat ad scribendum—tametsi nihil opus erat stimulo, si  
per immensos studiorum labores liceret hac in parte vel animo meo  
10 vel amicorum votis ac meritis respondere—; sed amicus erat factorus si argumentum etiam epistolae suppeditasset. Animum istum

TIT. CLARISS. D. om. H.

ROTERODAMVS add. N.

1. Claua] The last trace extant of his correspondence with Erasmus up to this date is in Ep. 841.

6. veteris promissi] Perhaps made when Erasmus was at Ghent in June 1517; see Ep. 597. 16n.

tuum vere generosum ac maiorum tuorum clarissimis imaginibus dignissimum, et olim in adolescente Louanii degustaram, et nunc frequenter ex complurium praedicatione disco. Porro vix quisquam isthinc ad nos venit quin multa memoriter narret, quanto studio, 15 quanta facundia, quantis lateribus passim agas causam Erasmi.

Maximi optimique patroni solent in pessimis adhiberi causis, et ingens patronus magno reo conueniebat. Ego vero cum infimae sortis sim, et causa sit adeo bona ut qui negocium facessunt, hoc ipso nomine multam mihi gratiam debeant, quo me in ius vocant, 20 tamen et aduersariorum improbitas condensataeque phalanges, et horum temporum infelicitas, quibus nihil non licet audaciae, impudentiae, hypocrisi, quaestui, ambitioni, adulationi, faciunt ut magni proceres humilium clientulorum facillimas causas agere cogantur. Olim, ut habent apologi, membra conspirant aduersus ventrem. 25 Nunc e diuerso ventres aduersus reliquum corpus coniurati bellum gerunt: quibus si pessime velim, nihil magis optarim quam hanc ipsam quam habent mentem. Quo magis isti blaterant in bonas literas, hoc magis ac magis ubique efflorescunt.

Cum Luthero nihil vnquam mihi fuit negotii nisi quod est cum 30 quouis homine Christiano. Huius causam nemo magis subleuat quam qui illam omnibus machinis impugnant: ac miris modis dum illum atrocissime traducunt, et hostem commendant affectibus populi et sibi conciliant odium. Quod ni Lutherus se suis ipsius telis confoderet, in dies atrociora scribendo, plurimum debebat hostium 35 suorum stoliditati. Illud video, si Scyllam hanc effugerimus, restare Charybdim, quae semel vniuersam Christiani populi libertatem absorbeat, Evangelicaeque doctrinae scintillam omnem extinguat. Quis enim feret hoc stolidum hominum genus, quod hactenus fucis ac malis artibus tyrannidem exercuit in Christi gregem, quorum gulae, 40 fastui, libidini, auariciae nihil est satis? Sed vtinam Deus aut det illis mentem meliorem aut eos aliquo releget, ne diutius obstrepant Evangelio Christi. Nos infraeto animo quod semper egimus agimus, bonis literis ac verae pietati pro nostra virili consulentes, sic tamen ut odiosis tumultibus nos nequaquam admisceamus. Prodesse cupi- 45 mus, et praestat quiescere, ubi nulla spes profectus arridet.

Caeterum ut finiam epistolam, scito me probe scire quantopere debeam tuo isti in me animo, declaraturum officia tanta non prorsus penes hominem ingratum et immemorem esse deposita, si quando sese dederit oportunitas. Christus Opt. Max. te nobis, tibi animum 50 istum quam diutissime seruet.

Salutem dices amicis omnibus, nominatim Antonio Clauae, quo nihil candidius, nihil amicius, et Gulielmo Vualo, plane digno quem Gulielmorum meorum adscribam catalogo: cui nuper vnum detraxit factorum inuidia, Cardinalem Croium; in quo breui declarauit fortuna, 55 quid in vtranque partem valeat. Vidimus repente ad summum

13. in adolescente *add. H.*

53. Valo *N.*

13. Louanii] Evidently during Erasmus' earlier residence there, 1502-4.

26. ventres] Cf. Ep. 1166. 16n.

30. cum Luthero] Cf. Ep. 1192. 5-6.

32. impugnant] Cf. Ep. 1167. 374n.

38. scintillam] Cf. Ep. 1205. 29.

53. Vualo] See Ep. 301. 37n.

54. catalogo] Cf. Ep. 1003. 34n.

55. Croium] + 6 Jan. 1521; see Ep. 647 introd.

dignitatis fastigium euectum, ac subito ceu flosculum Parcarum pollice succisum. Bene vale, vir clarissime. Haec ex tempore, ne Claua rursus acrius etiam mecum ageret.

60 Louanii. ANNO M.D.XXI.

# 1192. TO ALEXANDER SCHWEISS.

Vita Erasmi p. 89\*.

Louvain.

O<sup>2</sup>. p. 138: Lond. xxx. 13: LB. App. 314.

13 March (1521).

[This letter came to Merula in a copy made from the original autograph. The manuscript belonged to Ct. Philip of Hohenlohe-Neuenstein, in the n. of Wurtemberg; and the copy was furnished by his secretary, I. de Groot. It reached Merula when his book was well advanced in printing; and was inserted, evidently in an attempt after chronological arrangement, on a separate sheet of two folios (LL), the page-numeration, 89-92, being repeated: without, however, any distinction from the proper numeration which follows. Merula's note traces the descent of Ct. Philip's wife from Maximilian of Buren (l. 81n); and thus suggests that the letter after receipt may have been given by Alexander to the boy to treasure.

Herminjard (33) in printing an extract from this letter, changes the month-date to 13 May—an easy correction—, following Merula in referring Charles' mandate (l. 66n) to the Imperial Edict of 8 May (see Ep. 1217. 144n), instead of to the Mechlin proclamation. But Erasmus' language may quite well apply to anticipations; and from the opening of the Diet Aleander had been endeavouring to secure a prompt issue of an Edict (Creighton v. 147). So, whichever interpretation is accepted, the date may stand as shown by Merula: though note should be made of the resemblance in ll. 21-3 to the passage about Luther in Ep. 1202. 220-3, written after the appearance of the Paris *Determinatio* on 15 April.

Alexander Schweiss († a. 2 Nov. 1536) of Herborn is only known from this date onwards; though he is perhaps the youth to whom Erasmus took a fancy in 1520 (Ep. 1119. 1). In 1522 he accompanied Ct. Henry of Nassau to Spain; where he was raised to the nobility by Charles v, 23 June 1523, and on 26 Aug. 1524 was appointed an Imperial Secretary at Valladolid (Caballero, pp. 309, 357). Some letters from him, 1526-9, to Ct. Wm. of Nassau (Ep. 147. 58n) are printed by J. Arnoldi in *Historische Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1817, pp. 222-6; others to Pirekheimer, 1526-30, are in P. pp. 265, 264, 330, cf. p. 398. In Charles' service he took part in the negotiations for the settlement of religious difficulties at Piacenza and Augsburg, 1529-30. In 1533 he left the Chancery; where he was succeeded by Matthias Held. See ADB. He is mentioned in the preface to Peter Apianus' *Quadrans astronomicus*, Ingolstadt, 6 July 1532.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS ORNATISSIMO D. ALEXANDRO,

ILLVSTRISS. COMITIS A NASSOVWEN SECRETARIO, S. P.

COGNATVS hic meus mihi subinde recursans facessit negocium, ac tibi

1191. 59. ageret F: litiget H.

1191. 57. flosculum] Cf. Ep. 1184. 4.

1192. 1. Cognatus] Of Erasmus' kindred very little is known. His brother Peter (Ep. 3) was perhaps still living; and in Ep. 330. 10-13 there is mention of a relation. Besides these another kinsman has recently been brought to my notice by my friend, Dr. William Hunt. In Pierre de St. Julien de Balleure's *De l'origine des Bourgongnons*, Paris, 1581, p. 536, is mention of pictures in the

church of St. Andrew at Tournus 'de singulier et exquis ourrage, faicts de la diuinement docte main de l'excellent peintre, maistre Guerard Gregoire Hollandois, compatriote et parent d'Erasme de Rotterdam'. This Gregoire is an obscure figure. None of his works have been certainly identified: but a contract made by him, 21 April 1522, when living at Tournus, to paint a retable for the Carmelite church at

vicissim negocium exhibeo. Curare te rogo, si aut non est spes, aut spes est vehementer exigua, liberes eum inutili spe. Nam mihi est aliud quod agam.

Lutheri libros non lego: nihil est mihi rei cum homine nisi quod 5 est cum quouis Christiano. Certe correctum hominem mallet quam extinctum. Et si quid veneni serit in vulgus, nemo melius retrahet quam qui infixit. Nec obsto, si vel assum malint Lutherum vel elixum. Levis est vnus hominis iactura. Sed tamen tranquillitati publicae consulendum est.

Qui hoc negotium agunt, calido magis quam salubri consilio, 10 vtinam tam prudenter faueant dignitati Romani Pontificis quam videntur fauere sedulo! Hic certe nemo magis officit Pontificiae dignitati quam qui odiosissime clamant in Lutherum; nemo magis illum commendat affectibus populi; tam stolide, tam seditiose res 15 agitur per monachos quosdam, inter quos nullus est habitus vir bonus. Bulla iubet vt praedicent aduersus Lutherum, hoc est vt opinioniones illius refellant testimonio sacrarum litterarum, ac diuersa melioraque doceant. Nunc nullus est quiumat calamum ad refellendum illum, quum id efflagitant omnes; nullus redarguit; 20 tantum conuiciantur, saepe etiam mentientes. Aiunt illum tollere confessionem, aiunt tollere purgatorium, aiunt scribere blasphemias in Deum. Quidam Iacobita Antwerpiae dixit illum scripsisse, quicquid miraculorum egisset Christus, egisse magicis artibus. Apud Regem Galliae Carmelita quidam dixit in concione venturum Anti- 25 christum; iam quatuor esse praecursores, Minoritam nescio quem in

5. lego <sup>01</sup> LB: legi <sup>02</sup>.

Chalon-sur-Saône is printed by Jules Guillemain in *Matériaux d'archéologie*, pp. 69 seq. (less accurately by others) from an original which cannot now be traced. For this information I am indebted to the kindly interest of MM. Jules Martin and André Bernard of Tournus, and to M. Pierre Besnard of Chalon.

Perhaps another member of the family was a Jaques Girard of Tournus, who c. 1552 translated into French part of Roger Bacon's *De mirabili potestate artis et naturae* (MS. 294, ff. 9-16, of New College, Oxford, ed. H. O. Coxe); and published a French version of Vives' *De subuentione pauperum*, Lyons, 1583.

It is possible that at this time Gregoire was trying to obtain commissions through Erasmus.

9. elixum] Cf. Ep. 1195. 43.

14. clamant] Cf. Ep. 1167. 374n.

17. Bulla] Cf. Epp. 1141. 20n, 1144. 20n.

22. confessionem] See Ep. 967. 97n; cf. also Ep. 1202. 222n.

23. Iacobita] Cf. Ep. 1153. 113n.

25. Carmelita] This information is given also in Ep. 1212. 27-31. I cannot identify the preacher. A letter to Corn. Agrippa from Annecy, 10 Sept. 1521 (Agr. E., pp. 786-7), reports the

episode similarly, except that Luther is named in place of the Minorite (cf. l. 26nn).

26. praecursores] This utterance perhaps gave rise to the anonymous publication, *Misocacus, ciuis Vtapiensis Philaletis ex sorore nepotis Dialogi tres*, s. l. et a.; attacking 'Cacus' and 'Thersites' (Duchesne and Bedda; see Ep. 1188. 29, 30) 'cum caeteris cacologis Parrhisien-sibus', who are credited with saying that 'Carolus Germanus' was Antichrist and had four evangelists, Erasmus, Faber Stapulensis, Reuchlin, and Luther (cf. l. 25n). In the title there is evidently allusion to Sobi-us' dialogue, *Philaletis, ciuis Vtapiensis, . . . Henno rusticus* (Cologne, c. June 1520; cf. Agr. E., pp. 772, 3 = HE. 175. § 4): printed by Böcking, *Hutteni Opp.* iv. 485-514. There is a copy of the *Misocacus* at Schlettstadt (Cat. Rhen. 199).

Minoritam] Perhaps Bernardinus Ochinus (c. 1487-1564) of Siena, a man of adventurous mind, who won great fame as a preacher. He joined the Observant Franciscans, but left them to study medicine. After re-joining he held high office in the Order. In 1534 he went on to the Capuchins; but later, under the influence

Italia, Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem in Gallia, Reuchlinum in Germania, Erasum in Brabantia.

Brugis Minorita quidam, suffraganeus Tornacensis, in templo diui Donatiani totam horam concionatus est in Lutherum et in me—  
 30 nam hoc consilium inter pocula condidere monachi, vt me, qui nihil habeam commercii cum Luthero, semper cum illo coniungant—, nec tamen quidquam docuit: tantum vocauit nos grues, asinos, bestias, stipites, Antichristos; adeo vt nullus in populo iudicaret hominem  
 35 esse sani capitis. In altera concione dixit in libris Erasmi esse quaedam haeretica. A concione rogatus a docto quodam magistratu quanam essent illa, negauit se meos libros legisse; voluisse quidem legere Paraphrases, sed ob altam Latinitatem metuere ne possem in aliquam haeresim prolabi. Audis scurram Episcopum perfrictae  
 40 frontis.

His etiam stultiora blaterant Iacobitae Antwerpienses; adeo seditiose vt magistratus haudquaquam stultus, metuens populi tumultum, admonuerit eos vt apud populum nec probarent Lutherum nec incesserent, sed praedicarent Euangelium Christi. Mox exortus  
 45 Minorita quidam, homo linguacissimus, nomine Mathias, dixit, 'Si vultis audire Euangelium, id audire licebit a pastoribus vestris, etiamsi noctu concubuerint cum aliquo scorto'.

Louanii Carmelita quidam, Nicolaus Emondanus, in ordinaria lectione theologica dixit Paulum ex persecutore Ecclesiae factum  
 50 bonum virum; precandum vt idem eueniat in Luthero et Erasmo. Altera lectione dixit esse dissidium inter Erasum et Iacobum Fabrum; 'nec mirum;' inquit, 'nunquam pax est inter haeticos.' Et hic est primus huius Academiae theologus, homo stultus ac furiosus ac mire pertinax.

E plurimis pauca narraui, e quibus licet aliorum facere coniecturam. Vtinam S. D. N. sciret quibus modis hic res geratur! Crede mihi, monachi non agunt illius negotium sed suum. Quidquid meretur Lutherus, certe tempus est vt Carolus prospiciat tranquillitati Christianae. Id erit si prorsus imponatur silentium apud populum  
 60 vtrique parti, et Lutherus desinat scribere libros huiusmodi; imo quos scripsit, repurget ab istis quae praebent seditionis materiam. Qui laudem aucupantur e publicis malis, malunt saeuitia rem confici. Et vtinam esset recte confecta in gloriam Christi! Sed nemo credat quam late Lutherus irrepserit in animos multarum gentium, et quam  
 65 alte insederit libris omni lingua quaquaersum sparsis. Mussant hic

38. possem O. *Merulae tamen posset magis congruum videbatur: adiicit enim in margine, 'Ita scriptum erat in Autographo; vt ad Erasum videatur referendum'.* Sed cf. *Epp.* 1144. 47, 1212. 19, vbi Erasmus sibi constat, idem dicens. 39. Episcopum scripsi, secundum *Ep.* 1144. 45, cf. *N<sup>1</sup>* p. 795: Episcopum O: ἐπίσκοπον LB, memor fortasse *Ar. Ach.* 230, 1. 55. plurimis O<sup>1</sup> LB: pluribus O<sup>2</sup>. 63. recte O<sup>2</sup>: recta O<sup>1</sup>, et in margine 'forte au recte'; quasi lapsus esset I. Grotius in transcribendo.

of J. Valdes, was drawn towards the Reformers, and married c. 1545, finally achieving notoriety by his writings on polygamy. See a life by K. Benrath, translated by H. Zimmern, 1876; and NBG.

29. Brugis] Cf. *Ep.* 1144. 39-48.

31. monachi] Cf. *Ep.* 1144. 21-2.

32. coniungant] Cf. *Ep.* 1182. 9-10.

33. grues] Cf. *Epp.* 1144. 41, 1183. 111.

36. magistratu] Perhaps Cranevelt.

41. Antwerpienses] Cf. *Ep.* 1144. 38.

45. Minorita] Cf. *Ep.* 1188. 8-13.

48. Louanii] Cf. *Ep.* 1144. 28-33.

49. Paulum] Cf. *Ep.* 1164. 57-8.

52. Fabrum] Cf. *Ep.* 1144. 32n.



nescio quid de terrifico mandato Caroli. Precor vt felix sit orbi Christiano, quidquid agit Princeps optimus; sed vereor ne non perinde succedat ac quidam putant.

Rogabis, humanissime Alexander, quur haec tibi scribam? Non ob aliud nisi vt occurratur pernicioso tumultui, quem video imminere, 70 si principes quorundam affectibus obsequi malent quam reipublicae consulere. Non ago Lutheri negotium, etiamsi refert quo modo ille puniatur: publicae tranquillitati metuo; et scis, rebus turbatis, pessimo cuique esse optime. Faueo Praedicatorum Ordini, non odi Carmelitarum. Sed ex his noui quosdam tales vt malim parere 75 Turcae quam horum ferre tyrannidem. Erit igitur prudentiae pontificiae, erit prouidentiae principum, ne hoc hominum genus in fortunas et capita bonorum virorum immittatur.

Bene vale, mi Alexander, meque illustrissimo Comiti diligenter commenda. Et, si inciderit commoditas, saluta dominum Florentium 80 Iselsteinium: cuius filius heri me visit; quod subinde facit, ac mira promptitudine reddit Graecum Homerum. Seruet Deus puerum, magno ornamento futurum suae patriae. Louanii iii Idus Martias.

## 1193. TO THE READER.

Progymnasmata f<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>2</sup> (a).  
Oxford MS. (β).

Louvain.  
(March ?) 1521.

[The preface to *Progymnasmata quaedam primae adolescentiae Erasmi*, Louvain, Th. Martens, 1521: a rare volume, of which Mr. T. Loveday, jun., has kindly lent me a copy from his library at Williamscoote. Its contents are three *Elegiae protrepticae detestantes errores mortalium et adhortantes ad veram pietatem*: *Elegia prima in errores hominum degenerantium et pro summo celestique bono varias falsorum bonorum species amplectentium incipit*; *Elegia secunda in iuuenem luxuria defluentem, atque mortis admonitio*; *Elegia tertia in diuitem avarum*. These are followed by *Ad Lesbium metrum phaloeicum hendecasyllabum de nummo themation*: after which come the *Expostulatio Iesu cum homine suapte culpa pereunte* and the iambics *Sub persona pueri Iesu praesidentis scholae Coleticae*. The *Elegiae* and the hendecasyllabics had been printed in the *Silua Carminum* edited by Snoy at Gouda, 18 May 1513 (cf. I, p. 5. 33n and Ep. 190. 10n); and perhaps again (cf. II. 9-10) quite recently (see below). The *Expostulatio* (cf. I, p. 3. 29, 30) and the iambics appeared first with the *Concio de puero Iesu*, 1 Sept. (1511) (cf. Ep. 175 introd.); and subsequently in many collections of Erasmus' works (see BER<sup>1</sup>. pp. 26, 106).

Besides Martens' edition, the Ghent bibliographers have found two others of

71. *Principes O<sup>1</sup> LB*: *Princeps O<sup>2</sup>*. 76. *Turcae O*. *Merula in O<sup>1</sup> scribit in*  
*marginē*: 'Ita, vel Turcis, legendum videtur. In Autographo, multorum manibus

66. *mandato*] A proclamation in Charles' name, commanding that Luther's books should be burnt, was issued at Mechlin, 20 March 1521; see Fredericq iv, pp. 43-5. Cf. also Ep. 1217. 144n.

74. *Praedicatorum*] Cf. Epp. 1006. 4n, 1196. 272-3.

76. *Turcae*] Cf. Ep. 1041. 28n.

79. *Comiti*] Henry of Nassau, now Governor of Holland and Zeeland: see

Epp. 147. 58n, 829. 12, 1092. 16.

81. *Iselsteinium*] The Stadhouder of Friesland, with whom Erasmus had had relations in 1503; cf. Ep. 178. 44n. He was now on the point of retiring from his office.

filius] Maximilian of Egmont, afterwards Ct. of Buren; see Ep. 1018. The well-bound Ghent volume which contains Ep. 1010, belonged to him. He was perhaps now a pupil of Goclenius.

this year: one without name of place or printer, the other printed by A. Pafraed at Deventer in May. I have not been able to examine either of these. But it seems a reasonable conjecture that the former is the unauthorized reprint of which Erasmus complains in this preface, needing revision before he could allow it to appear with his sanction; and that Pafraed's volume is a reprint of Martens'. If this view is correct, the preface here can be dated within narrow limits.

In addition to *a* there is another source for this preface—a ms. leaf (*β*) written by Hand A of the Gouda MSS. (see App. 9 in vol. i) and inserted in a copy of the *Confic. Epist. Formula* (l. 5n), Antwerp, M. Hillen, 23 July 1521, which has recently (Jan. 1918) come into my possession. As in other of the prefaces copied by Hand A, the ms. variants are not decisive enough to determine whether *β* is derived from an independent source or was copied carelessly from the *Progymnasmatia* as printed in *a*. Hand A heads his copy with the words, 'Opusculum sequens de compendiaria formula conficiendarum epistolarum Erasmus negat esse suum: sed sub nomine eius ab alio est aeditum'. The dates at the end may have been concocted from the colophon of a printed original.]

ERASMVVS ROTERODAMVVS STVDIOSAE IVVENTVTI S. D.

IMPVDENTER faciunt qui mea me viuo publicant formulis typographorum; sed multo impudentius qui pueriles etiam naenias meas euulgant. Omnium autem impudentissime qui nugis alienis meum praefigunt nomen: id quod nuper fecit nescioquis, qui libellum emisit  
5 De ratione conscribendi epistolas; in quo praeter pauculas voces furtiuas nihil est meum. Nec vnquam mihi quisquam notus fuit cui nomen esset Petro Paludano.

Olim puer, quia minus valebam carmine elegiaco, coeperam excercere me ceu declamatiunculis aliquot in eo genere, et has semel atque  
10 iterum euulgatas video. In quibus non intelligo quid sit quod mereatur publicum, nisi forte vt exemplo pueri puerorum ingenia prouocentur, vt malint excercere stilum in argumentis huiusmodi

TIT. STVDIOSAE IVVENTVTI S. D. *a*: STVDIOSO LECTORI *β*.  
quā *β*. 7. esset add. *β*. 11. ingenia puerorum *β*.

6. notus fuit quis-

3. euulgant] Cf. Ep. 1186. 23n.  
5. conscribendi epistolas] Not the little volume with this name which Siberch produced without permission at Cambridge in 1521, with the preface to Robert Fisher (Ep. 71), as originally written in Paris; but the *Breüßima maximeque compendiaria conficiendarum Epistolarum formula*, which has a preface closely resembling Ep. 71, addressed to Peter Paludanus—a fictitious name perhaps invented out of other dedications of Erasmus (cf. Epp. 66 and 180).

For this composition BEr<sup>1</sup>. mentions an edition by Schoeffer at Mainz, Sept. 1520; and others of 1520 at Leipzig and by Maler at Erfurt. I have not been able to examine any of these, and have no idea which was the earliest, nor who was responsible for the publication. In any case it must be prior to Siberch's volume. The connexion between the *Conficiendarum Epistolarum formula* and the *De conscribendis Epistolis* is not easy to trace: but evidently there were two versions at least of the

Paris composition in circulation at this time. The rough-drafts for a letter of Basil Amerbach, dated 6 July 1522 (Basle MSS. G. II. 13. 123<sup>a</sup>-5), mention 'Modum conficiendarum epistolarum Moguntiae' and 'Modum epistolandi sub titulo Erasmi ab aliquibus aeditum' as the moving cause which impelled Erasmus to rewrite his Paris essay into the *De conscribendis Epistolis*, Basle, Froben, Aug. 1522 (Ep. 1284).

It was only at the end of his life that Erasmus could be induced to countenance the publication of the *Confic. Epist. formula*. In March 1536 it appeared at Basle, printed by T. Platter and B. Lasius, in conjunction with a little treatise by Vives on the same subject; and on the last page a brief letter from Erasmus to the reader, disclaiming Peter Paludanus, of whom, with the failing memory of old age, he had recently heard anew (Lond. xxvii. 42, LB. 1295). The Lyons edition there mentioned is not known to BEr<sup>1</sup>. and is very likely a figment.

quam, quod quidam eruditi pulchrum ducunt, in decantandis amoribus suis. Sed tamen hoc quicquid est nugamenti, recognovimus ac rursus excudi sumus passi. Quid enim aliud possum?

Bene vale, lector, et si quid me audis, melioribus incumbere.  
Louanii: anno v<sup>c</sup>. 21<sup>o</sup>.

## 1194. TO THE READER.

De contemptu mundi, tit. v<sup>o</sup>.

Lond. xxix. 47: LB. v. 1239.

&lt;Louvain.&gt;

&lt;March? 1521.&gt;

[The preface to the *De contemptu mundi epistola, quam conscripsit adolescens in gratiam ac nomine Theodoricus Harlemeri, canonici ordinis divi Augustini. Ex ipsius auctoris recognitione*: Louvain, Th. Martens, 1521 (a). The account thus given, and amplified in this preface, is borne out by the description in 1, p. 18. 16-19. *Luc. Ind.* distinguishes between the *libellus* now published, and a *Declamatio in utramque partem, qua simul et dissuadet vitam monasticam, ac mox suadet*; which Erasmus had composed in Bologna c. 1507, perhaps in expansion of the *libellus*. He was inclined to be pleased with it, and in 1523 was prepared to publish it; but the pages at beginning and end were missing (see 1, p. 37. 2-7).

The theme was common enough in medieval times; and numerous essays upon it survive. St. Bernard's *De contemptu mundi* was so popular that it was printed seven times in the fifteenth century; Innocent III's *De miseria conditionis humanae*, which has this subtitle, seventeen times. It may be noted, too, that the second title of ch. i of the *De Imitatione Christi* is 'De contemptu omnium vanitatum mundi'. Another may be mentioned from its similarity in circumstances to the present case; by John of Schoenhoven, Austin canon of Groenendaal near Brussels (cf. vol. i, p. 590) for his nephew, William Vriman, a Carthusian near Utrecht: the ms. of which was bought by Ferdinand Columbus (see p. 353) in Cologne, Feb. 1522, and is now in the Colombina at Seville (5. 3. 32).

In addition to a I have collated an edition by Hillen at Antwerp, s. a., (β). Erasmus revised the treatise for reprint in the Froben *De pueris instituendis*, Sept. 1529 (γ): for the loan of which I am again indebted to the generosity of Mr. T. Loveday, jun., of Williamscoote. In the Basle *Opera* of 1540, v. 1034 (δ), there is a variant in this preface which marks out that edition as the source of Lond.

The book itself contains no definite evidence of date. Verses from Rud. Agricola and Hegius are quoted (chh. vi, ix), and there are frequent references to Jerome. In ch. vii it is said that war has been going on continuously in Holland for twenty-three years; but I cannot find any certain term from which to reckon this. Theodore of Haarlem was no doubt a real person (cf. ll. 9-10), though the names of him and his nephew may be fictitious. If Erasmus' memory can be trusted, the treatise must have been written c. 1486; during the years when he had returned to Gouda, and was in communication with, but hesitating to enter, Steyn. For relations between Steyn and Haarlem see Ep. 33 introd. The final chapter—perhaps, as Blok suggests (*Hist. Netherlands*, tr. R. Putnam, ii. 1907, pp. 298-9), added at a later date—tempers much of what had been said earlier in the book in praise of the monastic life, by calling attention to its dangers.

For this preface only a conjectural date is possible within the limits of 1521. It may be placed with Ep. 1193, which is also a preface to some of Erasmus' earlier writings.]

ERASMVVS ROTERO. CANDIDO LECTORI S. P. D.

SAEPE questus sum, optime lector, me grauari studiis amicorum,  
qui me viuio et reclamante euulgant quaslibet nugae, quas puer etiam

1193. 13. eruditi quidam β. decantandis α: cantandis β. 17. Louanii  
... 21<sup>o</sup>. add. β. 1194. 2. αδ: reclamanti β.

1194. 2. euulgant] Cf. Ep. 1186. 23n.

exercendi stili gratia lusi, nihil minus cogitans quam vt in hominum manus venirent. Qua quidem in re hoc etiam sum infelicior, quod  
 5 nunc prodeunt hoc felicissimo saeculo; minus obnoxia futura sannis hominum, si tum fuissent aedita cum primum essent condita. Nunc leguntur vt a sene prodita, quae nec adolescens in hoc scripsi; et leguntur ab hac aetate quae tam multos habet naris emunctissimae.

Olim vix annos natus viginti ad improbas preces Theodorici  
 10 cuiusdam qui adhuc in viuus est, scripsi epistolam qua ille cupiebat Iodocum nepotem ad suae vitae consortium euocare. Huic saepius descriptae et passim euulgatae meum addidere nomen, cum mihi nullus sit nepos Iodocus. Alieno stomacho scripsi et, vt res ipsa clamat, scripsi neglecte, ludens ex tempore in locis communibus,  
 15 nulla tum instructus autorum lectione. Ac typographi palam minitabantur sese aedituros nisi aederem ipse. Relegi, ac pauculis verbis immutatis passus sum officinis committi. Sic, opinor, fiet aliquando vt desinam pueritiae meae naenias adamare.

Bene vale, lector optime; et si legis haec, cum venia lege, et sic  
 20 lege vt alieno scripta stomacho.

# 1195<sub>1198</sub> TO ALOISIUS MARLIANUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 597.  
 HN: Lond. xvi. 11: LB. 501.

Louvain.  
 25 March 1521.

[Perhaps contemporary with this were the letters which Erasmus addressed to Aleander and Erard de la Marek, protesting against Aleander's conduct (*Spongia*, LB. x. 1645v = HE. 333, § 133). If so, Aleander's reply mentioned in the same passage may have been contemporary with Epp. 1197, 8. Paquier, *J. Aleandre*, p. 224, assigns them, also by conjecture, to Dec. 1520.

In Ep. 1342. 54-61 Erasmus mentions a series of letters to the Court about this time, and replies from Gattinara, Schinner, Marlianus, Aleander, and verbally from Erard de la Marek: among which appear to be this letter and Epp. 1197, 8. If that is so, his statement (Ep. 1342. 51-2) that the incident occurred after the death of Chièvres (28 May 1521: Ep. 532. 27n) must be an error of memory.

For the attitude of the Court, and especially Marlianus, towards Erasmus at this time see a letter of Aleander (Balan no. 21) from Worms, 12 Feb. 1521, to the Vice-Chancellor, Julius dei Medici, reporting that 'me ho trouato con grandi homini, et presertim el Tudense, liquali tieneno expresse alcuni libri adscritti à Martino di peggiore esser de Erasmo, et li manifesti suoi esser pieni de pericolosissimi errori'.]

ERASMVS ROTEROD. R. P. ALOISIO MARLIANO, EPISCOPO TVDENSI,  
 CAROLI CAESARIS A CONSILIIS, S. D.

Ex amicorum aliquot literis, neque vulgarium neque leuium, sed  
 haud scio an amoris nimium solliciti, cognoui isthic per nescio quos

1194. 6. essent a: erant γ. 9. Theodorici om. γ. 15. tum aγ: om. β.  
 typographi add. γ. 16. Relegi ac pauculis a: Itaque relegi pauculisque γ.  
 18. desinam a: desinant δ. 1195. III. R. P. om. H. ALOISIO N. CAROLI  
 CAESARIS A CONSILIIS om. H.

1195. I. amicorum] From Ep. 1482 shows that one of these was Capito:  
 P. Kalkoff (*W. Capito*, 1907, p. 42n) cf. Ep. 1199. 22-3.

clancularios obtretores subinde spargi novos rumores ac suspi-  
 tiones me fauere Luthero; mihique tribui nescio quos libellos male-  
 dicos, quos audio istic subinde novos prouolare, aliunde alios. Scio 5  
 temporibus his regnum esse calumniae, nec vlla tempestate plus  
 licuisse effreni maledicentiae: sed tamen apud eruditos, cordatos et  
 graues viros, inter quos R. D. T. vel in primis numero, non oportet  
 esse locum huiusmodi delationibus. Admonuerat me pridem tua  
 prudentia, etiamsi memorem, vt aiunt, monebat, ne me admi- 10  
 scerem Lutheri negocio. Adeo me non admiscui vt summis viribus  
 obnixus sim ne res in hunc locum progrediretur, quo minime vole-  
 bam. Tantum initio priusquam viderem quorsum tenderet Lutherus,  
 non probaui seditiosos clamores apud populum. Suasi vt res inter  
 eruditos libris transigeretur. Malebam Lutherum correctum quam 15  
 extinctum; aut, si perdendus erat, malebam absque magno orbis  
 tumultu confici. Hoc consilium etiam nunc probaret Romanus  
 Pontifex, si pernosset quibus modis hic res geratur, et quo studio  
 plurimae nationes prosequantur Lutherum. Sed illud fuit commen-  
 tum quorundam monachorum, quibus non aliter charus sum quam 20  
 bonae literae, vt me volentem nolentem inuoluerent Lutherano  
 negocio.

Qui Luthero fauere videntur, modis omnibus conati sunt me in  
 suas partes attrahere. Qui Lutherum insectantur, conati sunt me  
 in illius factionem propellere, passim in publicis concionibus de 25  
 bacchantes in nomen meum odiosius aliquanto quam in ipsum  
 Lutherum. Ego tamen nullis machinis a statu mentis dimoueri  
 potui. Christum agnosco, Lutherum non noui; Ecclesiam Romanam  
 agnosco, quam opinor a Catholica non dissentire. Ab hac me nec  
 mors diuellet, nisi illa palam diuellatur a Christo. Seditionem 30  
 semper exhorui; atque vtinam eadem mens esset Luthero ac Ger-  
 manis omnibus! Video in plerisque regionibus Cisalpinis plurimos  
 esse qui fato quodam fauent Luthero. Ac mire fit vt Lutherum  
 hostes subleuent, ipse vicissim hostes, quasi mutuo colludentes.  
 Nemo magis officit Luthero quam ipse sibi nouis subinde et odio- 35  
 sioribus libellis. Rursus quidam tam indocte, tam stulte, tam seditiose  
 vociferantur apud populum, vt et seipsos faciant omnibus inuisos, et  
 Lutherum commendent affectibus hominum, et Pontificis causam  
 grauent, quemadmodum solent grauare clientem mali patroni. Laudo  
 eos qui fauent Romano Pontifici, cui nemo pius non fauet: quis 40  
 enim non faueat ei, qui proximus imitator Christi totum se impendat  
 saluti populi Christiani? Sed optarem illi cordatiores patronos. Isti  
 nihil aliud quam esuriunt Lutherum, nec mea refert elixum malint  
 an assum. Certe quod me negocio admiscet quod ad me nihil  
 attinet, et impie faciunt et parum prudenter: citius enim Lutherum 45  
 conficerent me non admixto.

8. R. D. T. F: te H.

29. me om. N.

4. libellos] Such as the *Acta Academiae Louaniensis*, Erasmus' authorship of which (cf. p. 362) is maintained by Kalkoff in *Arch. f. Reformationsgesch.* i. 23-58; the *Hochstratusouans*, and the *Vita S. Nicolai* (Ep. 1165. 22, 38nn). Cf. also

Epp. 1217. 100-1, 1218. 13, 1236. 148-50.

9. Admonuerat] Cf. Ep. 1198. 15 seq.

10. memorem] Cf. *Adag.* 112.

14. suasi] Cf. Ep. 1033. 85-6.

36. libellis] See Ep. 1203. 24-6.

43. elixum] Cf. Ep. 1192. 9.

Atque hac in re cogor in Aleandro, viro alioqui tum humanitate non vulgari tum eruditione singulari prædito, desiderare prudentiam tam periculoso negotio dignam: si modo vera sunt quae de illo scri-  
 50 buntur ac praedicantur. Fuit olim inter nos arctissima familiaritas. Commendaui eum proficiscentem in Galliam literis meis; vbique apud omnes de homine honorificentissime praedicaui, etiam scriptis. Suspexi doctrinam hominis, mores amaui, quanquam eos habet ille suos; nec male videbatur conuenire inter vtriusque genium. Habe-  
 55 bat in mandatis vt modis omnibus eos etiam pelliceret qui ante fuissent factionis Lutheranae; tantum aberat vt S. D. N. quenquam innoxium cuperet alienari. Sed huius ingenium per se non inhumanum alio perpulit quorundam instigatio. Atqui commodius illi successurum erat Lutheranum negotium, opinor, si suos fauores cum  
 60 meis coniunxisset. Habuisset in re pia fautorem, in re Pontificis certe non aduersantem.

Lactitant Lutherum hausisse pleraque ex libris meis. Quid hoc mendacio impudentius? cum primus statim articulus refellat manifestariam istorum vanitatem. Vbi significo quicquid agimus esse  
 65 peccatum? vt ne commemorem innumeros alios, quibus affine nihil

56. S. D. N. F: Summus Pontifex H.

47. in Aleandro] For Erasmus' relations with him since his arrival at Antwerp in Sept. 1520 see Al. E. i. 36, Balan nos. 12, 14, 21, 32, 36, 102, 108, and Paquier, *J. Aleandre*, pp. 165-71, 223-9, 280-2. They opened with hesitation on both sides (p. 371); and Aleander showed that he was prepared to be conciliatory (cf. Ep. 1172, 32n). But though Erasmus could sometimes write with an appearance of respect for his old friend (see Ep. 1165, 46n), he was now impelled to protest vehemently in high places (cf. introd.) against the treatment he was receiving; Aleander on his side being annoyed by repeated injunctions from Rome to show consideration for Erasmus, such as would retain him on the right side (Balan nos. 117, 122, 125, 127). Thus for some months there was a rupture. But in July 1521 came a sudden readiness on Erasmus' part for reconciliation (cf. Epp. 1219, 15-17, 1233, 171-5, 1236, 113, 185-6); to which Aleander responded though without cordiality. See also Epp. 1256, 30, 67, 1271, 1281.

50. familiaritas] At Venice in 1507-8; cf. Ep. 256, 3n. In a dispatch of (c. 1 March 1521: Balan no. 36) Aleander gives some details: 'Vna volta albergamo insieme à Venetia, Erasmo et io, in eodem cubiculo et cubili ben sei mesi, quando io legea li Morali di Plutharcho graeci, et lui non si dedignaua interesse lectionibus meis quotidianis; et dopoi sempre siamo reputati amici, l'vno et laltro'. Cf.

Lond. xxx. 58, LB. 1218.

52. scriptis] See *Adag.* 1034; where the important passage was added in the Froben edition of Oct. 1520. Cf. also Epp. 269, 52-3, 756, 29-31, 868, 5: Ep. 735, 5 was not printed. By the time Ep. 1482 was written, which speaks of Aleander's praises as uttered 'tribus aut quatuor locis', the handsomewords in *Apol. ad Stunicam* (Matt. 4. 1; LB. ix. 295v: cf. Ep. 1256, 69n) and in 1, p. 35, 13-14 had been added to the collection. Cf. also *Spongia* (LB. x. 1645r-46a = HE. 333, §§ 137-8).

An early estimate of Aleander by Erasmus is reflected in Croke's preface to an edition of Pliny's Letters, Paris, G. Gourmont and H. Le Febure, July 1511, f<sup>o</sup>. B<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup>. His praises rise to a climax in describing Aleander as 'adeo doctus, adeo in variis linguis et vniuersa encyclopaedia eruditus, adeo denique placidus, benignus, humanus, vt te vel vnum vniuersae Italiae anteponebat Erasmus meus, vir vndeunque doctissimus et doctorum virorum optimus censor, non sit veritus'.

57. non inhumanum] Cf. Epp. 1153, 34-6, 1166, 82.

62. hausisse] For this contention cf. Epp. 1218, 22-3, 1219, 53, 1225, 214, 1236, 157.

63. primus] Art. 1 of Luther's *Assertio* (Ep. 1203, 25n) maintains the doctrine of justification by faith: to which Erasmus never gave any support.

64. esse peccatum] as maintained by Luther in Art. 32 of the *Assertio*.

omnino reperitur, ne in ludicris quidem meis. Et tamen olim haeretici ex Euangelicis et Apostolicis literis hauriebant sua venena. Interim loquor perinde quasi ille scripsisset aliquid haereticum, atque illud e meis scriptis hausisset. Dicitur non agnoscere quosdam libellos. Fortasse saperet si nullos agnosceret, si quidem hoc 70 persuadere queat: sed quibuscunque auxiliis ille scribit, certe in omnibus libris qui illius titulo circumferuntur, non est vlla syllaba mea. Hoc quamlibet sancte deierare non dubitem.

A multis iam annis non mihi tantum perspecta est tua singularis prudentia, perspectus animus in me candidus et amicus; nota est 75 omnibus tua autoritas. Proinde te rogo vt aduersus istiusmodi maliciosas calumnias patrocineris innocentiae nostrae. Executiantur omnia quae secretissimis etiam literis effudi in sinum amicorum, fortasse liberius pro meo ingenio quam expediat nonnunquam; executiantur quae inter pocula etiam solemus effutire: nihil comperietur 80 nisi me maluisse Lutherum correctum quam extinctum, quum adhuc spes esset fore vt sese verteret ad meliora. Et nunc quoque malim rem sopiri quam magno orbis tumultu exacerbari. Mallem a malis bona secerni, quam odio quorundam quae mala videntur, optima perire. Postremo suadeo sic esse vitandam Lutheranam Scyllam, ne 85 praecipites eamus in Charybdim diuersae factionis. Haec si videntur digna supplicio, habent reum confitentem. Ego certe non alio animo feci quam vt consulerem et Rhomani Pontificis et theologorum dignitati et publicae Christianae ditionis tranquillitati. Nullum adhuc Lutheri librum, quamuis pusillum, legi totum; nullum illius 90 paradoxum vnquam defendi vel ioco. Quorundam indoctos et seditiosos tumultus nec probro, nec quisquam vir probe cordatus hic probat. Quorsum tendant video, nimirum in exitium bonarum literarum et ad stabiliendam suam tyrannidem. Sic igitur fugio Lutherum, vt hos tamen probare non possim. Pauci sunt, sed hi 95 multos concitant. Non damno ordinem, sed ipsi suo ordini pessime consulunt.

Habes, R. P., totam animi mei tabulam. Quod si quid isthic iactatur quod repugnet religioni Christianae, quod turbet publicam tranquillitatem, quod aduersetur dignitati sedis Rhomanae, certo 100 certius habeto non esse profectum ab Erasmo, quocunque titulo circumfertur. Id ita esse tempus, nihil non proferens in apertum, olim declarabit: et nunc paratus sum quocunque argumento testificari me nec vnguem latum velle discedere ab iis qui consentiunt cum Ecclesia Catholica. Scio quiduis esse ferendum potius quam 105 vt publicus orbis status turbetur in peius, scio pietatis esse nonnunquam celare veritatem, eamque neque quouis loco, neque quouis tempore, neque apud quosuis, neque quouis modo, neque totam vbique promendam. Neque quenquam eruditum fugit esse quae-

72. qui H: quae F.

98. R. P. F: ornatissime praesul H.

Cf. also Epp. 1225. 334-5, 1384. 10-11 (Hess ii. 567).

74. A multis iam annis] Erasmus had no doubt heard of Marlianus through Ammonius' book of poems published in 1511; see Epp. 218 introd.,

411. 8n.

85. Scyllam] Cf. Ep. 1186. 10n.

96. ordinem] The Dominicans; cf. Ep. 1006. 4n.

107. celare veritatem] Cf. Ep. 1119. 40n.

- 110 dam recepta, vel paulatim obrepente consuetudine, vel adulatione iuriconsultorum recentium, vel temerariis definitionibus scholasticorum, vel arte denique technisque principum, quae praestaret rescindi. Verum illud erat prudentiae Christianae, sic tentare remedium ne sinistre tentatum morbum non tolleretur, sed exacerbaret, 115 ac pro morbo mortem acceleraret. Nec enim ausim pronunciare an aliquo pacto Christianis probanda sit Platonis sententia, qui permittit sapientibus illis custodibus ut populum ipsius bono fallant mendaciis, quandoquidem veris ac philosophicis rationibus contineri promiscua multitudo non potest, ne prolabor in deterius.
- 120 Illud semper caui, ne aut tumultus essem autor aut noui dogmatis asseuerator. Rogatus sum a multis ac magnis ut me Luthero adiungerem: rescripsi me fore Lutheri, si ille sit in parte Catholica. Rogarunt ut praescriberem fidei regulam; rescripsi me non nosse aliam fidem quam Ecclesiae Catholicae. Hortatus sum illos ut se 125 Romano Pontifici reconciliarent, et querimonias illorum dilui. Lutheri libellis primus omnium obstiti, ne excuderentur. Mox egi cum homine ut abstinere a seditiosa scriptione—semper enim hunc exitum metui—; maiora moliturus, ni me, praeter alia, religio quaedam deterruisset, ne forte imprudens repugnarem spiritui Christi.
- 130 Hortatus sum, et hortor, multos ut abstineant a libellis famosis, praesertim anonymis; quibus tantum irritant animos hominum, male consulentes non solum Christianae paci verum etiam illi cui videntur fauere. Monere possum, cogere non possum. Mundus plenus est officinis typographicis, plenus poetastris et rhetoristis. Quid 135 isti tumultuantur, ut mihi in manu non est, ita iniquissimum sit mihi imputari temeritatem alienam. Atque hac sane in parte minus sum iniquus Hutteno, etiamsi supra modum discrucior illud ingenium, illam in utroque genere dicendi felicem venam, non dedicatam esse felicioribus argumentis: siquidem is suam phrasim suumque 140 titulum ubique praeferens, neminem alium grauat inuidia praeterquam seipsum. Isti cum sibi fidem abrogant, dum ceu diffusi causae non audent addere verum nomen, tum innoxios, eosque multos, degrauant inuidia.

Iam isthic adessem vna cum illustrissimo Ferdinando, si certum

134. plenus *F* *Corrig.*: plenius *F*.

116. Platonis] *Rep.* 3. 389A, 5. 459D.  
 121. me Luthero] Cf. *Epp.* 1154. 55 seq., 1183. 133. On 1 March 1521 Mutianus Rufus wrote to Duke Frederick about filling the vacant preachship at Wittenberg, 'Cogitabam de Erasmo, sed Erasmus tantum scribit': *MRE*<sup>2</sup>. 603, printed also in *ME*. i. 391.  
 123. fidei regulam] Cf. *Epp.* 1154. 27-8, 1183. 25.  
 126. obstiti] Cf. *Ep.* 1033. 47n.  
 127. a seditiosa scriptione] Cf. *Ep.* 980. 47, 8.  
 129. repugnarem Cf. *Acts* 5. 39.  
 131. anonymis] For Erasmus' own transgressions in this matter see *Epp.* 502 introd., 1061. 505n; and cf. l. 4n.

137. Hutteno] For Erasmus' introduction of him to Marlianus see *Ep.* 1114; and, for his present relations with Erasmus, *Ep.* 1119. 33n.

140. grauat inuidia] Cf. *Ep.* 1165. 38-9.

144. adessem] Cf. *Epp.* 1189. 1n, 1190. 8-9. In *Ep.* 1342. 45-50 Erasmus states that he was invited to Worms, but declined for fear of being involved in the affair of Luther; also because he apprehended an outbreak of plague, which did, in fact, carry off many of the Court, including Chievres (*Ep.* 532. 27n) and Marlianus (*Ep.* 411. 8n and vol. iii, p. xxv).

Ferdinando] He arrived at Worms on 2 April: *Brewer* iii. 1223.



scire potuissem vos adhuc esse Vuormaciae. Sed mirum quam hic 145  
nihil est certi, ne apud procures quidem aulicos. Bene vale, prae-  
sulum decus et aulae Caesareae non infimum ornamentum.

Augustino Scarpinello scripsi pridem. Ei quaeso vti meis verbis  
salutem dicas, atque etiam Seuero, viro mitissimo maleque re-  
spondenti suo nomini.

150

Louanii VIII. Cal. April. ANNO M.D.XX.

## 1196. TO VINCENT THEODORICI.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 601.

⟨Louvain.⟩

HN: Lond. xvi. 14: LB. 562.

⟨c. March⟩ 1521.

[An approximate month-date can be assigned from ll. 151-2. The identity of the person addressed is obvious, even without the name left in l. 315—probably by mistake, since an endeavour was made to disguise it in the *Corrigenda*. In later years Erasmus made no secret of it (Lond. xix. 13, LB. 862): but, though that letter was published in H, he only replaced the concealing 'N' of this letter, in the same edition, by a derisive and transparent pseudonym (cf. Ep. 1342. 139).

Vincent Theodoric (c. 1481—4 Aug. 1526) of Beverwyk, between Alkmaar and Haarlem (cf. Ep. 1166. 42n), joined the Dominicans at Haarlem, and was sent for his education to Paris; where he lectured on the Sentences, and in 1514 was B.D. In the same year he dedicated to Michael of Pavia (Ep. 85. 10n), who until 1512 had been his patron, an edition of Petrus de Palude's commentary on Book 4 of the Sentences, Paris, F. Regnault and C. Chevallon, 23 Jan. 1518. His preface commemorates Petrus de Brussellis, a Dominican who had been his tutor. Vincent also collaborated with another Dominican, Peter of Nymegen, in editing Aquinas' *Summa*, pt. 3, Paris, C. Chevallon, 1514, a volume which I have not seen. Subsequently he migrated to Louvain; where he was Lic. Theol. 30 June 1517 and Dr. 13 Oct., and was Dean of the Faculty 29 Aug. 1521. He was twice Regent of studies in the Dominican house there; and in 1525 was Inquisitor for the diocese of Utrecht.

From his earliest days in Louvain (cf. l. 8) he began to criticize Erasmus, and by 1520 had united with Egmondanus as one of his bitterest opponents: see Epp. 1144, 1164-6, 1186. Later, under the assumed name of Godéfridus Ruysius Taxander, he attacked Erasmus' *Exomologesis* and *De esu carniū* (see Ep. 1274. 14n) with an *Apologia*, Antwerp, S. Cocus, 21 March 1525, dedicated to Erasmus' former adversary, Edward Lee. For this Erasmus revenged himself by a caricature of Vincent in the colloquy *Funus*, first printed in Feb. 1526; which represents the friar as hanging over a deathbed and settling the dying man's will in favour of the mendicant orders (cf. Ep. 1162. 165-6).

See Val. Andreas p. 104; Launois, *Hist. Coll. Nauarr.*, 1677, p. 963; B. de Jonghe, *Desolata Batavia Dominicana*, 1717, p. 66; and de Jongh, pp. 171-2, 41\*, 46\*.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS OBTRACTATORI SVO PERTINACISSIMO S. D.

Est illud quidem omnium qui Christo nomen dederunt in baptismo, pro sua virili referre principem ac doctorem suum, qui maledicentibus non vicissim maledixit, sed pro probris amarulentis salutarem doctrinam rependit; praecipue tamen eorum qui doctrinam ac vitam theologicam profitentur. Caeterum ab hac forma immane quantum 5  
absunt, mi N., qui pro benefactis rependunt maleficium, qui fratrem etiam bene merentem letali linguae veneno sine fine confodiunt!

Posteaquam Louanium commigraras, non destitisti passim in

1196. 6. N. F: Bucenta H.

1195. 148. Scarpinello] Ep. 1169.  
149. Seuero] See Ep. 1169. 27.

1196. 8. commigraras] from Paris  
in 1517.

Erasmi famam debacchari, nulla vnquam quamlibet leui iniuria  
 10 lacesitus. Ac mihi quidem primum non libuit credere. Res enim  
 videbatur indigna, non dicam sacerdote, non dicam Euangelico  
 praecone, non dicam theologo, non dicam monacho, sed omnino  
 viro: siquidem mulierum est, sed procacium ac stultarum, linguae  
 15 telo vlisci affectus suos. Mox vbi tam multa hinc atque hinc  
 referrentur, quid alibi dixisses in conuiuuiis, quid alibi in monasteriis,  
 quid alibi in plaustis aut nauibus, ita quidem credidi vera quae  
 narrabantur, vt tamen totum hoc quicquid esset rei, negligendum  
 esse ducerem. Et tu interim mihi blandus occurrebas, amice com-  
 20 pellabas, videlicet existimans ad me non peruenire quod tu nusquam  
 non spargeris.

Tandem cum me a solenni prandio, quod celebratum est apud  
 Augustinenses, vultu perquam amico rogares quid tibi mandarem  
 abituro in Hollandiam, mandavi tibi fraternam charitatem, hactenus  
 non satis abs te curatam; videlicet ciuilitate ac blande submonens vt  
 25 aliquando desineres ista linguae petulantia teipsum traducere magis  
 quam me, et simplicium animos malis venenis inficere quae post  
 resorbere non possis. Nam scorpius admotus vulnere retrahit ad se  
 venenum, quod infixit caudae spiculo; nec alioqui periclitatur nisi  
 qui ictus est. Hic quem semel venefica lingua percusseris, mederi  
 30 non potes; et late serpit malum, semper plures arripiente contagio.

Posteaquam bene monitus deteriora sequutus es, impetrauit a me  
 Christiana charitas vt adirem cubiculum tuum, idque tu fatebaris,  
 insolens. Admonui priuatim, ac libere quidem sed tamen amanter,  
 vt linguam istam in vsus meliores flecteres. Ex eo colloquio scis  
 35 quam multis argumentis deprehenderim crassissimam planeque  
 pudendam inscitiam tuam; cum tamen totus esses occupatus in  
 annotandis periculosis erroribus meis, etiam vsque ad haereseos  
 crimen, interea nec intelligens ea quae scripseram. Videlicet huc  
 desperationis ventum erat, vt periclitanti religioni Christianae N.  
 40 cogeretur admouere manus. Siquidem cum ipse Thomam excusans,  
 imo laudans, scripsissem illum indignum qui in ea secula incideret,  
 nimirum sentiens illius ingenium dignum fuisse seculo feliciore; tu  
 deum atque hominum fidem passim implorabas, quod tantum  
 Ecclesiae doctorem, eumque relatum in album diuorum, cum primis  
 45 autem Dominicalis instituti, appellassem virum indignum.

Cum alicubi studens exaggerare morbum obtrectationis, adduxissem  
 exemplum libelli famosi, ceu mali capitalis, vt ex collatione demon-  
 strarem quantum esset sceleris sic coniuratis linguis famam imme-  
 rentis incessere, tu putabas a me probari libellum famosum: quasi  
 50 vero probet homicidium qui, deterrens ab adulterio, doceat hoc iuxta  
 circumstantiam aliquam esse grauius homicidio. Cum adductis aliquot  
 ex Augustino Chrysostomoque locis quibus videntur Virgini matri  
 tribuere affectum humanum, affinem alicui peccato, subiecissem,  
 'Et nos facimus eam prorsus immunem ab omni peccato', nimirum  
 55 sentiens nos non recte illam liberare a peccato originis, si illi vere

12. non dicam monacho *add. H.*

39. N. F: Bucentes *H.*

23. in Hollandiam] For his reception  
 there cf. Ep. 1164. 73n.

27. scorpius] Cf. Ep. 1013. 1-2.

32. adirem] Cf. Ep. 1166. 45.

41. indignum] Cf. Ep. 1126. 262n.

52. Virgini] Cf. Ep. 1126. 294n.

tribuunt peccatum ab ipsa commissum; tu interpretabaris me definire quod Virgo mater fuisset immunis a contagio primorum parentum. Quod si definissem, nihil erat periculi: est enim ea opinio vt fauorabilior, ita mihi sane probabilior. At interim non intelligebas homo acutus me in diuersum potius ratiocinari. Hic facile satisfactionem 60 accipiebas, daturus veniam etiam si dissensissem a iudicio Ecclesiae, modo Thomae sententiae subscripsissem.

Cum ego citassem e Thomae commentariis quod opinionem eorum qui negabant sub Eucharistia esse verum Christi corpus, appellaret haeresim, caeterum eorum sententiam qui negarent Christum his 65 verbis consecrasse, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' refelleret quidem, caeterum errorem vocaret, non haeresim; moxque adicerem mihi videri tutius in totum, si proceres Ecclesiae de hisce rebus quae nec certis testimoniis Scripturarum nec argumentis solidis doceri possent, non ita definirent vt opinionem suam vellent haberi pro oraculis: tu iudicabas illic esse ingens periculum, videlicet lapsus insecitia sermonis 70 Latini, has voces 'in totum' interpretans 'in vtraque parte quae praecesserat', cum Latinis 'in totum' sonet 'in genere', hoc est non solum in hac materia verum etiam in aliis similibus; nimirum secundae parti de qua tunc agebatur, quae nec argumentis nec 75 testimoniis certis doceri potest. Et adieceras in margine tua manu, 'Vide quam perniciose hic scribit de re, de qua toties pronunciauit Ecclesia,' videlicet indicans me negare verum esse corpus. Ac mihi quidem expostulanti quod tu tam calumniose scriberes in locum lectum quidem at non intellectum, perquam salse scilicet respondebas 80 tibi ius esse scribere in tuo libro quae velles. Quasi vero non sit idem ius aliis in chartulis suis scribere quae lubeat, aut quasi qui deferuntur ob libellum famosum, ideo vocentur in ius quod in alienis chartis scripserint. Et tamen hoc festiuium apophthegma adeo tibi aridebat vt in proximo colloquio idem iterum atque iterum repetieris, 85 iuxta illud vulgatum, *δὲς καὶ τρὶς τὰ καλά*. Atque haec tam insigniter stulta breui colloquio deprehendi, te vltro proponente ceu bella quaepiam et quae refelli non possent. Nec dubito quin multo stultiora fueris propositurus, nisi te maluissem amice corrigere quam 90 callide expiscari.

Atqui quae hactenus feceras erant eiusmodi vt vel arctissimam amicitiam possent dirimere: ego tamen nulla necessitudine tibi iunctus, nisi qua Christianus iungitur Christiano, pro tanta malevolentia reposui officium, sperans fore vt aliquando resipisceres. Admonui serio, tanquam frater fratrem, vt hoc operae quod sumeres 95 in reprehendis alienis libris quos non intelligeres, impenderes discendae grammaticae, discendis bonis literis, quarum insecitia tam foede passim labereris, nec ea cerneret quae cernunt et pueri. Admonui, si quid offenderet, me coram vel obiurgares, non autem traduceret apud alios immerentem. Et videbaris non aspernari 100 monitionem amicam verius quam blandam.

Haud multo post prodiit Bulla, vt ferebatur aduersus Lutherum.

71. videlicet *add. H.*

85. atque iterum *om. N.*

63. citassem] *Annot. in 1 Cor. 11. 24*: added in 1519. Cf. Ep. 1126. 305-33.  
102. Bulla] See Ep. 1141. 20n.

Ea de re cum nulli mortalium verba fecissem, tu subito reuersus ad ingenium, coepisti vociferari me diplomati Pontificio obsistere; 105 opinor instigatus a quodam, cuius vtinam non tam niger esset animus quam est candidum pallium! Iam vel Paulo autore debebam ingenium tuum habere pro deplorato, qui semel atque iterum frustra monuisssem; sed quoniam iuxta Paulum eundem 'Charitas omnia sperat', rursus adii te, solus expostulaui cum solo, 110 paulo quidem liberius, sic enim res posebat, sed tamen amanter. Hic tu inficiatus quod sciebam esse verissimum, causabaris aliud, videlicet a me scriptas ad Cardinalem Moguntinensem literas, quibus perstrinxissem ordinem vestrum. Nec puduit te fateri literas eas tibi non fuisse lectas, ob quas tantopere stomacharere; nihilo 115 verecundior illo sodali tuo Nicolao Egmond. Carmelita, qui cum digna atque indigna vociferatus esset in Nouum Testamentum a me recognitum, vbi Louanium commigrassem, et hominem a prandio subinde rogarem vt coram indicaret quae offenderent in opere meo, respondit homo simplex sibi nunquam opus lectum fuisse. Obtulit, 120 suspicans illum non esse tam ignarum dialectices quin intelligeret quid ego ex talibus praemissis colligerem. Odiosissime clamauerat venturum Antichristum, nec legerat vnquam quod damnabat.

Sed de epistola mox; interim ordinem rei gestae persequar. Ac tum quidem vbi te commonefecissem officii tui, discessi, nec 125 admodum sperans te fore meliorem, nec tamen omnino desperans. Paucis post diebus Ioannes Faber, ordinis tui sodalis, cui vtinam tam similis esses eruditione, moribus prudentiaque quam es similis cuculla et pallio, retulit mihi quemadmodum te super hac re admonuisset vel obiurgasset potius: nam illi forte rem vt habebat 130 exposueram. Respondisti, si verum ille narrabat, te posthac Erasmo fore certissimum amicum, si noxiam hanc remitterem. Cumque subiecisset ille se nolle mihi referre pro certis incomperta, dextra data confirmabas fore quod pollicereris. Haec cum mihi persuasisset esse verissima, coepit obsecrare per Christianam charitatem, sinerem 135 exorari me, tecumque redirem in gratiam. Ego vero semper ad concordiam facillimus, respondi me non solum velle condonare quicquid esset admissum verumetiam obliuisci.

Haec si vera non sunt, certe a me ne syllaba quidem afficta est: ita narrauit vir natu grandis, sacerdos, theologus et in suo genere 140 pulchre doctus, a concionibus Caesaris, Prior monasterii Augustani. Scribat ipse me inter vanissimos, si verbum hic mentior. Cum a me nihil esset ortum noui, tamen tu protinus relapsus es ad ingenium tuum, importune, opportune, nusquam non exercens linguae virulentiam in eum qui et monuerat tam amice et ignouerat tam

115. Egmondano *H*. 121. ego *om. N*. 129. habebat *H*: habeat *F*.  
134. *H*: obsecrari *F*: obsecra. *F* *Corrig.* 136. *H*: facilimus *F*.

105. quodam] Egmondanus; cf. Ep. 1144. 28nn. also in Ep. 948. 136-43; cf. Ep. 1162. 88-9.  
107. deplorato] Cf. Ep. 994. 21n. The reference here is evidently to 1 Tim. 1. 20, but is not verbal. 123. mox] l. 206.  
126. Faber] He visited Erasmus at Louvain c. 3 Oct. 1520: see p. 357.  
140. a concionibus] N. Paulus, *Deutsche Dominikaner*, p. 297, n. 3, opines that this is a mistake for *a consiliis*.  
108. Paulum] 1 Cor. 13. 7.  
112. literas] Ep. 1033.  
115. Egmond.] This episode is related

elementer. Cum Dordraci nescio quid tumultus accidisset tibi post 145  
concionem, et curriculo te Louanium recepisses, nondum satis  
promptus pro fide capitis subire periculum, clamitabas, vt aiebant,  
hoc quoque mihi meisque literis imputandum: cum mihi Dordraci  
nemo mortalium sit notus, imo cum de Luthero nulli tum scripsissem  
apud Hollandos, neque bene neque male. 150

Nec his contenta animi tui virulentia, ante paucos dies natali  
S. Thomae Aquinatis subornatus est iuuenis ordinis tui, qui bello  
commento meam infamiam cum Thomae gloria misceret. Edidicerat  
adolescens centonem verius quam orationem, quam non intellectam  
velut psitacus recitaret. Quam enim intellexerit vel hinc promptum 155  
est colligere, quod, cum referret ex Horatio, 'Feriuntque summos  
fulmina montes,' quanta potuit voce pronunciauit, 'Feruntque summos  
f. m.' Rursum pro 'illi antistites' recitauit 'illi antistes', nimirum  
vt Praenestinis conia est ciconia, et rustico illi Plautino rabo est  
arrabo. Ac ne caeteros lateret quis esset autor tam bellae fabulae, 160  
tu proximus astabas suggestui, suggerens 'feriunt' et 'antistites'  
esse dicendum.

O mirum et auspicatum S. Thomae encomium! Illi tributa est  
eloquentia, nobis adempta. Quis non videat hoc e media esse  
rhetorica? Sic Plutarchus Graecos duces cum Romanis comparat, 165  
sic formica camelo comparari solet. Quid autem impudentius quam  
iuuenem ἀναλόβητον pronunciare quid ego vel sapiam in theologia  
vel valeam eloquentia? 'N. est insignis theologus, fidei propugnator,  
et Erasmus nihil sapit in re theologica. Quantus impostor est  
Erasmus! Scribit Paraphrases in Epistolas apostolicas, scribit 170  
Annotationes in Nouum Testamentum. Respondit theologis aliquot,  
tamen ignarus omnis theologiae.' Ego mihi, vt non vindico elo-  
quentiam, ita minimum sumo in theologia. Sed non adeo me  
poenitet eruditionis meae, mi N., vt velim cum tua permutare;  
qui quantum in hoc ipso genere quod profiteris valeres, satis ipse 175  
declarasti, cum in scholis audiremus te tua pleraque de scheda  
pronunciantem, atque id etiam aegre, quaedam non admodum  
feliciter respondentem. Sic tu Thomae discipulus celebras illius  
festum diem, quemadmodum olim Lindii sacra faciebant Herculi  
aut Graeci Baccho, quae non videbantur rite peragi nisi conuiciis 180  
agerentur. Et postea miraris quod cordati viri, quod opulentae  
matronae non mittant liberos suos in vestram hierarchiam, vbi  
rudibus annis tales discant artes te praeceptore, priusque discant  
maledicere proximo quam possint dicere.

Quod si Thomas tam sanctus est quam vos eum vultis videri, non 185  
dubium quin oderit obtrectationem et Deo et piis omnibus inuisam:  
quod si putatis illum huiusmodi panegyricis delectari, in quibus sic  
ipse laudetur vt laceretur fama fratris, pessime nimirum de illo  
sentitis. Hoc exemplum tam irreligiosum cum auditores reliqui

145. post concionem *add. H.* 159. est ciconia conia *N.* 161. suggesto  
*H: cf. Ep. 1062. 8on.* 168. *N. F:* Bucentes *H.* 174. *N. F:* Bucenta *H.*  
177. atque id etiam aegre *add. H.* 188. laudatur *H.*

145. tumultus] *Cf. Ep. 1164. 73.*  
151. natali S. Thomae] 7 March.  
152. iuuenis] I cannot identify.

156. Horatio] *C. 2. 10. 11, 12.*  
159. Plautino] *Truc. 688-91.*  
169. impostor] *Cf. Hier. Ep. 38. 5.*

190 pedum supposicione sibi testarentur displicere, tamen neque te neque  
 tuos discipulos Euangelicae religionis professores puduit, sed velut  
 in re bene gesta sibi vicissim arridebant, etiam antequam illa prae-  
 clara atque meditata proloqueretur vester psitacus, videlicet ne quis  
 nesciret hoc communi consilio geri. Succenses mihi quod alicubi  
 195 dissentiam a Thoma; cur non magis succenses quod alicubi dissen-  
 tiam ab Hieronymo, ab Ambrosio, ab Augustino? Quod si laesus  
 est Thomas, quod diuersum ab illo sentiam, quin me refellendo  
 potius illius honorem vindicas? Id quoniam non facis, satis fateris  
 te non posse. Et qua fronte clamitas illum nihil scire theologiae,  
 200 qui locis aliquot plus sapit quam ipse Thomas, vestra sententia sic  
 omnium primus vt nemo non longo sequatur interuallo? Hic igitur  
 cum nolueris latere te esse choragum huius fabulae, nemini dubium  
 esse potest cuius instinctu sic debacchati sint in publicis concionibus  
 caeteri tui sodales, Moriae et Antibarbarorum interpretes, suae  
 205 stulticiae praecones, dum meam cupiunt traducere.

Sed iam ad epistolam Card. scriptam redeo; quae te sic irritauit  
 vt, cum antea non blaterares in me nisi in conuiuuiis, nauibus et  
 vehiculis, nunc veluti lymphatus nusquam non agas tuam personam,  
 subornatis etiam aliis, quasi ad maledicendum tu non sis multis par.  
 210 Primum quid agitur in tota illa epistola nisi vt Lutherus corrigatur  
 potius quam extinguatur, vt refellatur potius quam vt coniurationibus  
 opprimatur, vt mundus doceatur magis quam vt cogatur tantum?  
 Atque id erat e dignitate ordinis theologicis, ex dignitate Romani  
 Pontificis, e tranquillitate populi Christiani. Nondum id temporis  
 215 Romanus Pontifex interposuerat auctoritatem suam. Et sciebam quid  
 agerent quidam qui nihil affectant nisi tyrannidem. Itaque literis  
 obsignatis Principem amicum optimeque de me meritum admonui ne  
 quis illius auctoritate posset abuti. Qui eam epistolam euulgarunt, an  
 inimico animo fecerint nescio, certe rem inimicam fecerunt. Tale  
 220 consilium non veritus fuisset ipsi Leoni Pont. Max. dare, si data  
 fuisset occasio; nec dubito quin fuisset illi placitum. Certe res  
 ipsa docet non fuisse stultum aut inutile, ac vereor ne posthac magis  
 ac magis id experiamur.

Verum hoc te quidem leuiter mouebat. Illud tibi visum est  
 225 intolerabile, quod ordinem vestrum attigerim, quod Bernae memi-  
 nerim. Nec enim potui non ridere cum diceres ordinem vestrum tot  
 annos constitisse, quasi ego sim illum subuersurus. Per me quidem  
 stabit ordo tuus, atque etiam florebit vsque ad finem mundi. An  
 ideo totus ordo laesus est, quod scripserim esse aliquos qui affectarent  
 230 tyrannidem? Tot estis milia monasteriorum, hominum innumerae  
 myriades; et omnes vocabuntur ad arma, si quis per occasionem  
 queratur de vno alteroue eius sodalitatibus? Si quis compertum habens  
 sacerdotem effutisse quod dictum sit in arcana confessione, sodalem  
 admoneat ne se temere cuius credat, quod reperiantur qui parum  
 235 tenaces sint silentii, num vniuersi clamabunt sese laesos? Et tamen  
 hoc quod a me scriptum est, adeo secretum non est vt vulgo passim

190. H: displicere F.  
 om. N<sup>13</sup>.

213. ex F: e H.

206. Card. scriptam add. H.

207. vt FN<sup>2</sup>:

204. Moriae] Cf. Ep. 1164. 3.  
 206. epistolam] Ep. 1033.

225. Bernae] Cf. Ep. 1033. 25on.  
 231. myriades] Cf. Ep. 830. 7, 8.

hoc et sciant et querantur homines. Porro quod Sauaronellae et Bernensis facinoris memini, non factum est in odium ordinis, quod illic etiam testor, nec odiose neque multis verbis; sed ita res quam tum agebam, postulabat. Quid autem accidisset etiamsi data occasione meminisset? An mundus ignoraturus erat, si solus ipse siluisset?

Secus est si nullum ordinem licet attingere. At vos ipsi principes, magistratus, episcopos, abbates, palam ac libere incessitis, nonnumquam etiam seditiose, neque putatis aequum ut quisquam vos ea de causa in ius trahat, quod intactis personis rem insectemini. In nullos libentius inuehimini quam in pastores Dominici gregis custodes. Pauci dies sunt quod Antuuerpiae monachus quidam (parcetur ordini) monitus a magistratibus ut doceret Euangelium, a seditiosis clamoribus abstinere, in publica concione dixit: 'Iubent' inquit, 'ut praedicem Euangelium; at isthuc audire licebit a parochis vestris, etiamsi pridie dormierint cum magno scorto'. Hoc non minus obscene dictum quam seditiose sibi ignoscunt, nec putant iniuriam ordini factam, quem haud dubie Christus instituit. Et tu meditaris actionem laesae maiestatis, si quis per occasionem attingat Praedicatorem aut Carmelitam? Si cuiquam titulo parcendum erat, Christiani titulo parcendum erat; neque levis est causa, ne detur ansa impiis exprobandi nobis vicia nostra. Et tamen historiae Christianorum in literas mittunt Christianorum dedecora, ne a nominibus quidem abstinentes. Cur virginum ordo non discerpit libros Hieronymi, qui sic depingat virginum vicia? Cur episcopi non discerpunt libros Cypriani, qui tam atrociter inuectus est in suorum temporum episcopos, turpem quaestum vsque ad vsuras exprobrans? An ut olim religiosum erat vel nominare deos quosdam, ita non licebit loqui de Praedicatoribus aut Carmelitis nisi cum honoris praefatione?

Dicebat ille tuus discipulus, etiamsi vera essent, tamen essent ob honorem ordinis tacenda; cur ergo quidam, qui tantum honoris haberi volunt ordini suo, in alios nominatim etiam et palam mentiuntur? Id esse verissimum plurimis exemplis docere possim. Ego tot modis lacessitus, nullius Praedicatoris aut Carmelitae nomen scriptis meis perstrinxi. Praedicatorio ordini prae caeteris etiam faueo, vel ob hoc quod minus oneratus est ceremoniis. Ne tibi quidem ipsi concessurus sum, ut quanquam in Thomae verba iuraris, veris Praedicatoribus impensius faueas quam ego. Nec sum tam iniquus ut quod ab his aut illis committitur, imputem ordini. Et adeo non imputo ut frequenter et illis parcam a quibus sum odiosissime prouocatus, ne quid laedam ordinem immerentem; per-

237. Sauonarolae *N.* 251. ut *om. N.* 256. Praedicatorem *F*: Dominicanum *H.* 264. *N*: exprobrans *F.* 265. Praedicatoribus *F*: Dominicanis *H.* 269. & *F*: ac *H.* 271. Praedicatoris *F*: Dominicani *H.* 275. Praedicatoribus *F*: Dominicanis *H.*

248. monachus quidam] See Ep. 1188. 8n.

252. magno scorto] Cf. Rev. 17. 1, 19. 2.

271. nomen] This is true enough; for Ep. 878 was never printed by Eras-

mus, and in Epp. 483. 26, 948. 137, 1033. 80 no name is given. The new letters to be included in *F* (see Ep. 1206) can hardly yet have been selected.

273. faueo] Cf. Ep. 1006. 4n.

274. Thomae] Cf. Ep. 1126. 262n.

suasum habens, quae faciunt isti, optimo cuique eius ordinis impro-  
 280 bari. Et tamen id faciunt tam multi tamque impune, vt homini  
 suspicioso videri possint procerum iussu facere quod faciunt. Et  
 post haec me fingis hostem ordinis, qui verius illi faueo quam tu  
 cum tuis sodalibus? An protinus vindicaueris honorem ordini tuo,  
 si me dehonestaris, aut illum candidum feceris, si me feceris nigrum?  
 285 Si vere studes ordinem tuum commendare bonis omnibus, fac vt  
 easdem dotes renouet quibus olim et natus est et propagatus et  
 commendatus orbi: vitae integritatem, sanctimoniam non fucatam,  
 contemptum mundi, doctrinam Euangelicam, mansuetudinem Chri-  
 stianam. Haec sectantibus fauebunt, applaudent, bene ominabuntur  
 290 omnes. Nunc quae dedecora subinde noua vulgo narrantur de vobis!  
 Quas passim audimus querelas, quae flagitia! quae vtinam aut essent  
 ficta aut certe carerent fide!

Porro quam non studeam ordinis vllius infamiae vel hinc potes  
 intelligere. Atroces iras in vos conceperat eximius ille princeps  
 295 Hermannus, comes a Noua aquila, quod praeter meritum attactus  
 esset literis Iacobi Hoechstrati. Quod si vir ille perstitisset in eo  
 quo coeperat animo, res videbatur haud mediocri cum periculo ordinis  
 vestri coniuncta. Ego literis non indiligenter scriptis persuadere  
 conatus sum amico vt eam contentionem remitteret. At ille quidem  
 300 pro sua vere generosa mansuetudine remisit. Hermanus Buschius,  
 vir doctus iuxta ac facundus, indicarat mihi sibi esse in manibus  
 opus, quod ex ipso titulo coniectabam fore non parum mordax in  
 ordinem vestrum. Egi diligenter cum homine vt verteret consilium,  
 et exiit opus, sed retextum ac multo moderatius, mutato etiam titulo.  
 305 Est alter quidam ea facundia eaque doctrina praeditus vt plane  
 victurum augurarer quicquid scripturus esset. Is aggressus erat  
 Praedicatorum et Carmelitarum insignia dedecora in literas mittere.  
 Non conqueui donec hominem abducerem a sententia, partim iniquum  
 esse ducens horum aut illorum commissa in ordinis infamiam vertere,  
 310 partim inutile iudicans si mundus talibus fabulis inficeretur. Sunt  
 enim quaedam flagitia quae tutum non sit commemorasse: quod  
 genus sunt prodigiosae libidinum formae, incantamenta, veneficia,  
 sortilegia, aliaque id genus, quae vestri nonnunquam e secretis  
 confessionibus discunt, quidam etiam imitantur.  
 315 Vides, mi Vincenti, quam geram hostilem animum in ordinem  
 tuum. At fortasse causaberis haec esse conficta; imo supersunt qui  
 me refellant. Et posteritas intelliget me minus vero dicere, proditis  
 epistolis quas nunc coelant amici. Sed quereris vnum atque alterum  
 resillisse ab instituto vestro ob lectionem librorum meorum, eosque  
 320 bene nummatis. An isthuc verum sit nescio. Fortassis illi propius  
 contemplati vitam quorundam, vertere sententiam, animaduertentes

280. tam FN<sup>2</sup>: om. N<sup>13</sup> 291. quae flagitia add. H. 295. FN<sup>2</sup>: Herma-  
 nus N<sup>13</sup>. 296. Hochstrati N. 300. FN<sup>3</sup>: Hermānus A<sup>2</sup>. 309. ducens  
 F Corrig.: docens F. 315. Vincenti F: Vucentae F Corrig.: Bucenta H.

295. Hermannus] Cf. Epp. 808. 5-9,  
 830. 5-8; and RE. 253-5.

298. literis] Not extant. But cf. Ep.  
 1078. 38n.

302. opus] The *Vallum humanitatis* (Ep.  
 830 introd.): cf. *Spongia*, LB. x. 1639 E =

HE. 333, § 83.

305. alter quidam] Perhaps Hutten:  
 cf. Ep. 951. 22, 37-8. For Erasmus'  
 restraint of him cf. Ep. 1165. 22n.

310. librorum meorum] Cf. Ep. 858.  
 372-5.



mores non per omnia respondere cultui; quod nuper summatibus atque optimis viris accidisse notius est quam vt sit referendum. Illud fateor, admoneo locis aliquot minimam religionis partem esse in cibis, cultu aut similibus ceremoniis, summam esse in purgatis 325 affectibus et officiis charitatis. Sanctissimum esse votum quod Christo vouimus in baptismo; hoc esse maxime praestandum quod exigitur ab omnibus. Hoc qui praestet, non esse magnopere cur aliam desideret professionem.

Admonui iuuenes ne se temere coniciant in huiusmodi vitae 330 labyrinthum, priusquam et sibi noti sint et intelligant quibus in rebus sita sit vera religio. Damnaui eos qui circumeant mare et aridam, vt quos possint irretiant, vel ob quaestum, vel ob ambitionem, vel aliam aliquam ob causam his etiam sceleratiorem. Quod si quis huiusmodi monitis factus circumspectior abstinuit ad tempus, 335 vt ingenue fateor, nihil me poenitet. Si quem mea scripta reddidissent alieniorem a Christo, dolerem, vt vere fateor, inconsolabiliter, ac meos ipse libros odissem. Caeterum si quis abstinuit ab instituto, cuius suscepti mox poenituisset, non est quod doleam: atque haec vestrum erat inculcare, quae nos admonuimus. Nam si probi estis, 340 mauultis, opinor, pauciores, modo vere pios, quam multos qualescunque: nihil enim dicam aliud in praesentia. Malo decem bene abstinuisset ob monita mea quam vnum male irretitum fuisse opera mea. Quod si haec occiderentur omnibus, fortasse pauciores extarent qui suis moribus dehonestarent professionem suam; nec audiremus 345 passim tam multos frustra deplorantes se capistro praeuisse caput. Fortasse ne tu quidem istius ordinis esses, sed pro libris tractares stium aut aliud quippiam aptius ingenio corporique tuo.

Quod si cupitis quam plurimos in gregem vestrum allicere, date operam vt incessus, vt oculi, vt sermo, vt mores, vt facta verae 350 religionis indicia prae se ferant. Audiamus passim exempla quomodo in mediis deliciis sobrie vos gesseritis, quomodo voluptatem obuiam fortiter spreueritis, quomodo lucro posthabueritis pietatem, quomodo vestrae gloriae praetuleritis gloriam Christi, quomodo Christiana lenitate pertuleritis iniuriam, quomodo male merentem officiis ob- 355 rueritis, quomodo pro veritate tuenda diuitum ac principum simultati vos exposueritis. Date operam vt quisquis miscuerit vobiscum sermonem, melior discedat a colloquio; quisquis vobiscum egerit conuiuium, sobrietatis exemplum auferat; vt quisquis vobiscum aliquid humanorum negotiorum tractauerit, sentiat vos meliores 360 populo, minus auídos, minus morosos, minus fucatos, minus perfidos. Denique vbique agnoscant Euangelicam illam simplicitatem, in factis pariter ac dictis vestris.

Nunc non libet referre quam his diuersa de vobis vulgo commemo- rentur. Atque haec coelari poterant, nisi quidam seipsos proderent 365 in publicis concionibus. An putatis populo non esse sensum communem? An vniuersos e tuo tuique similium aestimas ingenio? Sapit et vulgus ingenio, sapit experientia rerum, sapit congressu doctorum hominum, sapit lectione voluminum. Quid putatis illi

338. ab om. H.

359. vt om. N.

324. locis aliquot] e. g. in Ep. 858. 330 seq.

330. Admonui] Cf. Ep. 1183. 122n.

370 venire in mentem, vbi conspicit theologum insignem sacra veste, in loco sacro, e suggestu ecclesiastico, vnde expectatur Euangelica doctrina, impotenti odio, virulenta lingua debacchari in famam proximi, oculis ardentibus, labiis spumantibus, voce immani, toto denique corporis habitu liuorem et odium prae se ferente? Si vera  
 375 essent omnia quae dicerent, tamen populus non est adeo stupidus quin intelligat ea non suo loco dici; intelligit ex animo proficisci neutiquam pio quae tam inimice dicuntur. Itaque fit vt etiam si quid recte doceant, minus illis habeatur fidei. Quis enim credat ei quem videat non esse sui iuris, sed seruum et addictum esse affectibus?  
 380 Quid autem cum, quod non raro fit, audiunt etiam manifesta mendacia? nam huc vsque rapit quosdam animi caecitas.

Vtinam audiretis quae passim inter se murmurent mulieres ac viri, talibus concionatoribus non paulo prudentiores! 'Quid?' inquirunt; 'an hac de causa venimus in templum, vt ociosi audiamus quid hic  
 385 aut ille stomachetur in alterum? Nos domi relictis negociis huc accedimus, vt audiamus Christum nobis loquentem e pectore sacerdotis, vt domum redeamus meliores, vt aliquid sacrae doctrinae, aliquid bonae consolationis domum reportemus; et in templo discimus lacerare famam proximi, ac domum referimus odii, liuoris  
 390 et obtrectationis materiam. In conuiuuiis, apud focum renouatur contentio, aliis in aliam partem discedentibus. Quid opus erat haec a templis peti, quae nobis plus satis domi nascuntur? Cur nobis subinde narrant esse qui corrigant Magnificat, qui corrigant Precationem Dominicam, qui corrigant Euangelium S. Ioannis? Si quid  
 395 in his male habet, quin ipsi inter se corrigunt potius quam nos ad lapides prouocant, et inter concordēs seditionem concitant? Nos istos alimus vt animos nostros confirment in fide, et per hos vocamur in dubium? Alimus eos vt ex illis dediscamus nostra vicia, et discamus Euangelicam doctrinam; et ab his discimus quod est  
 400 omnium pessimum, linguae virulentam obtrectationem. Si tales sunt isti, non committam illis liberos meos, nec illis credam arcana pectoris mei. Nec enim silentium praestant bona fide; nec recte consulunt, qui non ducuntur iudicio sed feruntur caecis affectibus.'

Haec audimus, mi N., quotidie etiam a nautis, ab aurigis, a  
 405 mulierculis. Nec est quisquam vir bonus cordatusque quin intelligat horum querelam esse iustissimam. Ita res in diuersum exit vt, dum alienam famam incessitis, vestrae noceatis. Quid enim aliud lucrificatis istiusmodi blaterationibus quam odium optimi cuiusque? Quot amicos haud aspernandos vobis ademit ista petulantia? plures  
 410 adeptura, ni respiscitis. Circumspice mihi et vide num quisquam vir doctus aut integer faueat istiusmodi petulantiae. Habet hoc obtrectatio, vt etiamsi fidem faciat, tamen auditor peius sentiat de eo qui narrat: quemadmodum proditorem odit princeps, etiamsi dignum fraude putat eum qui proditus est. Sed huiusmodi senatus-  
 415 consulta vobis nascuntur inter pocula, et putatis orbi placitum quod duobus aut tribus compotoribus placuit. Pessime sentitis de genere humano, si creditis haec probatum iri omnibus. Nondum

371. suggesto H: cf. v. 161 *supra*.

404. N. F: Bucenta H.

393. corrigant Magnificat] Cf. Ep. 948. 97 seq., 108, 114-15.

394. S. Ioannis] Cf. Ep. 1126. 17-28.

adeo mundus obscurit ad omnem naturae sensum, nondum sic exiit omnem affectum Euangelicae pietatis. Si syncere, si libere doceretis Euangelicam veritatem, et ex officio consequeretur odium, 420 pertineret ad vos illa Christi consolatio: Beati cum vos oderint homines. Nunc optimus quisque a vobis redditur alienissimus ob viciosum exemplum.

Haec tibi venirent in mentem, N., nisi malles odium in consilium adhibere quam rationem. Cum obambulas per monasteria, etiam 425 Cartusiensium, et humaniter acceptus iam debebas, id quod illi expectant, aliquid vicissim depromere e sacris studiis quae profiteris, ex arcanis illis contemplationibus quibus illi putant theologos identidem cum Deo colloqui, quod ipsos inflammet ad amorem vitae coelestis, quod impleat eos consolatione spirituali, quod semen 430 aliquod ac scintillam Euangelicae charitatis infigat; tu sacerdos, Praedicator, theologus, denarras historiam Erasmi, vera falsis permiscens, ac indecore blaterans quicquid in fortunam, quicquid in vitam, quicquid in doctrinam, vel fingi vel dici possit. Nec te cohibet ab obrectando, etiam cum vides haec tristibus vultibus a 435 cunctis accipi, imo cum audis omnes reclamantes. Quid autem credis pios illos patres de te suspicari cum haec audiunt, quid inter se queri?

Fortuna mea talis est ut ipse iure possim et soleam multa de ea queri. Verum nulli in manu est sibi fortunam fingere. Et arbitrator plus esse laudis inuita fortuna eluctari ad virtutem et blandientem 440 etiam reiicere, quam si mihi dormienti contigisset amplissima. Nec deerat occasio, nec ignorabam viam qua pararetur fortuna lautior, si mihi placuisset tanti emere quanti video a multis emi. Neque vitam meam omnibus libero viciis, praesertim actam iuveni. Doctrinae minimum mihi tribuo, etiamsi neque te neque tui similes patiar 445 doctrinae meae censors. Tu putas atrox conuicium, si me rhetorem aut poetam dixeris. Ego neutrum agnosco titulum, sed qui intelligunt quantum eruditionis reconditae, quantum ingenii, quantum eloquentiae sit poetis ac rhetoribus, hi tales voces porcorum esse putant, non hominum. Contemnite quantum voletis 'poetiam', 450 adeo vobis ignotam ut ne nominare quidem recte possitis; ex eodem ligno citius duos fingeres Thomistas praeclaros quam vnum tolerabilem poetam aut rhetorem.

Verum hoc est eiusmodi ut iis frustra dicatur qui Musas omnes habent iratas. Atqui si has horas, quas sumis fratri tuo traducendo, 455 collocares in euoluendis bonis autoribus, aut certe in euoluendis Ambrosii, Hieronymi Augustinique voluminibus, multo minus tibi placeret tua doctrina et minus displiceret aliena. Possem et ego inquirere in fortunam tuam, in vitam ac doctrinam tuam, olfacere sicubi conuoluisses mensam, sicubi constuprasses Vestalem, si quod 460

424. N. F: Bucenta H. 432. praedicator F: Dominicanus H. 460. Vestalem H: Vestā F.

421. Beati] Luke 6. 22.

425. etiam Cartusiensium] For Erasmus' sense of their special strictness and sanctity cf. his *Apol. adu. debacch. P. Sutoris*, where he writes of them as 'vere mundo mortui', 'religionis arctissimae

sanctissimaeque professores' (LB. ix. 740 A, D). For friends of his among the Carthusians see Epp. 308, 570, 1239; another was John of Heemstede (see Ep. 1646).

438. Fortuna] Cf. Ep. 1102. 6n.

450. poetiam] Cf. Ep. 1110. 15n.

aliud facinus olim iuuenis designasses aut etiam nunc designares. Sed absit vt intantum degenerem a doctrina Christi: absit vt sic exuam omnem Christianum pudorem, et id faciam quod nec ethnici faciunt, ingenii paulo sanioris. Quidam nimis impudenter impingunt  
 465 mihi calamum mordaciorem. At qui sapiunt quique vere iudicant, fatentur neminem multis seculis odiosius impetiturum quam Erasmum, nec vllius tamen stilum magis incruentum fuisse, nec alium ciuilius taxare vicia mortalium, nec magis pepercisse nominibus ac personis, etiamsi nec nomini meo nec personae paritum est a multis.  
 470 Quod si ideo nos impetis, quod offenderim ordinem vestrum, primum fateris te vindictae libidine rapi, non duci ratione, cum tuae professionis sit etiam pro maleficio beneficium reponere. Praeterea vindictae genus tibi deligis omnium damnatissimum ac viris etiam indignum. Dux ille ethnicus ferula castigauit qui hosti malediceret,  
 475 quum ad pugnandum esset conductus. Et tibi non aliud telum est quam maledica lingua, qua valent improbae mulieres. Ad scribendos libros salutiferos mancus es, ad praedicandam Christi philosophiam elinguis es: ad obtrectandum Erasmo, disertus es ac copiosus. Atque interim Saulum imitaris, sed impium adhuc; subseruis et  
 480 animos addis aliis qui Erasmum in concionibus lapident. Atque hoc est res turpior, quod ad vleiscendos priuatos affectus abutimini religione et autoritate sermonis Euangelici, ac mauultis coelum terramque misceri igni quam non obsequi vestris odiis.

Sed hoc tantum impietatis est, illud etiam imprudentiae, quod  
 485 dum mihi vultis vulnusculum infligere, ipsi vestrae famae longe grauius vulnus infligitis. Scio quosdam melius coepisse sentire de me, posteaquam viderent me tibi tuisque sodalibus tantopere displicere. De vobis certe nemo non sentit peius, vteunque de me sentit. Cum nuper adires illum vere theologum,—qui sic in scho-  
 490 lastico genere valet vt Lutetiae non alia quam doctrinae commemoratione primum meruerit locum, tamen bonarum literarum ac linguarum praesidiis insuper est instructus—vt tui dissimillimum officii gratia salutare, tam impotens erat animi tui odium, vt vix dicta salute statim erumperes in furiosa in me conuicia. Quodnam  
 495 ob meritum meum? quod is pro sua humanitate pridie apud me coenasset: cum nec in coena nec in colloquio, quod mihi cum illo satis diutinum fuit, vlla fuisset tui mentio. Sic homo ciuilis primam illam salutationem pessimo maledicentiae omine reddidisti inauspicatam. Nec veniebat in mentem quam malam inires gratiam apud  
 500 duos peritissimos earum literarum, quibus ego semper vt faui, ita nonnihil etiam profui. Nec hoc odio tuo sat erat. Totum conuiuium insulsissimis conuiciis condiebas, vsque ad omnium etiam tuorum fastidium; nam et hi questi sunt linguam istam tuam procacem et effrenam nullo remedio posse compesci.

464. *H*: ingenio *F*. 465. *H*: Atqui *F*. 478. ac *F*: & *H*. 483. odiis *F*: studiis *H*. 490. commemoratione *F*: commendatione *H*. 494. Quodnam ob meritum meum *add. H*. 498. reddidisti *H*: reddidit *F*. 504. effrenem *H*.

467. incruentum] Cf. Ep. 967. 181. in 1519: see Ep. 456. 87n. For his  
 468. pepercisse] Cf. Ep. 950. 12n. 'primacy' among the theologians at  
 479. Saulum] Cf. Acts 7. 57-9. Paris cf. Ep. 1581, where he is ranked  
 489. theologum] Perhaps Aeg. of with Ber and Lethmatius (Ep. 1320  
 Delft; who can be traced at Louvain introd.).

Vis audire quantum tua promoueris petulantia? Sic alienasti 505  
doctos illos abs te, vt negauerint se vnquam credituros fuisse te tam  
impotenter esse maledicum ac virulentum, ni tu re ipsa fecisses  
fidem. Rogabam an ne mihi quidem. 'Nullus' inquiebant, 'mor-  
taliū hoc nobis persuasurus erat, nisi res ipsa persuasisset': ac tibi  
nihil aliud precabantur quam mentem saniozem. Similis erat exitus 510  
Antuuerpiae, cum in celebri conuiuio bonus ille Iacobita, a melle  
cognomen habens, cum nihil eructet praeter merum fel, negaret esse  
sceleratiorem haereticum in his regionibus quam esset Erasmus,  
quibus auribus putas eam vocem acceptam? Quis non detestatus  
est hominis insaniam, praesertim ex his qui libros meos legerant? 515  
Quis autem non detestatur et tuam illam vocem, 'Pestilens ille  
Lutherus, et pestilentior Erasmus; nam ex huius vberibus suxit  
quicquid habet ille veneni?' Qui libros vtriusque legerunt, quid  
aliud cogitant quam te hominem esse omnium qui viuunt impuden-  
tissime vanum, petulantissime maledicum, furiosissime impotentem? 520  
Imo qui te non norunt, et audierunt in naui aut curru disputantem  
de fide catholica, rogant quis sit ille Dominicalis, facie nitenti, risu  
sardonio, validis lateribus, sed inepta lingua, qui tam disertus sit ad  
maledicendum Erasmo?

Quid hic responderi soleat, vtinam audires aliquando, videresque te 525  
tuis pictum coloribus! Ego tibi sum hostis ordinis tui, qui admoneo  
quibus rebus ordinis dignitati oporteat consulere; tu qui tua lingua  
tuisque moribus dehonestas ordinem tuum, idque passim nullo delectu  
neque temporis neque loci neque personarum, columen es ordinis.  
Ego nulli omnino sum infensus ordini, neque Franciscano, neque 530  
Carmelitico, neque Dominicali, neque nautico, neque aurigario, sciens  
in vnoquoque probos inueniri. Vt in quocunque pallio quocunque  
titulo placet pietas ac morum integritas, ita nusquam non displicet  
omnibus bonis improbitas. Quod si maxime essem hostis ordinis  
tui, nullum grauius malum optarem illi quam aliquot tui similes. 535  
Quaeso, tuae vocis arbitrio erimus Christiani, qui nunquam ex animo  
cogitasti quid sit esse vere Christianum? Vndique proditis insecitiam  
vestram, vndique mores multum abludentes a professione, vndique  
pectoris purulentiam, et nobis acceptum fertis si peius de vobis sentit  
mundus? Videmus passim tuos sodales ab idiotis atque etiam a 540  
mulierculis refelli, magnoque dedecore sic obturari os vt non habeant  
quod respondeant. Et quoniam vos debacchamini in vitam aliorum,  
vicissim et illi passim vestrorum Bacchanalium mysteria proferunt,  
materia nimium felici.

Cum Antuuerpiae seditiosis clamoribus ciuitatem ex omni nationum 545  
genere conflata ad seditionem concitaretis, iterum atque iterum  
vetante magistratu, quantum fauoris Luthero, quantum odii vobis  
conciliastis? A me nullus amicus vestra opera factus est alienior,

506. *H*: negauerunt *F*. 511. Iacobita *F*: Dominicanus *H*. 521. *H*:  
currum *F*. 522. *FN*<sup>3</sup> *LB*: nitentis *F* *Corrig. Lond.* 523. Sardonico *H*.  
531. *H*: Aurigareo *F*. 536. qui *H*: q̄ *F*.

511. Iacobita] Cf. Ep. 1153. 113n. of Hertogenbosch, a Dominican, who  
a melle] I cannot identify. De was Lic. Th. at Louvain, 10 Sept. 1515.  
Jongh mentions (p. 40\*) a Gerardus Bie 540. idiotis] See Ep. 1153. 171n.

quosdam etiam novos veteribus addidit vestra in me maledicentia.  
 550 At a vobis quantus numerus bonorum et eruditorum est alienatus!  
 Quot homines poenituit suae in vos liberalitatis! Quanto pluris  
 habitus fuisset Iacobus Hoechstratus, si aut non scripsisset in  
 quenquam aut non scripsisset tam amarulente!

Quaeso, quid lucrifecit Nicolaus Egmondanus, tam impotenter,  
 555 imo tam stolide, toties in me deblaterans? Quam vero decorum  
 erat illud sacerdoti, theologo, Carmelitae, denique seni, tam odiose  
 deblaterare in opus quod fatebatur sibi nunquam esse lectum, fortasse  
 nec intellecturus si legat? Quis autem puerorum non risit hominem,  
 cum frequenter in concionibus stultissime debaccharetur in poetriam  
 560 —sic enim ille vocauit—, in rhetoricen, in linguas a laudatissimis  
 viris tantopere et laudatas et expetitas? Quam hoc dignum illius  
 candido pallio, quod cum caeteri theologi ad concordiam inuitarent,  
 ille solus dissidium maluit? Rogatus quid illum offenderet, respondit  
 quod scripsissem Nouum Testamentum. Rursum interrogatus, 'Quid  
 565 tum postea?' 'Ergo' inquit, 'omnia nostra nihil sunt.' Bellum  
 enthymema: periit videlicet vniuersa theologia, si incolumi transla-  
 tione Vulgata quaedam facta sunt vel emendaciora vel dilucidiora.  
 Et is iactat quod talibus enthymematis ipsius non digner respondere,  
 cum ipse non dignetur Apologiam legere qua diluo quicquid huius  
 570 generis obici possit. Scilicet non satis erat omnibus scripsisse, nisi  
 cum singulis causificatoribus, imo cum fungis et caudicibus, totos  
 dies ociosus disputem.

Quod erat specimen religionis, cum in theologica et ordinaria  
 professione publice diceret me cum Fabro pugnare, et olim pugnatorios  
 575 in profundo Tartari? Non puduit eiusmodi virus effundere in Fabrum,  
 hominem senem, eruditum ac perpetua vitae sanctimonia cunctis  
 venerabilem; et tamen non intelligebat qua de re mihi cum Fabro  
 esset controuersia: id enim ipse suo sermone prodebat. Quis fuit  
 illi tam fauens in eo auditorio cui non displicuerit vox tam impotens?  
 580 Quis illi iudicabat esse sanum caput? Qui erant amicissimi, sic  
 excusabant quod a conuiuio dixisset. Sic fortasse leno poterat  
 excusari, non theologus. Cum omnibus bonis displiceret homo, sibi  
 tamen displicere non potuit. Iam vero vt exhiberet suis camelum,  
 quod aiunt, saltantem, addebat auspicaturus Epistolas Pauli, Paulum  
 585 olim persecutum Ecclesiam Dei, sed e lupo factum ouem. 'Idem'  
 inquit, 'orandum vt eueniat in Luthero et Erasmo.' O lepores  
 Atticos! o cauillos qui non multum absint a caulis! Cum passim  
 rideretur, cum exhiberetur, tamen nulla fere lectione non aliquo  
 scommate perstrinxit caput meum, idque fecit etiam in concionibus.  
 590 Cum euulgaret Bullam aeditam aduersus Lutherum, meque forte  
 fortuna conspexisset in concione, subito relicto argumento quod  
 instituerat, plura dixit in Erasmus quam in ipsum Lutherum. Nec

552. *F Lond.*: Hoechstratus *N LB*.  
 rhetoricem *F Lond*.

557. *H*: fateatur *F*.

560. *H LB*:

554. Egmondanus] Cf. ll. 114-22.

559. poetriam] Cf. l. 450n.

562. concordiam] Cf. Ep. 1016. 15n.

569. Apologiam] prefixed to the New  
 Testament; and followed in 1519 by

111 *Capita Argumentorum contra morosos  
 quosdam ac indoctos.*

574. cum Fabro] Cf. Ep. 1162. 129-30.

584. Paulum] Cf. Ep. 1164. 57.

590. Bullam] Cf. l. 102.

erat finis nec modus. Subinde repetebat intermissum sermonem; cumque passim inter se nutarent ac riderent auditores, tamen ille toto vultu testificans impotens odium animi, maledicum sermonem 595 abruptit verius quam finiuit.

Ea de re cum expostularem apud Academiae Rectorem Godschalcum, eiusmodi conuiciis, imo mendaciis debacchatus est in faciem meam, ut ea vix Balatro diceret Nomentano, quae senex seni, sacerdos sacerdoti, theologus theologo, idque apud Academiae moderatorem. Aiebat 600 me versipellem, duplicem, autorem omnis tumultus Lutheriani, nihil non fingere; me infixisse Lutherum animis hominum, me falsasse multis locis Nouum Testamentum. Significabat me fictis uti diplomatistae, finxisse Epistolas Eruditorum Virorum ad me honorifice scriptas, cum plerasque supprimam pudore. Quid non? More 605 procacium muliercularum nullum verbum non rapiebat in occasionem conuicii. Forte dixeram 'Finge ita esse,' pro eo quod erat, 'Pone ita esse.' Ibi commotus homo 'Nolo' inquit, 'fingere; hoc vestrum est, vos fingitis ac mentimini omnia.' Memineram per occasionem rhetoricae ciuilitatis, qua nonnunquam negamus nos monere eum 610 quem tamen monemus. Ibi ceu telum nactus, 'Verum' inquit, 'sic rhetores omnia mentiuntur, fingunt ac dissimulant'. Nihil dici poterat quod ille non verteret in occasionem conuicii.

Tandem ubi satis esset debacchatus suaeque naturae obsequutus, ubi vsque ad satietatem faciem meam maledictis conspuisset, tandem 615 vrgente Rectore proposuit conditiones pacis duas, alteram ut canerem palinodiam eorum quae scripsissem in theologos Louanienses, ac Stesichorum imitatus scriberem Louanii 'synceres' (nam hoc verbi tum illi placuit) ac probos esse theologos: quasi si id scripsissem, ipse protinus alius haberetur quam semper fuit. Alteram uti 620 scriberem aduersus Lutherum. Haec si reciperem ac praestarem, tum nos fore fratres; sin recusarem, se perpetuo habiturum me pro Lutherano: quasi non ipse eadem ratione censendus esset Lutheranus, qui nihil aduersus illum scripserit.

Huius discipulus Prior Antuuerpiensis, pileo violaceo doctor, 625 excusans sese apud magistratus quod seditiose clamasset in Lutherum, negauit se legisse Lutheri libros, sed admonitum literis R. P. Nicolai Egmondani dixisse quae dixisset. Eodem tempore proceres monasterii Dominicalis sic indecore gesserunt sese ut omnium bonorum animos ab se alienarent. Quorum de numero quidam laicis 630 aliquot audientibus, 'Vtinam' inquit, 'mihi liceret dentibus meis demordere gulam Lutheri! nihil vereretur ore adhuc cruento accedere ad corpus Christi'. Quis bonorum est tam iratus Luthero ut non oderit sacerdotem haec euomentem?

Standicii fabulam tibi coram narraui, qui tam stolidè gessit se 635

601. Lutherani *H.* 620. *H.*: Altera *F.* 625. pileo violaceo doctor *add. H.*  
627. R. P. *om. H.* 628. Nicolai *add. H.*

597. expostularem] See the vivid description given in Ep. 1162.

599. Balatro] The buffoon, as Nomentanus was the parasite, of Hor. S. 2. 8.

604. Epistolas] See p. 210.

605. supprimam] See Ep. 993. 52n.

607. Finge] Ep. 1162. 47-55.

618. synceres] Cf. Ep. 1162. 201.

625. Prior Antuuerpiensis] Seb. Craeys, with whom Erasmus had already had an encounter; cf. Ep. 948.

110 seq.

635. Standicii] Cf. Epp. 608. 14n, 1126.

apud cordatissimum Angliae Regem ac prudentissimam foeminam Reginam, vt ipsum etiam Principem puduerit sic delirari apud se. Sed quid ego metior harenam? Quotidie passim huiusmodi permulta designantur a quibusdam ordinis vestri sodalibus tam stulta, tam  
 640 impudentia, vt nisi publice multorum oculis et auribus ingererent ipsi, nemo sit narranti crediturus. Cum his factis sibi pii videntur, et frequenter adeunt sacram Christi mensam; ac postea mirantur homines ab sese alienari, perinde quasi mundus nihil haberet praeter beluas. Ac prorsus ita se gerunt quasi malint esse formida-  
 645 biles improbitate quam modestia ac pietate commendati; nec satis animaduertunt quam malus sit diuturnitatis custos metus.

Sed vt aliquando claudam prolixam epistolam, quanquam tot modis abs te sum affectus contumelia, mi N., tamen expertus Domini lenitatem in me peccantem, illum pro viribus imitabor.  
 650 Teque etiam atque etiam admoneo hortorque vt omisso maledicendi studio discas benedicere,—parces tibi, parces ordini tuo,—magisque spectes quid dictet doctrina Christi, quam quid praescribat Egmondanus compotor; quid probaturi sint cordati grauesque viri potius quam quid inter pocula vnus aut alter applausor eiusdem farinae  
 655 comprobet. Quanquam istam effrenatam linguae petulantiam detestantur et tui gregis sodales, mihi quidem parum bene volentes, sed qui hoc intelligunt ad sui ordinis dedecus atque incommodum pertinere.

Ego non tam irascor tibi quam misereor: atque hoc magis misereor, si tibi nondum es miserabilis. Bona pars salutis est morbum suum agnoscere. Si natura tibi negauit ingenium, vt euadas egregie doctus; si linguam, vt sis probus concionator; si stilum, vt libris aeditis queas orbi prodesse: certe conandum vt vir bonus sis. Ac  
 665 maledicit. Bis malus est qui de bene merente dicit male. Si prodesse non potes ob inopiam ingenii, linguae, doctrinae, consilii, iudicii, saltem da operam ne quem laedas. Fortassis aliqua venia debetur iis qui cum multis modis profuerint, alicubi dederint malum. At deploratae cuiusdam maliciae est, cum nulla ex parte sis utilis,  
 670 totum conatum tuum vertere in perniciem aliorum. Lutherus ille tuo praeconio 'pestilens', tamen tibi quoque non mediocrem attulit vtilitatem. Coactus es illius libros legere, e quibus non pauca didicisti; coactus es et veterum autorum aliquid attingere. Per hunc mundus cognouit Silenos istos inuersos, qui videbantur esse pietatis  
 675 columnina, qui videbantur nihil nescire, cum ab vtroque longissime abessent. Atque vt ioco vera loquar, multis conciliauit fortunam lautiolem; speras et ipse fortasse mitellam aliquam, vociferationis tuae praemium. Debes nonnihil et 'pestilentiori Erasmo'. Dum huius libros studio carpendi voluis, correxisti nonnihil infantiam  
 680 tuam, neque pauca didicisti quae te fugiebant, quamlibet Magistrum nostrum.

648. N. F: Bucenta H.

652. dictet F: docet H.

668. dederunt H.

671. pestilens] Cf. l. 516.

674. Silenos] Cf. *Adag.* 2201.

676. conciliauit] sc. Lutherus: cf. Ep. 1397 fin.



Haec admonitio quoniam ab animo fraterno proficiscitur, mihi certe profuerit apud Iesum Christum. Tuum erit dare operam vt tibi quoque sit vtilis: erit autem si bene monenti parueris. Bene vale. M.D.XXI.

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## 1197. FROM MERCURINO GATTINARA.

De puritate p. 116.

Worms.

N. p. 1108: Lond. xxvii. 41: LB. 568.

5 April 1521.

[Evidently answering a letter contemporary with Ep. 1195. The theme of anonymous publication is reflected in Ep. 1199.

This is the last, though by no means the latest, letter ever published by Erasmus. That he did not insert it in F with other letters of this period was perhaps because he considered that it would not do much credit to the Chancellor's mastery of Latin. The production of it nearly fifteen years later to fill out a volume indicates the extent to which he preserved his correspondence: cf. Epp. 456. 87n, 1261, 1272.]

MERCVRINVS GATTINARIVS, CAROLI CAESARIS CANCELLARIVS,  
DES. ERASMO ROTEROD. S. D.

PRAESTANTISSIME vir, heri redditae mihi sunt literae tuae, quibus vereri te ostendis ne aliquae obtrectatorum subortae sint aduersus te calumniae, teque, quantum potes, excusas purgasque. In primis facere non possum quin pro ea quam de me habes opinione ac fiducia plurimas tibi gratias agam. Credo enim potuisse te semper facile colligere qui meus esset in te animus, et sane talis quo promptiorem amicus quisquam ab altero sperare non auderet. Certe quantum in me fuit, non solum tuas excusationes libens accipio, verumetiam id effecere, vt quum antea aliter de te atque scribis cogitare non possem, nunc vero illud ipsum videar intueri. Nihil enim vnquam fuit quare te, vnicum bonarum literarum in Germania lumen, ac qui labores omnes tuos vitamque ipsam ad ornandam illustrandamque orthodoxam fidem contulisti, in hisque dies et noctes desudas, credere deberem latum vnguem a sacrosanctis eius institutis discedere aut villo modo aliter sentire: bonosque omnes dicere possum cognouisse me eius esse sententiae.

Quod si forte quid te in suspicionem vocauerat—quod tamen non vsque adeo mihi compertum est—, esse potuit stilus quorundam librorum, qui ad tuum maxime declinare videbatur; qui tamen et incerto autore aediti erant, et, vt breuibus dicam, haeretici nihil in se continent. Quare eo animo esse debes, vt omnino tibi persuadeas te apud bonos non solum alienum ab omni suspitione, sed daturos nos etiam obnixae operam vt, si quid quorundam inhaesisset animis, in dies liberior euadas: tibiue me semper eum futurum qui et te ipsum et labores tuos quanti faciat, malit te re ipsa quam verbis experiri. Vale. Vornatiae .v. Aprilis M.D.XXI.

1196. 685. M.D.XXI. add. H: M.D.XX. Lond.

1197. TIT. GATTINARIUS N.

1197. 19. librorum] Such as Faber's *Consilium*: for which see Ep. 1149 introd.; and cf. Ep. 1167. 106n.

<sup>1195</sup>1198<sub>1199</sub> FROM ALOISIUS MARLIANUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 599.  
HN: Lond. xvi. 12: LB. 569.

Worms.  
7 April 1521.

[Between Marlianus' return from Spain with Charles in June 1520 (ll. 7, 15) and the publication of F.]

ALOISIUS MARLIANVS, EPISCOPVS TVDENSIS, DOMINO ERASMO  
ROTHEROD. S. D.

QVANTI aut ego te fecerim aut ab aliis fieri voluerim, abunde et tu nosti, et ii qui mihi aliqua cum necessitudine tum consuetudine coniuncti sunt: namque tantum amicitiae tribui nostrae, quae a tua singulari virtute summoque meo in te studio proficiscebatur, 5 vt in te augendo et ornando nullum vnquam officium praetermiserim, cum coniunctam tecum me omnem causam et fortunam habere putarem. Quapropter cum in Hispania essemus, curauim vt ad te Barbirius vtriusque nostrum amantissimus scriberet, ne emeritus et extra omnem aleam positus quotidie in theatrum depugnaturus 10 descenderes, neue toties fortunam tuam experireris, cum satis tibi gloriae et famae tuae consulisses: quod te facturum literis tuis recepisti. Aegre enim ferebam cum iis te quandoque congregari, quibus a te vinci pulchrum esset, quodque te populorum et imperitorum fluctibus obiceret.

15 Cum vero ex Hispania rediissemus, et te Bruxellae conuenissem, orauim ne quid tibi commune cum Luthero esset. Fuere enim eo tempore qui te plane alieno animo a Luthero non fuisse (inepti sane homines) suspicarentur. Tu autem quod rogabam, ita pollicitus es te facturum, vt ego aliis id fore de te non minus quam de me pollicerer. Inualuit postea in dies etiam atque etiam magis fatalis ista 20 Lutheriana calamitas, quae multorum animis ita insedit vt non plures supersint qui infici posse videantur: vnde deplorandam tempestatis nostrae conditionem puto, in qua longe maiora mala quam remedia videamus. Nam nec mala perpeti nec remedia ferre possumus, cum ii nunc homines reperiantur, qui fabulis et deliramentis 25 potius capiantur quam veris rationibus detineantur.

Ab Aleandro vero nostro, homine, vt reor, tibi cum communibus studiis tum mutuis officiis coniunctissimo et veteri amico, ea de te tantum audiui quae de seipso dici vellet. Modestus est profecto, 30 quod admiror in tanta linguarum multiplicitate et bonarum artium varietate, humanus et suauissimis vir moribus: est praeterea ea animi moderatione, ni fallor, vt non deteriora in alios dicat quam de se vellet audire. Quod vero Lutherum et Germanos plerosque a scribendo, quantum in te fuit, deterrueris, rem te dignam fecisti, 35 dum tantum prodesse te reipublicae et religioni velle ostendisti

TIT. DOMINO *om.* H.  
25. ii F: hi N.

2. ii F: hi N.

5. augendo FN<sup>2</sup>: agendo N<sup>13</sup>.

7. in Hispania] with Charles, 1517-  
20.  
8. scriberet] Cf. Ep. 1114. 12-14.

12. recepisti] Ep. 1114. 14.  
15. Bruxellae] See p. 330.  
34. deterrueris] Cf. Ep. 1196. 300-10.

quantum posses. Aliorum autem non magis acta probo quam tu probes, cum furere illum eorum remedia coegerint. Aggrediendus profecto alia via erat.

Ego ne me nihil fecisse putes, in Lutherum orationes duas scripsi, quarum vna mitior, altera post libros illos ab eo nouissime aeditos 40 acrior fuit; non tamen vt hominem damnatum, sed damnatam causam vellem, saluamque rempublicam et religionem illo saluo cuperem. Eas ad te mitterem nisi nos ad redeundum parati essemus: cum redierimus, coram de multis agemus, quae nunc nec licet nec libet scribere. Interea rem et dignitatem ita tuebor tuam, vt 45 nec meam ego, nec tu, si hoc loco esses, tuam tueri magis velles. Si autem a te fieri quidquam potest, vel ad compescendos hos motus vel ad sedandam hanc seditionem, quantum vel gratia vel autoritate vales contende. Eam enim immortalitatem quam tu quaeris et tua tibi scripta pollicentur, addita hac pietate facillime consequeris. 50

Augustinum Scarpinellum et Seuerum tuis verbis salutaui: ii literas quas ad eos te dedisse scribis mirantur, et aegre ferunt sibi non fuisse redditas, cum eas maxime optarent. Habuisti tamen eos tui nominis acerrimos defensores.

Vale Vuormaciae .vii. April. ANNO M.D.XXI.

55

# 11981199. TO ALOISIUS MARLIANUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 600.

Antwerp.

HN: Lond. xvi. 13: LB. 570.

15 April 1521.

[Of this visit to Antwerp I find no other indication.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS R. P. ALOISIO MARLIANO, EPISCOPO  
TVDENSI, CAROLI CAESARIS A CONSILIIS, S. D.

INGRATISSIMVS sim mortalium quotquot vbiuis sunt omnium, Praesul ornatissime, ni tuum in me animum, ni tuum erga me studium agnoscerem. Porro leuae mentis sim, si tuis consiliis grauer obtemperare, cum non alius sit cuius consiliis vel libentius vel felicius obtemperet Caesar ipse. Temporum horum calamitatem non 5 possum non imputare fati; nec video remedium, ni Deus aliquis ἀπὸ μηχανῆς exoriatur, qui tragoediae finem imponat. De Aleandri in me animo et a pluribus et a grauioribus mihi nunciatum est quam vt potuerim omnino diffidere. Et tamen reclamationis hominis eruditio, reclamationis vetus nostra familiaritas; nec alioqui facile recipio in 10

1198. 47. quicquam N.  
CAESARIS A CONSILIIS om. H.

52. ii F: hi N.

1199. TIT. R. P. om. H. CAROLI

1198. 39. orationes] Only one of these is known; composed before 6 Nov. 1520, first printed at Rome, s. a., and afterwards three times in Germany. It is of a conciliatory character. See F. Lauchert, *Ital. Gegner Luthers*, 1912, pp. 223-9, and O. Clemen, *Beiträge zur*

*Reformationsgesch.* iii. 4-9. The second, being subsequent to Luther's recent books (cf. Ep. 1203. 25n), perhaps failed of publication through Marlianus' death; which occurred shortly after the date of this letter, on 10-11 May (Lauchert, p. 222).

animum quod Gratiarum soluat nodum. Gaudeo te mecum non probare istos qui tam stolidis rationibus impugnant Lutherum, vt et causae noceant suae et se traducant; et Pontificis dignitati pessime consulant, et multos laedant innoxios et, quod est omnium  
 15 grauissimum, multitudinem ad seditionem prouocent. Tum vero magis subscriberes meae sententiae, si spectares oculis, si haurires auribus, quae isti stultissime quotidie designant.

Orationes tuas cupidissime legam; de quibus iam Cutberti Tonstalli praeiudicium habeo. Nec dubito quin in ea praestiteris quod  
 20 in aliis tuis lucubrationibus soles, nimirum eruditionem eximiam pari cum prudentia coniunctam.

Ex amicorum literis intelligo eum qui me suis literis admonuerat suspicionis isthuc abortae, plus satis de me sollicitum fuisse. Scribunt enim nihil fuisse sinistrae suspicionis, nisi de oratione quadam, cui  
 25 in frontispicio praefixus est titulus, Didymi Fauentini. Stili nitorem ac sales obiter inspersos in causa fuisse vt quidam eam mihi assere- rent, sed leui duntaxat suspitione. Ea post ad me missa est. Ilico risi suspicionem hominum, cum eadem in calce prodat et cognomen verum auctoris, sed Graece. Quod etiam si non fuisset ascriptum,  
 30 tamen me nequaquam fefellisset auctor.

Quidam submonuit Consilium quoddam exisse Coloniae cuiusdam qui putarit rem sic esse componendam, vt et Pontifex auferret laudem clementiae et Lutherus obedientiae: nec defuisse qui suspi- carentur hoc a me profectum. Erat quidem istud exhibitum nobis,  
 35 cum ageret Caesar Coloniae, sed manu descriptum, nec adhuc aeditis libris qui plurimorum animos a Luthero alienarunt: ferebatur autem esse cuiusdam ex ordine Dominicalium. Et, vt ingenue dicam, mihi tum non displicuit. Quod si principibus magis placet seueritate rem conficere, precor vt hoc felicius sit quod illis magis aridet:  
 40 felicius, inquam, rei Christianae, non hominum quorundam rationi- bus, quibus ea cordi sunt quae sunt huius mundi. Vale, patrone incomparabilis. Antuuerpiae. xvii. Cal. Maias. ANNO M.D.XXI.

## 1200. TO WILLIAM FREDERICI.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 614.

HN: Lond. xvi. 18: LB. 571.

Louvain.

30 April 1521.

[I cannot definitely confirm the year-date; but from the position of this letter near the end of F, 1521 is likely. If it had been written in 1519, it would

33. et add. N.

11. Gratiarum . . . nodum] Cf. *Adag.* 1650, 'poetae tres fingunt . . . Gratias, humanitatis et beneuolentiae prae- sides'; and Cic. *Amic.* 14. 51, 'amabi- lissimum nodum amicitiae tollere'.

18. Tonstalli praeiudicium] Of this I can find no other trace.

22. eum] Capito; cf. Ep. 1195. 11.

24. oratione] ME. 103, by Melanch-

thon, with his name at the end in Greek: see Ep. 1167. 408n.

31. Consilium] See Ep. 1149 introd.

33. clementiae] Cf. Epp. 1183. 65-7, 1203. 22-3.

35. Coloniae] See pp. 370-1.

36. libris] See Ep. 1203. 25n.

37. Dominicalium] John Faber of Augsburg: see Ep. 1149 introd.

probably have appeared in E: in 1520 at this date Erasmus was in Antwerp (p. 235).

Of the youth of William Frederici († 3 Aug. 1527), the famous Pastor of St. Martin's at Groningen, little is known. He was doubtless a kinsman of John Frederici († p. 1484), curate of Zeerijp, from whom he inherited some books. For many years he was in Italy with Rud. Agricola, whom he heard lecture at Ferrara c. 1475-6; and he knew Agricola's family well (see Goswin of Halen's life of Agricola, Epp. 23. 57n, 839. 11n). By 1477 he was M.A. and D.M., and secretary to the town of Groningen, and in 1484-5 he became curate of St. Martin's church: see A. G. Roos, *Catalogus der Incunabelen* of Groningen Univ. Library, 1912, nos. 18, 34, 90, 139. For forty years he held a dominating position in the town, guiding its internal affairs, and by his eloquence playing the chief part in its diplomacy: see Ubbo Emmius' *Rerum Frisicarum Historia*, Leiden, 1616. He retired from his cure at St. Martin's in 1525 and passed his two remaining years in the house of his son (l. 1n) at Groningen.

In 1498 he began a history of Friesland, of which a ms. copy exists in the Archives at Groningen. See a life by W. Zuidema, 1888, and Ant. Matthaeus, *Vet. aevi Analecta*, iv (1738), pp. 527-8n. D. Gerdes, *Hist. Reformationis*, iii (1749), Monumenta pp. 3-5, prints some extracts from the *Lamentationes Petri* (Ep. 1236. 15on), which speak very highly of W. Frederici. He was a friend and patron of Gerard Lister; who sends greetings to him in dedicating his *Commentarioli* (Ep. 495 introd.) to Goswin of Halen, 13 Feb. 1520.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS GVILHELMO, PASTORI CIVITATIS

GRVNINGENSIS, S. D.

DE iuvene reuocato non est quod mihi gratias agas, vir egregie. Ob hoc officium nihil promereor laudis; sed impius eram futurus et Christianae charitatis immemor si, cum per occasionem liceret, puero non consulissem. Poculum inauratum tuo nomine reddidit vir longe candidissimi pectoris Gosuinus; nec potuit non esse gratissimum munus, quod ab optimo viro profectum per optimum redderetur: nisi quod vnum illud vereor, ne ille mei studio tibi vellicarit aurem, vt id faceres, cum mihi ne in somnis quidem vnquam tale quicquam in mentem venerit.

Ex eiusdem literis simul et oratione cognoui quanto studio isthic 10 omnia obeas munia, quibus olim fungebantur illi non titulo tantum

TTT. GVILHELMO F Corrig. (GVILIELMO N): PETRO F. H: GRVNINGENSI F. 2.  
officium om. H.

TTT. GVILHELMO] For other examples of inaccuracy in Christian names cf. p. 152.

1. iuvene] Eppendorff's note (App. 14, no. 7) enables him to be identified with Hieronymus Fridericus († 26 Aug. 1558), son of Wm. Frederici, who after studying at Freiburg at some time during 1520-2, became LL.D., it is not known where. He settled at Groningen, married and had children, and was 'Rentmeester' of the town; see Epp. 68, 69 in *Clarorum virorum Epistolae*, ed. S. A. Gabbema, 1669. Corn. Kempius, to whom he lent a document, inherited from his father, for the *De Origine Frisiae*, 1588, pp. 154, 157, praises him for his interest in antiquity; Reyner Praedinius, in a note on 1 Cor. 16. 15 (*Opera*, Basle, J. Oporinus, March 1563, p. 410) for the unsparing

generosity and unhesitating courage with which he 'ministered to the Saints', whether at home or from abroad. See Ant. Matthaeus, *Vet. aevi Analecta*, iv (1738), p. 528n, and W. Zuidema, *op. cit.*, pp. 122, 152. He is perhaps the *iuuenis* of Ep. 838. 7, 8.

On the present occasion Erasmus evidently had been able to help his friend by communicating with the young man, perhaps through Eppendorff, and securing his return home.

4. Poculum inauratum] This is enumerated in the list of Erasmus' property, 10 April 1534, as 'alius (cyathus), donum Guilhelmi quondam pastoris Phrysii': Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 71, f. 3, ed. L. Sieber, *Das Mobiliar des Erasmus*, 1891, p. 7.

5. Gosuinus] of Halen: see Ep. 839. 11n.

Episcopi. Praeluces omnibus integritate vitae, pascis assidue gregem  
 tuum Euangelica doctrina, ac tales asciscis tibi sacerdotes, qui morum  
 innocentia, qui sacra eruditione et ornet ecclesiam tuam et apud  
 15 populum tuas vices gerere possint; sic vt nihil opus sit hoc nouo  
 genere Praedicatorum, quos Christus non instituit, sed pastorum  
 oscitantia inuexit in mundum. Qui si vbique tui similes fuissent,  
 non iam orbis teneret lupum auribus, quem neque ferre potest nec  
 quomodo excutiat videt. Non te populus compotorem habet, sed  
 20 doctorem, sed consolatorem, sed hortatorem, sed admonitorem, sed  
 consultorem fidissimum et amantissimum experitur. Atque adeo  
 non deglubis gregem tuum, vt de tuo etiam largiter opituleris  
 egestate pressis; nec tibi congeris opes, sed ingenti studio properas  
 ad brabium illud immortalitatis, quod bona fide tibi redditurus est  
 25 summus ille pastor, princeps pastorum omnium, qui gratis animam  
 impendit ouibus suis. Quantumuis multas opes congesserit homo  
 in hac vita, tamen non potest non pauperrimus hinc exire, cui nihil  
 omnino rerum congestarum licet efferre. Ille demum diues exit  
 qui talibus rationibus abunde communitus exit. Rationes sunt  
 30 interim, sed bonae fidei est quicum nobis res est. Nec periculum  
 est si rationes in immensum accrescant; diues est in omnes a quo  
 praemium expectamus.

Mihi et illud arguit tuam pietatem, quod in sacrario bibliothecam  
 adornas, iis potissimum autoribus refertam quorum scripta spirant  
 35 Euangelicam charitatem: quales sunt Origenes, Chrysostomus,  
 Cyprianus, Ambrosius, Augustinus, Hieronymus. Ex horum lectione  
 sentimus nobis inflammari pectus ad amorem rerum coelestium, ad  
 contemptum eorum quorum caeca cupiditate susque deque miscentur  
 res mortalium, cum ab istorum quos scholae solennes nobis dederunt  
 40 lectione surgamus frigidi, nonnunquam et fide minus solida quam  
 attuleramus. Iam mensam tuam non solum commendat frugalitas,  
 sed condiunt etiam e sacris libris petitae fabulae, quae pascant  
 animos talium epularum famelicos. Proferunt in medium suum  
 quisque flosculum e pratis diuinorum voluminum decerptum; alius  
 45 eructat aliquid mellei succi, quem apiculae in morem per omnes  
 arcanae Scripturae flosculos obuolitans exuxit. Nec sinis tuam  
 mensam contaminari virulentis fabulis, quae liuorem et odium  
 sapiunt.

Quam vero grauiter imposuisti nuper silentium duobus qui se  
 50 iactant sacros Euangelii praecones, cum multa non minus impu-  
 denter quam amarulente coepissent euomere in Erasmus! Vt  
 pestilentem sermonem interrumperes, rogabas num legissent libros

33. bibliothecam] Frederici left his books to the church of St. Martin; whence they passed in 1624 to the University of Groningen. Eight of them are catalogued by Dr. A. G. Roos, *op. cit.*; who kindly informs me that the Library also possesses two of Frederici's books of later date, Eusebius' *Chronicon*, Paris, H. Stephanus and J. Badius, 13 June 1512, and Faber Stapulensis' *S. Pauli Epistolae* (see Ep.

304. 89n). Another is now in the Bodleian (A. 2. 9, 10 Th. Seld.): a *Biblia Rabbinica*, Venice, D. Bomberg, 27 Nov. 1518 (cf. Ep. 456. 92n), with an autograph inscription by Frederici saying that he had bought it unbound for 10 florins, 12 May 1520, 'sibi et posteris'. Dr. Roos suggests that it was sold out of the Library as a duplicate. 49. duobus] Laurentius (see Ep. 1166. 26n) was perhaps one of these.

meos; fassi sunt se nunquam legisse. Mox subiiciebas te demirari qua fronte sic deblaterarent in hominis doctrinam cuius libros non legissent. Vbi vero nec hac admonitione coerceretur illorum stoliditas, iam vino quoque facta petulantior, negabas tibi placere conuiuias qui talibus fabulis mensam tuam conspurcarent: aut sermonem mutarent aut mensam. Et isti sunt qui seditiose vociferantur apud populum in pastores, vt ipsi vocant, seculares: a quibus magis oportebat ipsos sobrietatis ac moderationis exemplum petere. 60

Faxit Christus optimus maximus vt tui similes existant vbique plurimi, quo vel mundus extraordinarium hoc ac vagum doctorum genus fastidiat, vel ipsi cogantur sese ad verae pietatis studium ab ocioso luxu et luxurioso ocio recipere. Bene vale.

Louanii prid. Cal. Mai. An. m.d.xxi.

65

## 1201. FROM BONIFACE AMERBACH.

Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 354.

(Basle.)

(May init. 1521.)

[An autograph rough-draft, on a small piece of paper: evidently unfinished, and, from the anacoluthon in ll. 3-4, not fully revised. It may be dated shortly after Boniface's return from Avignon at the beginning of May (cf. Epp. 1020. 54n, 1207. 29): no doubt earlier than Ep. 1207, since Alciati's request (l. 15n) was so urgent that Boniface would be likely to attend to it promptly.]

IAM vnus aut alter agitur annus, eruditorum decus Erasme, quo studiorum legalium causa Auenionam profectus nihil litterarum ad te dederim. Nunc domum reuersus, sic volentibus fati ob immanem pestilentiae luem, duplex sese offert ad te scribendi occasio. Quarum cum vtraque per sese iusta sit, vtramque oblatam mirum in modum gaudeo, dum tamen interim vnus aut alterius anni silentium excusauero, quod non tam magnorum tuorum studiorum causa, ne interpellare, quam nunciorum penuria factitatum est; interim tamen mea in te obseruancia et studio semper saluis atque in diem deuotioribus: id quod testari poterunt quibuscum ego vixi, et inprimis legalium studiorum nostre aetatis princeps, Andreas Alciatus. Is vt est tuorum studiorum et praeco et aestimator egregius, ita inculcata sua fide de meo in te studio testabitur.

Sed heus tu, inquis, quanam illae scribendi occasiones? A Francisco Caluo Papien(s) tibi anteactis annis epistola seu paraenesis 15

1200. 64. ocioso *F. Corrig.*: ocio *F.*

1201. 15. Caluus *MS.*

1201. 2. Auenionam] See Ep. 1020. 54n.  
11. Alciatus] See Ep. 1250.

15. Caluo] See Ep. 581. 30n. The occasion here referred to was probably his visit to Erasmus at Louvain c. 24 April 1518: see Epp. 831. 73, 114; 832. 29 seq.; 1002. 22-3.

epistola] *contra vitam monasticam, ad collegam olim suum (qui transierat ad Franciscanos), Bernardum Mattium*: elsewhere called *oratio* or *declamatio*. It had been composed before April 1518 (cf. l. 15n); and Alciati was now in

great fear that it might be either copied or printed, and so come to the notice of the Order. In Sept. 1520 he had begun urging Calvus to recover it from Erasmus (*M. Gudii Epistolae*, 1697, pp. 80-2). In the spring of 1521, while still at Avignon, Boniface wrote on his behalf to Beatus Rhenanus, very guardedly and without specifying this composition, asking him to stop the publication of anything by Alciati which Erasmus might send to Froben (Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 48). In Sept.

Alciati, nescio ad quem, exhibita est. Vna certe est quam ille idem Alciatus praeiit: a quo cum alias sepius viua voce, nunc litteris admoneor vt te exorem ne epistolam quandam tibi per Caluum traditam in alicuius manus exire sinas. Memi(ni)sti, credo, huius epistolae  
 20 vel paranesios nescio ad quem scripte: quam, vt sunt amicissimi, tum demum e bibliotheca sublectam rescuiit, postquam ad te perlatam Caluus dixisset.

## 1202. TO JODOCUS JONAS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 655.

HN: Lond. xvii. 18: LB. 572.

Louvain.

10 May 1521.

[Between the Diet of Worms and the publication of F: so that the year-date is correct. For the purpose of this letter cf. Ep. 876 introd.]

ERASMVS ROTEROD. IODOCO IONAE S. D.

Hic iam diu rumor est constans, Iona charissime, te Vuormaciae Martino Luthero continenter adfuisse: nec dubito quin tua pietas hoc egerit, quod ego fueram acturus, si contigisset adesse, vt haec tragoedia moderatis rationibus sic sopiretur, ne posthac posset maiore  
 5 cum orbis malo rursus erumpere. Quod equidem demiror non esse factum, quum ea res vehementer cordi fuerit optimis viris, qui, sicuti dignum est animis vere Christianis, cupiebant esse consultum Ecclesiae tranquillitati; quae nisi concordia sibi iungatur, Ecclesiae vocabulum amisit. Quid enim est aliud nostra religio quam pax in Spiritu  
 10 sancto? Porro Christi Ecclesiam, quoniam adhuc pisces bonos et malos eodem reti complectitur et zizania mixta tritico ferre cogitur, et olim magnis viciis laborasse testantur veteres orthodoxi; subinde deplorantes corruptissimos mores eorum ordinum vnde conueniebat ingenuae pietatis exempla proficisci. Porro quam Ecclesia Romana

1202. 14. Porro F: Tum H.

Boniface renewed the present endeavour for him; and Alciati was delighted to receive assurances that Erasmus had only shown the work to one friend (Basle MSS. G. II. 14. 49, 51, C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 163; Epp. 1250, 1261, 1278). In Dec. 1529 his anxiety revived, and he once more begged Boniface to persuade Erasmus to burn it (Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 54. 56); and so again in Feb. and March 1531 (Basle MS. G. II. 14. 87, 89). Erasmus looked through his papers without finding it, and concluded that he must have burnt it years ago (Q. 23, 49; and Lond. xxvi. 6, LB. 1177): news which, when conveyed by Boniface (Basle MSS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 54. 17 v<sup>o</sup>, 11; 73. 245), gave Alciati great relief. This he expressed in his final letter to Boniface on the subject, from Bourges 15 June 1531 (Basle MS. G. II. 14. 90): 'De Declamatione iam sum animo securo. Non tam me δειλὸς ὁ πλοῦτος, quod Erasmus iocatur, quam μοναχισμὸς seu θεολογισμὸς timere

iussit. Quid enim ab eis non formidandum?'

The document, however, had not perished. In 1695 it was printed at Leiden, with the title given above, by Ant. Matthaeus; to whom it had come through Peter Scriverius. From the numerous papers connected with Erasmus that Scriverius possessed (cf. vol. i, pp. 46, 575, 581, 598, and Ep. 913 introd.), it may reasonably be inferred that this too had come to him from Erasmus' collections; but perhaps not immediately, since the *epistola* as printed by Matthaeus has a date affixed, '7. Jun. 1553. spat. 4. dier.'—perhaps the date of copying. There is no reason to doubt Erasmus' good faith when he declared that he could not find it, and concluded that it had been destroyed.

See E. Costa in *Arch. Stor. Italiano*, xxxvi, 1905, pp. 120-2.

1202. 2. adfuisse] Cf. JE. 47, 48 and LE.<sup>2</sup> 442. 502 seq.



et olim degenerarit ab Euangelicae puritatis studio, vel Hieronymus 15  
satis arguit, qui eam ex Apocalypsi Babylonem appellat, vel diuus  
Bernardus in libris quibus titulum fecit De consideratione: quan-  
quam non defuerunt et ex recentioribus celebrati nominis autores  
qui publicam instaurationem ecclesiasticae disciplinae flagitarent.

Verum haud scio an vnquam Ecclesiae procures tanto studio tamque 20  
palam inhiauerint huius mundi commodis, quae Christus docuit oportere  
contemni, quam hodie videmus. Nec minus erant collapsa sacrae  
Scripturae studia quam mores. Diuinae literae seruire cogeantur  
humanis cupiditatibus, populi credulitas in quaestum paucorum ver-  
tebatur. Ad haec ingemiscebant pia mentes, quibus nihil est anti- 25  
quius Christi gloria. Eaque res effecit vt initio tantum vndique  
fauoris habuerit Lutherus quantum non arbitror seculis iam aliquot  
vlli mortalium contigisse. Siquidem, vt facile credimus quod vehe-  
menter optamus, existimabant exortum hominem qui, purus ab  
omnibus huius mundi affectibus, tantis malis remedium aliquod 30  
adferre posset. Nec ego prorsus desperabam, nisi quod statim ad  
primum gustum opusculorum quae Lutheri nomine prodire coepe-  
rant, plane verebar ne res exiret in tumultum ac publicum orbis  
dissidium. Itaque monui per literas tum Lutherum ipsum, tum  
amicos illius, quorum auctoritatem arbitrabar apud illum valituram; 35  
qui quid illi dederint consilii nescio, certe sic tractata res est vt peri-  
culum sit ne male tentatis remediis malum nobis conduplicetur.

Ac vehementer demiror, mi Iona, quis deus agitauerit pectus  
Lutheri, dum tanta calami licentia in Romanum Pont., in scholas  
omnes, in philosophiam, in ordines mendicantium inueheretur. Quod 40  
si vera fuissent omnia, id quod aiunt longe secus habere qui scripto-  
rum illius censuram agunt, prouocatis tam multis quis alius exitus  
expectari poterat quam hic quem videmus? Lutheri libros hactenus  
non vacauit legere, sed ex his quae degustavi, quaeque recitantibus  
aliis nonnunquam obiter hausi, quanquam de veritate sententiarum 45  
quas adferebat fortasse non erat meae mediocritatis pronunciare, certe  
modus et ratio negotii aggrediendi mihi neutiquam probabatur. Quum  
enim per se res sit amara plerisque veritas, quum per se seditiosa res  
sit longo vsu recepta conuellere, consultius erat rem suapte natura  
acerbam tractandi ciuilitate lenire quam odium odiis addere. 50

Quorsum igitur attinebat paradoxis agere, atque ita proponere quae-  
dam vt prima specie magis etiam offenderent quam propius ac fixius  
inspecta? Nam quaedam etiam obscuritate velut affectata molesta  
sunt. Quorsum attinebat tam atrocibus conuiciis saeuire in eos quos,  
si sanare cupiebat, imprudentiae, sin totius orbis malo prouocare, 55  
impietatitribuendum erat? Porro quum prudentis oeconomi sit  
dispensare veritatem, hoc est promere cum res postulat, et promere  
quod satis est, et cuique promere quod sit accommodum, ille tot  
libellis praecipitatis simul effudit omnia, nihil non euulgans, ac

21. huius mundi *F* Corrig.: huiusmodi *F*.

15. Hieronymus] *adu. Iovin.* 2. 38.  
17. Bernardus] Cf. *Ep.* 1142. 45n.  
De consideratione] There were  
many editions of this in xv<sup>c</sup>: the  
earliest at Utrecht, c. 1473 (Coping-

976).  
34. Lutherum] See *Ep.* 980.  
35. amicos] See *Ep.* 1143. 22n.  
57. dispensare veritatem] Cf. 11.  
126-8 and *Ep.* 1119. 40n.

60 cerdonibus etiam communia faciens quae solent inter eruditos ceu  
 μυστικά καὶ ἀπόρρητα tractari: ac frequenter impetu quodam immode-  
 rato, mea quidem sententia, fertur ultra iustum. Quod genus est,  
 quum satis esset admonuisse theologos, plus satis illos admiscere  
 philosophiae Peripateticae vel sophisticae magis, ille totam Aristotelis  
 65 philosophiam animi mortem appellat.

Habet Euangelicus ille Christi spiritus prudentiam suam, habet  
 ciuilitatem ac mansuetudinem suam. Sic ipse Christus Iudaeorum  
 affectibus semet attemperauit. Aliud loquitur turbis crassioribus,  
 aliud discipulis; quos et ipsos diu tolerans paulatim adducit ad intel-  
 70 ligitiam philosophiae coelestis. Hoc consilio iubet suis vt primum  
 poenitentiam praedicent et imminens regnum Dei, de Christo taceant.  
 Sic Petrus in Actis Apostolorum non contumeliosa sed miti et amanti  
 concione tantam multitudinem primitias addit Ecclesiae. Non voci-  
 feratur in eos qui Christum occiderant, non verbis atrocibus exagger-  
 75 rat illorum impiam insaniam, quum probabile sit in eo numero fuisse  
 qui Christum ad mortem impulissent. Sed velut illos subleuans, ait  
 hoc consilio diuino sic esse peractum: mox etiam sceleris impietatem  
 in ipsum seculum reiecit, 'Saluamini' inquit, 'a generatione ista  
 praua'. Non regerit in illos conuicium, a quibus dicti sunt esse  
 80 musto madidi, sed moderatis rationibus excusat: noui spiritus ener-  
 giam esse, non vini. Profert Iohelis testimonium, quod sciebat apud  
 illos plurimum habiturum ponderis. Ac nondum Christum pro-  
 nunciat Deum et hominem; hoc mysterium suo seruabat tempori.  
 Interim virum iustum appellat, Dominum ac Messyam pronunciat,  
 85 idque ex autoritate Dei, quem religiose colebant et illi, vt ex patre  
 cognito filio conciliaret fauorem. Ad haec quum ostenderet de  
 Christo non de Dauid dictum, quod illi de Dauid interpretantur,  
 sermonem offensurum praemitigans 'Viri' inquit, 'fratres, liceat  
 audenter dicere ad vos de patriarcha Dauid'.

90 Sic Paulus omnia fit omnibus, vt omnes Christo lucrifaciat, suos  
 instituens vt cum omni mansuetudine doceant, non alienantes quen-  
 quam morum et orationis asperitate, sed mansuetudine vincentes  
 etiam morosos et asperos. Quanta ciuilitate Christum praedicat  
 Atheniensibus, illorum vicia in seculum ipsum reiciens. 'Et tem-  
 95 pora quidem' inquit, 'huius ignorantiae despiciens Deus.' Ipsos  
 honesto gratoque prologo 'viros Athenienses' appellat. Nec saeuus  
 verbis exagitat impium cultum daemoniorum, sed oratione ciuili  
 superstitionis illos insinuat qui plus colerent quam oporteret. Ti-  
 tulum arae forte conspectum torquet in argumentum fidei, demutatis  
 100 etiam et amputatis verbis aliquot: nec adhuc Christum aliud appellat  
 quam virum, per quem Deus statuisset conferre salutem vniuerso  
 mortalium generi; nec apud hos profert prophetarum testimonia

## 84. Messiam N.

64. Aristotelis] Cf. 'carnifex illa  
 conscientiarum thelogistria'; in *Re-  
 sol. super propos. suis Lipsiae disputatis*,  
 1519, Weimar ed. ii. 401, 20.

78. Saluamini] Acts 2. 40.

80. madidi] Cf. Acts 2. 13, 15.

energiam] See Ep. 1334. 109n.

81. Iohelis] 2. 28-32, *ap.* Acts 2. 17-20.

84. virum iustum] Acts 3. 14.

88. Viri . . . fratres] Acts 2. 29.

90. Paulus] 1 Cor. 9. 22.

94. Et tempora] Acts 17. 30.

96. Athenienses] Acts 17. 22.

101. virum] Acts 17. 31.

minimum habitura ponderis, sed Arati testimonio cum illis agit. Quanta cum vrbanitate causam suam apud Festum agit et Agrippam!

Sic Augustinus refellit furiosos Donatistas et plusquam insanos 105 Manichaeos, vt et citra rei meritum saeuat, et charitatis dulcedinem vbique admisceat, salutem illorum sitiens, non exitium. Haec docendi mansuetudo, haec dispensandi sermonis diuini prudentia cepit orbem et, quod nulla vnquam arma, nulla philosophiae subtilitas, nulla rhetorum eloquentia, nulla vis aut ars potuit humana, sub Christi 110 iugum misit. Quo magis nos oportet, si prodesse cupimus, ab omnibus conuiciis temperare, praesertim si aduersus quos agimus publica praemineant autoritate. Paulus honorem deferri vult magistratibus, etiam ethnicis; et veluti *παλιπδεῖ* quod Mosaico palamque scelerato Pontifici maledixisset. Vult seruos Christo initiatos religiosius etiam 115 obsequi dominis ethnicis quam antea fecerant; vult vxores a professione Christi, magis etiam esse mōrigeras maritis impiis, non ob aliud nisi vt commoditate morum pellicerent omnes ad amorem Euangelicae doctrinae. Cui pia mens est, vtique nihil aliud quam prodesse studet, aut tacens si nulla spes sit profectus, aut ita promens ac dispensans 120 veritatem ne pro remedio morbi vim exasperet.

Brutus indignatur Ciceroni, qui suis concionibus et scriptis irritaret eos quos irritatos non posset opprimere. Platoni non displicet fucus ac dissimulatio in philosopho rei publicae moderatore, modo technis in populi bonum abutatur. A Christiano, fateor, decet 125 omnem abesse fucum; sed tamen incidit aliquando tempus quum recte tacetur veritas, et vbique magni refert quo tempore, apud quos, et quibus modis ea promatur. Medici fideles non statim ad extrema remedia decurrunt. Prius aegrotum corpus leuioribus pharmacis praeparant; atque ita dosin temperant vt sanent, non obruant. Nec 130 istos audio qui aiunt grauiorem esse morbum huius seculi quam vt leuibis remediis sanari queat. Praestat malum iuxta Graecum prouerbum sinere vt est, quam non dextris remediis exagitari.

Neque vero nego nonnunquam Deum bellis, pestilentiis, afflictionibus emendare suum gregem; non est tamen piorum inferre bellum 135 aut afflictionem impiam, si Deus aliquando malum alienorum vertit in bonum suorum. Crux Christi salutem attulit mundo, et tamen execramur eos qui illum ad crucem adegerunt. Mors martyrū illustrauit pariter et confirmauit Ecclesiam Dei; tamen damnata est eorum impietas per quos hoc bonum nobis contigit. Multi minus 140 essent mali, si diuitiis essent spoliati. Non tamen est probi viri quenquam spoliare suis, quo illum reddat meliorem. Porro quum omnis nouitas pariat tumultum, etiamsi quis vocet ad meliora, si quid dissidebat a receptis, erat ea specie proponendum vt quam minimum dissidere videretur. 145

At aiunt Lutherum aliquoties, quum eadem doceat quae caeteri,

120. promens *F*, vt in *vv.* 57-8, 128: premens *H*.

146. At *H*: Ad *F*.

103. Arati] *Phaen.* 5, ap. Acts 17. 28.

113. Paulus] Rom. 13. 1, Tit. 3. 1.

115. maledixisset] Acts 23. 2-5.

seruos] Eph. 6. 5, Col. 3. 22, 1 Tim. 6. 1, Tit. 2. 9-10.

116. vxores] 1 Cor. 7. 13-16.

122. Brutus] See Cic. *ad Brut.* 1. 17. 1.

123. Platoni] Cf. Ep. 1195. 116-17.

127. recte tacetur] Cf. Ep. 1119. 40n.

132. prouerbum] Cf. *Adag.* 62.

tamen verbis ipsis, vt videtur, conari vt diuersissima videatur ad-  
ferre. Iam vt sunt hominum mores ad peiora procliues, sic erat  
medendum horum vitiis, vt aliis non praebetur ansa licentius pec-  
150 candi. Paulus sic praedicat libertatem Euangelicam aduersus pernicio-  
sam legis seruitutem vt addat, 'tantum ne libertatem <in> occasionem  
detis carni'. Sic dehortatur a frigidis operibus legis vt incessanter  
adhortetur ad opera charitatis. Fortassis erant qui simplici studio  
fauebant ad meliora vocandis ordinibus ac proceribus Ecclesiae. Sed  
155 haud scio an sint qui per hanc occasionem inhient opibus ecclesiasti-  
corum: qua re nihil arbitror sceleratius ac publicae tranquillitati  
perniciosius. Etenim si ideo fas arbitrantur inuadere facultates  
sacerdotum, quod quidam suis ad luxum aut alioqui ad res parum  
honestas abutuntur, nec ciuibus nec magnatibus aliquot erit satis  
160 firma rerum suarum possessio. Belle vero consultum rebus humanis,  
si impie tollatur a sacerdotibus quo peius abutantur homines mili-  
tares; qui sic sua profundunt, nonnunquam et aliena, vt nulli mor-  
talium sint vsui.

Ne ipsos quidem audio, mi Iona, qui dicunt Lutherum aduersario-  
165 rum intolerabili procacitate prouocatum non potuisse tenere Christia-  
nam modestiam. Quomodocunque sese gerebant alii, qui talem susce-  
perat personam, debebat omnibus neglectis sibi constare. Denique  
erat ante prospiciendus exitus, quam sese in puteum hunc demitteret,  
ne contingeret quod in Apologis accidit capro. Etiam in piis rebus  
170 stultum est aggredi quod non possis absoluere; praesertim si conatus  
parum felix pro captatis commodis summa adfert incommoda. Vide-  
mus rem in eum deductam locum, vt ego sane nullum videam bonum  
exitum, nisi Christus arte sua temeritatem quorundam vertat in  
bonum publicum.

175 Excusant illum quidam quod alieno impulsu coactus primum  
scripserit atrocius, deinde non commiserit sese clementissimi Leonis  
iudicio, et Caroli Caesaris longe optimi mansuetissimique Principis  
fidei. At cur illi magis libuit istis auscultare quam aliis amicis, nec  
indoctis nec rerum imperitis, ad diuersa vocantibus? Iam plerique  
180 qui illi fauebant, cuiusmodi, quaeso, praesidiis illum tueri conaban-  
tur? ridiculis libellis ac minis inanibus. Quasi vero istiusmodi nugae  
aut terreant aduersarios aut delectent bonos viros, ad quorum iudicium  
negocium omne fuerat attemperandum, si modo voluissent suae fabu-  
lae felicem esse catastrophem. Nunc quantum malorum agmen haec  
185 temeritas dedit, bonarum literarum studia ac multos bonos viros non  
mediocri degrauat inuidia, qui initio parum erant iniqui Luthero, vel  
quod sperarent rem secus ab illo tractandam, vel ob hostes forte com-  
munes. Accidit enim nescio quo casu vt qui initio negocium facesse-  
bant Luthero, hostes essent bonarum literarum, et ob id harum  
190 cultores minus iniqui erant Luthero, ne adiutis aduersariorum parti-  
bus hostium vires aduersum sese confirmarent. Tametsi vtcunque  
res habet, priorem oportuit esse curam religionis quam studiorum.

Atque hic, mi Iona, coactus sum aliquoties desiderare specimen  
Euangelici pectoris, quum viderem Lutherum, sed magis huius

147. vt videtur F: id videri H.

180. qui illi F: illi qui H.

150. Paulus] Gal. 5. 13.

169. capro] Cf. Ep. 1186. 12.

fautores, hoc arte quadam affectare, vt alios inuoluerent odioso ac 195  
periculoso negotio. Quid enim attinebat Capnionem satis hactenus  
oneratum grauiore onerare inuidia? Quid opus erat mei nominis  
toties inuidiosam facere mentionem, quum res id nequaquam flagi-  
taret? Admonueram Lutherum priuatis et obsignatis literis; mox  
Lypsiæ sunt excusae. Admonueram Card. Moguntinum obsignatis 200  
literis, ne temere Lutherum, cuius adhuc causa plerisque bonis erat  
plausibilis, quorundam libidini dederet. Euulgata est formis ante-  
quam reddita. Bilibaldus suis ad me literis queritur epistolas quas-  
dam circumferri excusas, quas nemo vnquam illi reddidit. In his  
hortantur eum vt persistat in eo quod coeperat, quo scilicet volentem 205  
nolentem pertrahant in huius factionis consortium.

E meis libris, quos scripsi priusquam somniarem exoriturum  
Lutherum, odiosa quaedam decerpserunt et in Germanicam versa  
linguam publicarunt, quae viderentur affinia quibusdam Lutheri  
dogmatis. Et amici videri volunt qui haec faciunt, quum capitalis 210  
inimicus nihil possit hostilius. Non erat tantundem ad laedendum  
ingenii iis qui mihi pessime volebant. Hoc telum illi porrexerunt  
inimicis meis, vt iam in publicis concionibus praedicent quae mihi  
congruant cum Luthero. Quasi vero veritati non sit vtrunque affinis  
falsitas, si praetergrediare lineam. Ego fortasse alicubi moneo non 215  
esse temere suscipienda vota, nec probo istos qui domi relicta vxore  
et liberis quorum et vitae et pudicitiae consultum oportuit, currunt  
ad diuum Iacobum aut Hierosolymam, vbi nihil erat illis negotii.  
Moneo iuuenes non esse pelliciendos ad vincula religionis priusquam  
sibi noti sint et norint quid sit religio. Lutherus, vt aiunt, in totum 220  
damnat omnia vota. Alicubi queror onus confessionis quorundam  
laqueis aggrauatum. Lutherus, vt aiunt, docet reiiciendam omnem  
confessionem, vt perniciosam. Alicubi docui primum optimos autores

202. Euulgate sunt . . . 203. redditae *F* Corrig.

205. hortatur *H*.

199. Lutherum] See Epp. 948, 980.

200. Moguntinum] See Ep. 1033.

203. literis] Not extant.

epistolas] The reference is perhaps to a letter from Andr. Francus Camicizianus to Pirckheimer, 17 Sept. 1520 (HE. 195 = P. p. 329), which is the preface to the *Duae Epistole* of Stromer and Gregory Copp, Leipzig, M. Lotther, 1520 (see Ep. 986. 14n). Böcking compares P. p. 405 = HE. 277, § 1 (? 1520-1). Francus' letter, though it contains no direct exhortation, assumes Pirckheimer's sympathy with the movement for reform.

209. publicarunt] A German translation of the *Enchiridion* by Jo. Adelphus had just appeared, Basle, A. Petri, 1520; cf. VE. 182. The new preface (Ep. 858) had also been translated by Spalatinus, and may have been in print by now.

218. diuum Iacobum] Santiago de Compostella: for the pilgrimage

thither see the *Wallfahrtsbuch* of Herm. König von Vach, ed. K. Häbler, 1899. Cf. *Enchiridion*, LB. v. 63 F, and Epp. 858. 410, 875. 14-15.

219. Moneo] Cf. Ep. 1183. 122n.

220. sibi noti] Cf. Ep. 999. 164n.

220, 222, 225. Lutherus] Erasmus evidently is quoting not Luther's writings directly, but the *Determinatio theologiae Facultatis Parisien. super doctrina Lutheriana hactenus per eam visa* (cf. Ep. 1141. 19n); which was delivered 15 April 1521, and printed by Badius, no doubt at once. It condemns a number of propositions drawn from Luther's works; those on vows and Dionysius being cited from the *Capt. Babylonica*, those on confession and the Aristotelian philosophy (l. 64n) from writings not specified.

221. queror] *Annot.* on Matt. 11. 30: added in 1519, p. 44.

223. docui] The reference is perhaps to *Annot.* on Acts 17. 34.

legendos, addens ex Dionysii libris non tantundem fructus percipi  
 225 quantum tituli videantur polliceri. Lutherus hominem ineptum  
 vocat, vt accipio, et omnino lectu indignum.

Bella vero congruentia, si quod ego per occasionem vere dixi ac  
 moderate, alius deprauet, vltra septa transiliens. Iniquissimis autem  
 legibus mecum agetur si praestare cogar ne quis in posterum etiam  
 230 scriptis meis abutatur: quae felicitas ne Paulo quidem Apostolo  
 contigit, si huius collegae Petro credimus. Quanquam, vt ingenue  
 dicam, si praescissem huiusmodi seculum exoriturum, aut non scri-  
 psissem quaedam quae scripsi, aut aliter scripsissem. Sic enim pro-  
 desse cupimus omnibus vt, si fieri possit, neminem laedamus. Spar-  
 235 guntur libelli coniuratorum, in quibus pingitur et Erasmus. Mihi  
 vero nullum nomen inuisius quam coniurationis aut schismatis aut  
 factionis.

Tota haec qualis qualis est fabula me dehortante coepta est, certe  
 modum constanter improbante. Meae literae nulli factioni seruierunt  
 240 vnquam, quam Christi, qui communis est omnium. Quid hoc ingenio,  
 quid his literis valeam nescio; certe conatus sum et cupio prodesse  
 non modo Germanis, sed Gallis, Hispanis, Britannis, Bohemis, Ru-  
 tenis, atque adeo Turcis quoque ac Sarracenis, si queam. Tantum  
 abest vt factioni tam periculosae me voluerim vnquam admiscere.  
 245 Atque interim prudentiam etiam desidero in his qui huiusmodi  
 technis quenquam allici posse credunt in castra sua. Si quem corda-  
 tum virum alienare vellent, qua ratione id potius facerent? Satis  
 autem declarant σκίσην esse, quod aiunt, ἐπικουρίαν, quum in re tam  
 periculosa talibus fidunt praesidiis. Ac misere vereor ne res haec  
 250 apud reliquas nationes ingens dedecus adferat nostrae Germaniae,  
 quemadmodum vulgus hominum solet paucorum stulticiam vniuersae  
 nationi imputare.

Tot igitur atrocibus libellis, tot fumis, tot formidabilibus minis et  
 ampullis, quaeso, quid aliud actum est nisi vt quod ante disputa-  
 255 batur in scholis velut opinio probabilis, posthac sit articulus fidei, et  
 iam vel Euangelium parum tutum sit docere, dum exulceratis omni-  
 bus nihil non rapitur ad calumniam? Poterat Lutherus magno cum  
 fructu Christiani gregis tradere philosophiam Euangelicam, poterat  
 aedendis libris prodesse mundo, si ab his temperasset quae non pote-  
 260 rant non exire in tumultum. Meis quoque lucubrationibus bonam  
 captati fructus partem detraxit. Ne disputationes quidem in scholis  
 liberae sunt, quae solent esse liberrimae. Si fas esset odisse quen-  
 quam ob priuatas offensas, neminem magis laeserunt Lutherani  
 quam me. Et tamen optarim illo saluo hoc longe perniciosissimum  
 265 dissidium componi, et iis rationibus componi, ne post grauiore cum  
 periculo erumpat, quemadmodum solent male curata vlcera.

Dices mihi, charissime Iona, quorsum mihi texit istam iam seram  
 querelam? Primum ob hoc, vt quanquam res longius progressa est  
 quam oportuit, tamen etiamnum aduigiletur si quo modo tantus

224. Dionysii] Cf. Ep. 1225. 235-7.

230. Paulo] Cf. 2 Peter 3. 15, 16.

235. et Erasmus] As in *Ex obscurorum  
 virorum salibus cribratus dialogus*: Eov. I,  
 pp. 301-16. Cf. also Ep. 1459n.

242. Rutenis] See Ep. 1177. 13n.

243. Turcis] Cf. Ep. 1041. 28n.

248. σκίσην] Cf. *Adag.* 685.

250. nostrae Germaniae] Cf. Ep.  
 1111. 81n.

tumultus sopiri queat. Habemus Pontificem suapte natura clemen- 270  
tissimum, habemus Caesarem miti placabilique praeditum ingenio.  
Id si fieri non potest, nolim vt tu te huic negotio admisceas. Amaui  
semper in te praeclaras Christi dotes: quo magis cupio te seruari  
negotio Euangelico. Quo magis amabam Huttenici venam ingenii,  
hoc magis doleo nobis ereptum per hos tumultus. Quis autem non 275  
exerucietur animo si Philippus Melanchthon, iuuenis tot eximiis  
dotibus instructus, per hanc tempestatem publicis eruditorum votis  
adimeretur? Quod si quaedam offendunt in his quorum arbitrio res  
humanae temperantur, censeo suo Domino relinquendos. Si aequa  
praescribunt, par est parere: sin iniqua, sanctum est tolerare, ne 280  
quid deterius accadat. Si seculum hoc totum Christum non fert, est  
tamen aliquid eum quatenus licet praedicare.

Haec quae tecum nunc ago, mi Iona, velim agas cum Philippo,  
aut si qui sint alii Philippo similes. Ante omnia censeo vitandum  
esse dissidium nulli bono non perniciosum. Et ita sancta quadam 285  
vafricie tempori seruiendum, ne tamen prodatur thesaurus Euangelicae  
veritatis, vnde corrupti mores publici possent restitui. Fortasse  
rogabit aliquis num alio sim animo in Lutherum quam fuerim olim.  
Imo eodem sum animo. Semper optavi vt mutatis quibusdam quae  
mihi displicebant, pure tractaret Euangelicam philosophiam, a qua 290  
nostri seculi mores heu nimium degenerarunt. Semper correctum  
malui quam oppressum. Optabam illum sic tractare Christi nego-  
cium vt Ecclesiae proceribus aut probaretur, aut certe non reprobare-  
tur. Sic amari cupiebam Lutherum vt palam ac tuto posset amari.  
Nec alio sum animo in meos rabulas quam in illum. Si tam pie 295  
praedicarint Christum quam impie sunt in me debacchati, obliuiscar  
quae patrarunt in me, et exosculabor studium in Christum. Non  
odero blaterones, si coeperint esse Christi praecones. Bene vale.

Louanii vi. Id. Maias. Anno. m.d.xxi.

### 1203. To LOUIS BER.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 662.  
HN: Lond. xvii. 20: LB. 573.

Louvain.  
14 May 1521.

[As this letter was printed in F, there can be no doubt as to the year-date. On 15 July Zasius, who was at the baths of Suggenthal, 6 ms. NE. of Freiburg, had heard of the letter, and wrote to Boniface Amerbach that in consequence of it Erasmus 'a nostris, nempe hactenus Erasmicissimis, male audit: quod abominor' (ZE. 29). By the end of September it had been seen at Wittenberg (ME. 135): evidently in a ms. copy, for F was not yet completed (cf. Ep. 1206 introd.). It is perhaps also the letter from Louvain in May (reading *ad Berum* for *ad Beatum*), in which Erasmus 'de Luthero, quid velit et quid sentiat, totus erumpit. Sentit autem Luthero non licuisse vt ius pontificium incendio perderet aut Captiuitatem Babylonicam emitteret': see VE. 268, John Faber to Vadianus, from Constance, 24 July 1521.]

292. malui *F* *Corrig.*: malim *F*.

274. Huttenici] Cf. Ep. 1119. 33n.  
276. Melanchthon] This sentiment  
underlies Ep. 1113.

286. vafricie] Cf. Ep. 111. 44n.  
295. meos rabulas] His foes among  
the friars.

ABSOLVTISSIMO THEOLOGO D. LODOVICO BERO, BASILEAE APVD  
COLLEGIVM DIVI PETRI PRAEPOSITO, PATRONO ET AMICO  
INCOMPARABILI, ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS S. D.

ERVDTISSIME vir, belle nobis consuluit Lutherus, qui furiosis quibusdam bonarum literarum osoribus optatissimum telum porrexit, quo saeuiant in capita bonorum virorum qui simplici animo fauebant Euangelicae doctrinae, et in optimas literas. Aut ego plane  
5 fallor, aut ille fabulam optimam non optime agit hactenus. Egregius vindex Euangelicae libertatis: quam ita tentauit, vt verear ne pro simplici iugo geminum sit nobis ferendum, ac nobis vsu veniat quod solet iis quibus, dum parum dextre conantur effringere carcerem, duplicantur compedes, quique pharmaco parum commode adhibito  
10 morbum exasperant. Atque ipse quidem fortassis in tuto est; at tanto atrocius hae phanaticae beluae ac deuoti hostes melioris eruditionis saeuunt hic in optimum quemque. Putant enim ad Lutheri factionem pertinere quicumque fauerit Euangelicae philosophiae aut politiori literaturae. Me in omnibus concionibus, in conuiujs, in  
15 colloquijs sic lapidant conuicijs, vt nec ipsi Stephano cessurus videar. Ille semel obrutus finem malorum inuenit. Ego sine fine lapidorum a tot examinibus rabularum, interim tamen bene merens de ipsis.

Res acerbitate Lutheranorum et stoliditate quorundam qui sedulo magis quam prudenter huic malo mederi conantur, in eum locum  
20 deducta est vt ego sane nullum videam exitum nisi res humanae magno tumultu misceantur. Quis cacodaemon hoc pessimum semen miscuit rebus mortalium? Adnixus sum, cum essem Coloniae, vt Lutherus auferret laudem obedientiae, Pontifex clementiae: et placebat regibus quibusdam consilium. Et ecce incendium Decretalium,  
25 Captiuitas Babylonica, Assertiones illae nimium fortes reddiderunt malum, vt videtur, immedicabile. Sic mihi videtur agere Lutherus quasi seruari nolit. Rursus adeo stolide quidam gerunt rem apud populum, quasi cum Luthero colludant et in causa Pontificis praeuaricentur. Quod vnum superest, mi Bero, precor vt Christus Opt.  
30 Max. omnia vertat in bonum; solus enim ille potest.

Iampridem isthuc ituriebam, sed erant et sunt quae me adhuc remorantur. Spero me adfuturum autumnio proximo. Interim Christus seruet te cum tuis omnibus incolumem.

Loua. prid. Id. Maias. An. M.D.XXI.

TIT. ABSOLVTISSIMO THEOLOGO FN<sup>3</sup>: om. N<sup>2</sup>. D. om. H. FN<sup>3</sup>: LVDOVICO N<sup>2</sup>.  
PATRONO . . . INCOMPARABILI FN<sup>3</sup>: om. N<sup>2</sup>.

10. in tuto] Luther had been carried off to the Wartburg on 4 May. On 15 May Duke Frederick of Saxony was willing to swear to ignorance of his fate. See Creighton v. 156. Cf. also Ep. 1221. 36n.

22. Coloniae] See pp. 370-1.

23. clementiae] Cf. Ep. 1183. 65-7.

24. consilium] See Ep. 1149 introd. incendium Decretalium] Luther burnt copies of the books of Canon Law together with the Bull, 10 Dec. 1520; see LE<sup>2</sup>. 374-5.

25. Captiuitas] See Ep. 1153. 146n;

and, for the effect that it produced upon moderate opinion, Ep. 1186. 6. Fisher replied to this and the *Assertio* together in *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio*, Antwerp, M. Hillen, 2 Jan. 1523.

Assertiones] *Assertio omnium articulorum M. Lutheri per Bullam Leonis X nouissimam damnatorum*, Wittenberg, (M. Lotter), 1520; with preface dated 1 Dec. 1520 (LE<sup>2</sup>. 369). Cf. Epp. 1195. 63-64nn, 1263. 5.

31. ituriebam] Cf. Epp. 1078. 62n, 1189. 1n.

32. autumnio] See p. 598.



## 1204. TO ADRIAN BARLAND.

Adagiorum Epitome tit. v<sup>o</sup>.

〈Louvain.〉

〈May ? 1521.〉

[Printed by Barland in his *In omnes Erasmi Roterodami Adagiorum Chiliadas Epitome, ad commodiorem usum studiosorum utriusque linguae conscripta*, Louvain, Th. Martens, June 1521 (cf. Ep. 1005 introd.): made from the Froben *Adagia* of Oct. 1520. The advantages of an epitome of the great volume are clearly set forth here by Erasmus himself. Barland's was reprinted several times; and within a few years others were produced by John Brucherius and John Maurus, besides many later (see BE<sup>2</sup>). The value attached to them may be illustrated from a letter of Vives to Henry VIII, from Bruges, 13 July 1527: 'Epitomen Adagiorum Erasmi, quam dixi tibi me Londini venalem non inuenisse, hic emptam maiestati tuae mitto: propterea quod opus hoc refertum ex vniuerso litterarum viridario collectis flosculis magnopere oblectare animum tuum poterit, fessum grauiorum scriptorum lectione' (Record Office, S. P. Henry VIII, xlii, f. 200: Brewer iv. 326r).

For earlier work by Barland upon the *Adagia* see Ep. 646. Only a conjectural date is possible for this preface.]

ERASMVS ROT. HADRIANO BARLANDO SVO S. D.

NAE tu dignus es, optime Barlande, cui iuuentus omnis impense faueat, qui semper industria tua moliaris aliquid quod bonis studiis conducat potius quam rei aut famae tuae, malisque frugiferis argumentis adolescentiae commodis consulere quam splendidis gloriae tuae. Nimirum iste est animus vere excelsus vereque Christianus, 5 gratis nulloque autoramento benemereri non solum de patria, quae, vt recte scripsit Plato, iure sibi nostri partem vindicat, sed de vniuerso genere mortalium. Laboris tui gustus mihi maiorem in modum placuit. Nec minus officii nobis praestas quam Liuius praestitit Florus, si tamen ego sum Liuius conferendus. Chiliadum nostrarum volumen 10 maius erat quam vt vel emi posset a tenuibus vel praelegi in ludis litterariis vel circumferri ab iis qui crebris itineribus motoriam agunt fabulam. Nunc tua Epitome minimo venalis et a quamlibet etiam tenuibus parari poterit, et in scholis puerorum manibus teri, et iter agentibus minimum addet sarcinae. Porro qui praelegent tuum 15 compendium, his nostrum opus vice commentariorum esse poterit. Illud admonebo, quod non dubito quin tu tua sponte curaris, primum vt aptissima recenseas potius quam omnia, deinde vt si quid inciderit obscenius (sunt enim pleraque proueria a moribus hominum sumpta), aut omittas aut ita tractes ne qua lues illinc manet ad teneram aeta- 20 tem: quam sic cupimus imbui bonis litteris vt nolimus eam infici malis moribus. Sunt autem quaedam vicia eius generis vt in his bona pars innocentiae sit ignorasse.

Si forte nosse cupis quid nunc nostrae Musae moliantur, quandoquidem omnino cessare nesciunt, in hoc incumbimus, vt omnes diui 25 Augustini libros emendatiores ac scholiis illustratos demus in vulgus, annotatis, non amputatis, iis quae illi falso tribuuntur. Atque in opere tam vasto cogimur eruditorum auxiliis vt, sed ita vt nulli sua laudis portio sit peritura. Nos enim hic vel fraudari malumus quam πλεονεκτείν. Sunt qui putent omnes huius viri libros haberi pulchre 30 castigatos. At ego nunquam crediturus eram tantum inesse prodigiosarum mendarum quantum comperio, partim relegens attentius, partim conferens cum vetustis exemplaribus. Bene vale.

26. Augustini] See Epp. 1144. 71n, 1212. 43-4.

## 1205. TO WILLIAM WARHAM.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 546.  
HN: Lond. xiv. 19: LB. 574.

Antwerp.  
24 May 1521.

[I cannot definitely establish the year-date from the contents; though the payment of Erasmus' Imperial pension points to 1521, when the Court had returned from Spain. But the verbal resemblances with other letters of this period, especially Ep. 1228, give ample corroboration. Brewer (iii. 260) corrects to 1519; but the entire difference of matter from Epp. 973, 4, with which he groups this, is conclusive against the change. Also this would naturally have appeared, like those letters, in E, if it had been written in 1519.

Of this visit to Antwerp I find no other indication.]

R. GVILHELMO ARCHIEPISCOPO CANTVARIEN., TOTIVS ANGLIAE  
PRIMATI, ERASMVS S. D.

De animo in me tuo diligenter mihi scripsit Zacharias Phrysius, quondam famulus ac discipulus meus, nunc cliens tuae celsitudinis, iuuenis probus ac fidus, planeque dignus quem tua benignitas ad maiora prouehat. Ab Italo tandem extorsimus pecuniam, nec sine  
5 negotio nec sine dispendio. Noluit aurum dare, sed stuferos, eosque vix dedit, ac plerosque monetae improbatae. Summam decimauit, pro centum florenis nostratibus dedit nonaginta, pro quinquaginta quadraginta quinque. Sic mihi deciduntur quindecim floreni. Non  
10 est negociator sed conciliator: quo genere hominum non aliud sceleratius. Ipse nunc laborat scabie Gallica sub malo medico non sine vitae periculo. Vicarius illius eodem tenetur morbo, tum animi tum corporis. Cum mala scabie mihi res fuit. Sed tamen per amicos auulsi pecuniae partem. Tuae prudentiae fuerit posthac dispicere quibus committat pecuniam; nam haec fuit pessime collocata.  
15 Primus ille aestus nos validissima febri affecit, sed semel duntaxat. Nec adhuc vacauit egrotare aut medicis vti; ita dstringor necessariis

TIT. R. om. H.

GVILHELMO add. H.

1. Zacharias] Deiotarus († c. 1532) of Friesland; a distich by whom, as 'Zach. Diotorus Phrisius', appears at the end of Wm. Horman's *Vulgaria*, London, R. Pynson, 1519. If he had already settled in England by that date, it is not impossible that he should be identified with the John of Friesland who left Erasmus in Sept. 1517 to seek his fortune in England (cf. Ep. 637. 13n). Zacharias was now in Warham's service; and the rest of his life seems to have been spent in England, where he came into contact with many of Erasmus' notable friends (cf. Epp. 1366, 1490, 1491).

Though not in affluent circumstances, he regularly received into his house the servants whom Erasmus sent over

as messengers. His letters (Ep. 1694, EE. 115, 152) show him as a devoted and loyal admirer of Erasmus; whom he was always delighted to serve. He is mentioned in a letter of 16 March 1532 (Basle MS. Scheti Epist., f. 39) as having recently forwarded money to Erasmus. By April 1533 he was dead; see Lond. xxvii. 16, LB. 1247, and VZE. 44.

4. Italo] Perhaps Maruffo (Ep. 387. 2n) or Vivaldis (Ep. 465. 8n): the money being no doubt Erasmus' pension from Aldington (see Ep. 255 introd.).

9. conciliator] sc. leno: cf. Vop. *Carin.* 16. 5.

15. aestus] Cf. Ep. 1114. 14n.

16. dstringor] Cf. Ep. 1228. 47.

laboribus. Aula Caesarea soluit primam pensionem pro sex mensibus exactis. Hoc laetum est auspiciū; siquidem ingens fauoris argumentum est, cum haec dat aliquid preter verba. Nec desunt qui faueant in aula; sed prestat agere quod ago. Et valetudo fit in dies 20 imbecillior, etiamsi animo nihil decedit.

Ingentes turbas excitauit Lutherus; nec video finem, nisi Christus nostram temeritatem ita vertat, quemadmodum noctua solet Atheniensium stulta consilia bene fortunare. Vellem Lutherus aut tacuisset quaedam aut aliter scripsisset. Nunc vereor ne sic vitemus 25 hanc Scyllam ut incidamus in Charybdim multo perniciosiorem. Si istis qui ventris ac tyrannidis suae causa nihil non audent, res succedit, nihil superest nisi ut scribam epitaphium Christo nunquam reuicturo. Actum est de scintilla charitatis Euangelicae, actum de stellula lucis Euangelicae, actum de vena coelestis doctrinae: adeo 30 turpiter isti adulantur principibus et iis vnde spes est commodi, cum summa iniuria Christianae veritatis. Ego sic rem omnem tempero ut neque desim omnino bonis literis et gloriae Christi, neque me seditionibus admisceam. Affulget aliquid bonae spei ab aequitate Leonis nostri, fore ut ille Christi gloriam habeat sua potiore, vel 35 potius ut intelligat se tum demum fore Pontificem gloriosum, si nihil non conferat ad illius vnus gloriam.

Quod tam sollicite metuis ne quid mihi desit, agnosco paternum quendam tuum in me affectum. Sed non facile premitur egestate qui didicit paruo contentus esse. Quanquam nunc satrapes quispiam 40 mihi videor, alens duos equos curatiores quam sit ipse dominus, et duos famulos domino suo elegantiores. De sacerdotio quod pollicetur tua benignitas, vereor ne per harpyas non liceat. Tot enim adsunt isthic vultures qui multis mensibus praesentiant cadauer futurum. Optarim occasionem dari qua liceat adhuc semel frui conspectu col- 45 loquioque tuae celsitudinis; et fortasse dabitur aliquando. Vitam longiorem nec deprecor, si donet Christus, nec anxie desidero. Tantum aetatis optarem accedere ut et animum in te gratum posteritati queam testatum facere, et mortalium animos ad synceram Christi philosophiam magis etiam excitare. Hoc animo puto me maiorem 50 gratiam initurum apud Iesum Principem nostrum quam si ter diui Petri limina nudis genibus perreptarem. Bene valeat T. R. D.; cui cupio commendatissimus esse.

Antuerpiae. xxiiii. die Maii. ANNO M.D.XXI.

29. est *ante* de stellula *add.* N. 43. harpyias N. 52. genibus F: pedibus N. T. R. D. F: tua sublimitas H.

17. laboribus] The New Testament (Ep. 1174. 15n) and Augustine (Ep. 1144. 71n); cf. Ep. 1218. 18-19.  
primam pensionem] The half-yearly payment, 100 florins, of Erasmus' pension as Councillor (Ep. 370. 18n) had perhaps been made at Whitsuntide, 19 May 1521; as was proposed in 1517 (cf. Ep. 565. 12-16).

22. Christus] Cf. Ep. 1228. 33-5.

26. Scyllam] Cf. Epp. 1186. 10n, 1228.

44-5.

27. ventris] Cf. Ep. 1166. 16.

29. scintilla] Cf. Ep. 1191. 38.

42. sacerdotio] Cf. Ep. 1176. 1-6. Nothing came of this proposal; see the *Ecclesiastes* (LB. v. 811 E), where Erasmus states that he had only one benefice from Warham, that of Aldington. It is mentioned again in Ep. 1488.

44. cadauer] Cf. Job 39. 30, Matt. 24. 28, Luke 17. 37.

## 1206. TO BEATUS RHENANUS.

Gouda MS. 1324, f. 46 (a).

Louvain.

F. f. a<sup>2</sup>: HN: Lond. i. 1: LB. 507.

27 May (1521).

[The preface to the *Epistolae ad diuersos* (F), where it appears on the initial sheet printed after the completion of the rest of the volume. The year-date has only the authority of H, and needs correction; see App. 12 in vol. iii, pp. 627,8 and Ep. 1011 introd.]

There is a contemporary copy in one of the Gouda MSS. (see App. 9 in vol. i), which differs not a little from the text of F, especially in the order of words. The value of this source is not easy to determine. As has been shown (vol. i, pp. 611,12) the copyist of the Gouda MSS. seems to have had access to original documents, and in consequence his work may be regarded as having good authority. On the other hand, some of it (e.g. Ep. 325) appears to have been copied from printed books; and that this may be the case here is suggested by the marginal inscription, by the same hand, against this letter, 'Praefatio in 2<sup>am</sup> aeditionem Farraginis epistolarum suarum'. In view, however, of the variants shown in Ep. 1225, which follows this in both the ms. and F, I incline to think that the Gouda copyist may have had a manuscript before him: so that his text may have precedence, though it is not necessary to retain his spelling, which, in the frequent use of *c* for *t*, is not that of Erasmus.

If Ep. 660 is rightly placed in 1519 (see p. 67), the publication of F was designed before the *Farrago* (E) had appeared. E sold so well that within a few months Froben wished to issue it again (Ep. 1066. 83-7). But Erasmus, perceiving that the editors had been incautious (ibid.; cf. Ep. 1244. 36n), would not consent to a new issue until he had revised it. This process was begun in the summer of 1520 (Ep. 1123. 6-8); and was completed about the end of November (Ep. 1163. 6-9; cf. Ep. 1170 introd.). The first part of the 'copy' for the *Epistolae*, as F is sometimes called, together with that for the *Paraphrases omnes* (cf. Ep. 1171 introd.), was sent to Basle shortly after Christmas 1520: see Froben's letter to Boniface Amerbach in Basle MS. G. II. 29. 115, which is discussed in vol. iii, p. 628n. Though the title-page of F bears the date 31 Aug. 1521, the latest letter in the book is one written on 22 Nov. 1521, after Erasmus' arrival at Basle (Ep. 1243); but it is not the last, being followed by twenty-nine pages of text. In consequence the printing was not completed on 24 Jan. 1522 (CE. ii. 5). The purchase of a copy in March 1522 is described in App. 14; and it is evidently to the new edition that Luther refers in LE<sup>2</sup>. 525, of 15 May 1522, 'Erasmus in sua Epistolarum Farragine'. There is another example of the title 'Farrago' applied to a later edition than E in Ep. 1211 introd.

For Erasmus' estimate of the editors' performance see Ep. 1244. 36n; and, for the significance of his contribution of a preface, vol. i, pp. 594,5.]

DESIDERIVS ERASMVVS ROTERQDAMVVS BEATO RHENANO  
SLETSTADIENSI SALVTEM DICIT.

Qvov scribis, optime Beate, verius esse video quam vellem. Sed illud demiror, quur ea potissimum efflagitent amici mei Germani, quae me degrauant inuidia. Scis enim quam non dextris auibus exierint Epistolae, quas tu primum aedendas curasti; at quanto peioribus illa  
5 Farrago! Cuius aeditionem partim extorsit amicorum flagitatio, partim ipsa necessitas; cum viderem accinctos qui quod habebant epistolarum mearum, vel inuito me essent publicaturi. Atque id facturos sese iam palam literis ad me suis minitabantur. Quod ne fieret, fasciculo ad te misso delectum atque etiam emendandi ius tibi credidi, si quid

TIT. DESIDERIVS om. F. F: SLESTADIENSI a. S. D. F.

4. Epistolae] The *Auctarium* (D<sup>1</sup>); cf. App. 11, in vol. ii, p. 602.

inesset quod vel effecturum famae meae videretur, vel exacerbaturum 10  
vehementer cuiusquam animum. Nec dubito quin tu sedulo pro tua  
in nos beneuolentia sis amici synceri functus officio. Et tamen illic  
etiam inuentum est quod apud quosdam plane tragicas iras excitavit.  
Quare decretum erat in totum ab hoc scripti genere desistere; prae-  
sertim cum nunc res vndique miris agitur tumultibus, ac multorum 15  
animi sic odiis sint exacerbati, ut nihil tam blande, nihil tam sim-  
pliciter, nihil tam circumspecte possis scribere quod non rapiant in  
calumniam.

Ego quum adolescens atque etiam aetate virili plurimas scripserim  
epistolas, vix ullam tamen in hoc scripsi ut aederetur. Exercebam 20  
stilum, fallebam ocium, nugabar cum amiculis, stomacho morem  
gerebam; denique nihil aliud hic fere quam ludebam, nihil minus  
expectans quam ut huiusmodi naenias describerent et asseruerent  
amici. Nam Senae cum essem, humanissimus ille Piso, qui tum  
Regis sui nomine oratorem agebat apud Iulium Pontificem, repperit 25  
apud bibliopolam quendam prostantem codicem epistolarum Erasmi,  
sed manu descriptum: emit ac mihi misit. In hoc tametsi erant  
multa quae fortasse non indigna videri poterant quae seruarentur,  
tamen offensus casu tam inopinato, totum quantus erat, Vulcano  
dicaui. Reuersus repperi hic similes libellos apud complures adser- 30  
uari, in aliquot exemplaria transfusos. Et hic quicquid a notis im-  
petrare potui, Vulcano tradidi. Sed tandem expertus sum mihi rem  
esse cum excetra.

Hoc igitur consilio passus sum exire quasdam, ut vel satiati desine-  
rent flagitare caeteras, vel ipsi certe desisterent ab aedendi consilio, 35  
cum perspicerent me huic negotio manus admolitum esse. Ad haec,  
exirent certe cum aliquo delectu, minusque deprauatae quam apud  
multos habebantur descriptae: denique minus haberent aloes. Hoc  
consilio Farraginem recognoui, quaedam explicui quae sinistre quidam  
fuerant interpretati; quaedam expunxi quibus animaduenteram quo- 40  
rundam offensos animos, nimium profecto teneros atque irritabiles;  
quaedam mitiora reddidi. At rursus horum temporum ratio fecit ut  
me eius consilii poeniteret. Iampridem magnis odiis flagrabant  
studia tuentium linguas ac bonas literas, et istorum qui sibi stultis-  
sime persuadent decedere suis commodis quicquid acerescit prouentui 45  
melioris literaturae. Mox Lutherana tragoedia in tantam exarsit con-  
tentionem, ut nec loqui tutum sit nec tacere. Rapiuntur in diuersum  
omnia, etiam quae optimo animo scribuntur: ne tempus quidem per-  
penditur quo scripsit aliquis, sed quod suo tempore recte scribebatur,  
transferunt in tempus incommodissimum. 50

- |  |   |                                    |
|--|---|------------------------------------|
| 14. genere scripti <i>F</i> .            | 15. tumultibus agentur <i>F</i> .   | 19. virili aetate <i>F</i> .       |
| 28. multa <i>a</i> : permulta <i>F</i> . | indigna <i>a</i> <i>H</i> : digna <i>F</i> .                                      | 29. tam inopi-                     |
| nato casu <i>F</i> .                     | 30. Reuersus repperi hic <i>a</i> : Hic reuersus comperi <i>F</i> (Hic <i>F</i> : |                                    |
| Huc <i>H</i> ).                          | <i>F</i> : aput <i>a</i> .  | 32. expertus sum tandem <i>F</i> . |
| 31. quidam sinistre <i>F</i> .           | 42. At <i>a</i> : Ac <i>F</i> .   | 39. <i>F</i> : ferra-              |
| sime sibi <i>F</i> .                     | 45. suis commodis decedere <i>F</i> .   | 44. stultis-                       |
|  |   | 48. scribuntur animo <i>F</i> .    |

13. iras] Cf. Ep. 1170.

20. Exercebam stilum] Many of Eras-  
mus' early letters which have survived,  
come under this and the following  
categories. Two from Steyn (Epp. 26,

29) and several of the Paris period had  
been printed in the *Farrago*.

24. Senae] Cf. Epp. 216 introd., 1297.  
66.

41. offensos] Cf. Ep. 1170.

Proinde scripseram diligenter Frobenio nostro vt hoc operis mei perpetuo premeret, aut seruaret in tempus aliud, aut certe in reditum meum proferret: Paraphraseon opus acceleraret, quo neminem adhuc offendi comperissem. At ille, vt mihi quidem frequenter est leuae  
 55 mentis, omnibus vt scribunt posthabitis, Epistolarum opus adprope-  
 rauit excudere, iamque me inscio ad xli. senionem peruenit; neque  
 quicquam remoratur aeditionem praeter praefationem et coronidem.  
 Negat autem se diutius pressurum opus, etiam si ipse fortasse grauer  
 aliquid addere; citius emissurus ἀκέφαλον ac μείουρον opus quam tan-  
 60 tam impendii iacturam accepturus. Scilicet mos homini gerendus  
 est, et ipse fortassis aliquod famae dispendium faciam, vt illius  
 commodo consulatur. At quando quod volui obtineri non potest,  
 tui, mi Beate, candoris erit aduigilare vt opus exeat quam minima mei  
 nominis inuidia. Non satis memini quas miserim epistolas. Atque  
 65 ea gratia iussi vt per iuuenem eum per quem misi priorem Noui  
 Testamenti partem, remitteret quod excusum esset ex Epistolis.  
 Quod quo consilio grauatus sit facere, non queo satis coniectare.

Hac igitur in re, te per amicitiam nostram obtestor, eruditissime  
 Beate, vt quod ego facturus eram, si licuisset, tu facias, vere alter  
 70 ego; atque modis omnibus sic agas ne isthic Erasmus abfuisse videatur.  
 Neque vero te moueat tantillum damni, quod erit in aliquot  
 chartis mutandis suscipiendum. Mihi totum istud quicquid erit  
 dispendii volo imputari. Frobenium immunem esse iubeo. Ego  
 lucrum esse deputo, quoties pecuniae iactura famae consulitur.  
 75 Pecuniolam illam facile sarcieamus alicunde. Famae laboranti non  
 facile succurritur: cui si nihil etiam immineret periculi, arbitror  
 tamen animi esse Christiani pro viribus adniti vt sic studeamus  
 omnibus satisfacere, ne quenquam vel imprudentes offendamus. Fit  
 autem hoc nescio quo meo malo fato, vt ab iis ad quae videbar natura  
 80 compositus, in alium campum longe diuersum fortuna me depellat,  
 siue vitae spectes institutum, siue studiorum genus. Etenim ne  
 singula commemorem, cum viderer ad fusum hoc ac liberum ora-  
 tionis genus esse natus, quod in concionibus, consultationibus, aut  
 etiam declamationibus adhiberi solet, in collectaneis prouerbiorum,  
 85 in scholiis et annotationibus bonam studii portionem contriui.

Caeterum ad epistolas scribendas fortasse non ita valde videri pote-  
 ram ineptus; verum alioqui multae res erant quae me ab hoc genere  
 deterrebant. Primum si epistolae carent veris affectibus neque  
 vitam ipsam hominis repraesentant, iam epistolae nomen non me-  
 90 rentur. Quales sunt Senecae ad Lucilium: atque adeo inter eas quas

- |                                 |                                |  |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 52. aliud tempus F.             | 55. vt scribunt add. F.        | 56. excudere om. F.                      |
| xli. a: quadragesimum primum H. | 58. fortasse add. H.           | 59. ἀκέφαλον ac μείουρον F: Hic Greca a. |
| 60. est add. F.                 | fortasse famae dispendium ali- |  |
| quod F.                         | 62. commodo a: compendio F.    | 64. epistolas miserim F.                 |
| 65. eum add. F.                 | 70. omnibus modis F.           | 71. tantillum a: tantulum F.             |
| 76. tamen arbitror F.           | 78. satisfacere a: prodesse F. | 79. iis a: his F.                        |
| 80. me fortuna F.               | 86. fortasse F: forsitan a.    |  |

53. Paraphraseon] Probably the collected volume of March 1521: see p. 416.

56. xli. senionem] Thus far Froben had been reprinting the volumes of letters already published, C<sup>1</sup>, B, D<sup>1</sup>, E

—of course revised by Erasmus: the new matter followed. See vol. iii, p. 627.

65. Noui Testamenti] Cf. Ep. 1174. 15n.

olim scripsit Plato, quasque ad Apostolorum, vt apparet, imitationem scripserunt Cyprianus, Basilius, Hieronymus, Augustinus, perpaucæ sunt quas non libros rectius appellaris quam epistolas. Porro, quas nobis reliquit nescio quis Bruti nomine, nomine Phalaridis, nomine Senecæ ad Paulum, quid aliud censi possunt quam declamation-<sup>95</sup> culæ? Verum autem illud epistolarum genus quod mores, quod fortunam, quod affectus, quod publicum simul et priuatum temporis statum velut in tabula repræsentat, cuius generis fere sunt Epistolæ Ciceronis ac Plinii, et inter recentiores Aeneæ Pii, aliquanto plus habet periculi quam historia rerum nuper gestarum; periculosæ, vt <sup>100</sup> inquit Flaccus, plenum opus aleæ.

Proinde si quid aedendum sit in hoc genere, nulli velim autor esse vt ipse viuus aedat, sed Tironi cuiquam hoc det negotii: quanquam hic in aedendis patroni sui monumentis plus studii quam iudicii <sup>105</sup> creditur adhibuisse. Siue laudes aliquem siue vituperes, non deerunt qui offendantur: vt ne commemorem esse quosdam qui ne laudari quidem sustineant libris aeditis, siue quod dedignentur a quouis nominari, siue quod vereantur ne cui veniant in suspicionem *φλοκο-  
λακίας*. Quo magis demiror diuum Bernardum Epistolas suas euul-  
gasse, in quibus tot nomina carbone notantur. Nunc si quis Iacobitæ <sup>110</sup> aut Carmelitæ meminerit vel suppresso nomine, nisi cum multa honoris præfatione, res videtur digna lapidatione. Iam et illud est incommodi, quod, vt sunt mutabiles res mortalium, ex amicissimis nonnunquam redduntur inimicissimi; et contra, vt et illos laudatos, et hos doleas attactos. Postremo, ne famæ quidem autoris satis <sup>115</sup> consulitur, quod plerique ex vna quapiam epistola totum aestimant hominis ingenium, quum aliquoties scribamur vuidi, nonnunquam dormitantes, interim lassi, interim etiam aegroti, aut aliud agentes, nonnunquam alieno stomacho, frequenter ad eius cui scribimus vel captum vel iudicium orationis habitum attemperantes. Vnde fit vt <sup>120</sup> imperitis veniamus in suspicionem inconstantiae, quum ea varietas ætati, affectui, personis ac rebus in diuersum mutatis, sit imputanda.

Haec cum alium quamlibet felicem ab aedendis epistolis merito deterreant, me tamen illud peculiariter dehortabatur, quod cum mihi semper fortuna non solum humilis fuerit verumetiam constanter <sup>125</sup> iniqua, neque is vitæ tenor vt eam velim aut possim ab omni crimine vindicare, non erat cur vellem vtriusque multa superesse vestigia. Atque hæc ratio fortassis et illos moueret ad quos scribimus, qui quod per literas velut in sinum effutiunt amicali, nolint omnibus

92. F: Hieronimus a. 94. a H: Phalaridis F. 95. ad Paulum a: et Pauli F. 96. autem add. F. 98. statum H: factum a: fatum F Corrig. velut F: velud a, cf. Ep. 1177. 13n. 99. ac om. F. 100. nuper add. F. 103. Tyrone H. 105. siue vituperes aliquem F. 108. F: philocolacias a. 109. demiror a: admiror F. 111. multa cum F. 113. mutabiles om. F. 114. et post vt add. F. 115. Postremo H: Iam a. 118. etiam add. F. 122. a N: imputandum F. 129. velut F: velud a.

94. Bruti] The two letters attributed to Brutus (Cic. *ad Brut.* 1. 16, 17), which are thought to be examples of *suasoriae*.  
95. Senecæ] Cf. Ep. 325. 71-3.  
99. Aeneæ Pii] Aeneas Sylvius, Pius II.

101. Flaccus] C. 2. 1. 6.  
109. Bernardum] Cf. Epp. 15. 35n, 1142. 45n.  
110. Iacobitæ] a Dominican; cf. Ep. 1153. 113n.  
125. fortuna] Cf. Ep. 1102. 6n.

130 prodi, quum sint qui nati Gratiis iratis, nihil non interpretentur in partem peiorem. Saepenumero fit vt quod in conuiuio aut inter candidos homunculos dictum gratiam habet, si idem loco non suo dicatur, atroces excitet tragoedias. Hac quidem de causa pauciores admiscuimus ex iis quibus respondemus, et tamen aliquot adieciimus, 135 praesertim eruditorum: partim quod me piguerit laboris quem Angelus Politianus fere sumit, in repetendo argumento epistolae cui rescribit; partim quod, vt addas argumentum, aliquid tamen lucis ac vitae videtur deesse, ni prius legas eam ad quam respondetur.

Habes, Rhenane, totius consilii mei rationem. Nihil superest nisi 140 vt primum te rogem vt in delectu animum istum vere amicum exeras; deinde superos precer vt tuum iudicium meumque obsequium velint esse felix, non solum mihi, qui sodalium affectibus repugnare pertinaciter non possum, verumetiam illis qui hoc obsequii maiore studio quam iudicio a nobis extorserunt. Bene vale.

145 Louanii. 6. cal. iunias. [Anno M.D.XX.]

### 1207. FROM BASIL AMORBACH.

Basle MS. G. II. 13<sup>a</sup>. 9.

Basle.

30 May 1521.

[An original manuscript, autograph throughout; and apparently the letter actually sent, since it is folded, cut, and sealed. But as it was presumably carried by Erasmus' own messenger (l. 30), it is not clear why it should be preserved among the Amorbach-Froben papers at Basle. Possibly after sealing this, Basil wished to make some changes, and wrote a fairer copy for dispatch; or Jerome Froben, who was in Erasmus' service about this time (cf. Epp. 903. 2n, 1209. 5n) may have acquired the letter and kept it.

The year-date is confirmed by Boniface's return from Avignon.]

PERBELLE mecum agis, vnicum seculi decus, Erasme, qui cum lucubrationibus tuis immortalibus me immortalem reddideris, tum modicam illam opellam, qua aliquoties secundae Noui Instrumenti aeditioni praefui, tanti facis vt cum iuxta Diomedis et Glauci permutationem aurea pro aereis reddideris, nullam tamen adhuc tibi videris retulisse gratiam. Quid igitur mihi incumbit tibi omnibus nominibus obnoxio? Si profiteri debeam, soluendo certe non sum, et vltro cessurus bonis. Pro mortalibus enim immortalia, pro vulgaribus eximia, pro modicis maxima accepi. Sed hoc humanitati tuae tribue- 10 rim, qua vel Gratias ipsas vincis. Patiar igitur me hoc vinci, quando vnus ego e pluribus huiusmodi beneficiorum genere tecum nec con- gredi velim nec possim. Non tamen interim deerit meum in te studium, mea obseruantia, quicquid id est referendi. Quod si

1206. 131. peiorem partem *F*. 134. iis a: his *F*. 136. *F*: Policianus a.  
137. tamen aliquid *F*. 139. Rhenane *om. F*. 142. qui sodalium . . . 143.  
non possum *add. F*. 145. Anno M.D.XX. *add. H*.

1206. 136. Politianus] See Ep. 126. 129n.  
1207. 3. opellam] The letter attributed to Froben in the second edition of the N. T., 1519, p. 566, testifies to this: 'Siquidem vtrique Amorbacchii, Bruno

et Basilius, viri doctissimi et nostri amantissimi, bona fide nos adiuuerunt; id quod illis nouum non est'. But Basil was not fond of correcting for the press; cf. Ep. 904. 40n.



nequeam, animum accipies tibi toto pectore addictissimum, conatus quandoque in laude est.

Hoc vnicum tanquam ex tripode tibi persuasissimum velim, me nihil non acturum tua causa, si modo possem vnquam. Id cum nunc in Nouo tuo Testamento mihi non sit integrum, quam aegre feram paucis non explicuero. Statui enim peregre proficisci, et nunc tantum non itineri accinctus tuas literas accipio. Dolet mihi et quidem vehementer nunc temporis potissimum ad nos missum Instrumentum tuum Nouum, quo Basilea omnino velim nolim abeundum est. Quare, eruditissime Erasme, boni consulas velim necessariam meam abitionem; qui alioqui, si vel Basileae permanerem, vel citius me tuae contigissent literae, in opere tuo sub incude castigando nullum non mouissem lapidem, quo studium in te meum expertus fuisses, nempe propensissimum: cui omnia pleno iure in me licent. Bene vale, Erasme, eruditionis columen et Germaniae decus.

Bonifacius ex Aueniona rediit ante mensem; nunc tamen Friburgum profectus, nescius tuum adesse nuncium, nihil scribit. Tibi tamen nullo non sacramento adstrictus est, quod pro fratre bona fide fideiubere possum. Vtrunque, eruditiss(ime) Erasme, tibi deditiss(ime) commendatum et habeas et serues.

Basileae, tertio kal. Iunii Anno M D XXI.

Tuus ex animo

Basilus Amorbach.

Clarissimo ac eruditissimo domino, Dn. Erasmo Roterodamo, praeceptori suo celebratissimo. Louanii.

#### 1208. TO MAXIMILIAN OF HORNES.

Anderlecht.

31 May 1521.

LB. App. 316.

[This letter is one of the small group for which I cannot trace the originals used for the Leiden edition; see vol. i, p. 609, and cf. Ep. 1166. The date is no doubt in a form invented by Leclerc; for I cannot recall any instance in which Erasmus elucidates a reference to a festival by the day of the month. The year-date also is perhaps added by Leclerc. But it must be correct; for this is the only year in which Erasmus visited Anderlecht for a long stay. He remained there now for a great part of the summer: for his life there and at Brussels see Ep. 1342. 19-23, 62-9.

Maximilian († 3 Feb. 1542) was the head of the branch of the Hornes family which derived a title from estates at Gaesbeek, some miles s. of Brussels: Hornes being on the w. bank of the Meuse, opposite Roermond. When a young man, Maximilian accompanied the Archduke Philip to Spain in 1501, as chamberlain (Gachard i. 127, 348); and thus on return may have been present at Philip's reception in Brussels, 6 Jan. 1504, when Erasmus delivered his Panegyric (Epp. 179, 180). In 1505 he succeeded his father in the title, and was soon employed by Margaret in the pacification of the province of Utrecht, commanding at Tiel in 1507 and being present at the siege of Venlo in 1511. In Nov. 1516 he was created Kt. of the Golden Fleece; being then chamberlain

#### 29. Aueniō. MS.

18. Testamento] For the progress of the third edition see Ep. 1174. 15n.  
19. peregre proficisci] Of this jour-

ney I can find no other mention.

29. Bonifacius] Cf. Ep. 1201.

Friburgum] In response to ZE. 26.

to Charles (Gachard ii. 57, iii. 25). In 1519 he was ambassador to the Duke of Gueldres.

He had three sons: Henry († 1540); Martin, born c. 1509, father of the Wm. of Hornes, leader of the 'malcontents', who was executed by Alex. Farnese, 8 Nov. 1580; and Philip, who became Provost of St. John's at Utrecht. The boy mentioned here may have been any one of these.

See F. V. Goethals, *Hist. de la maison de Hornes*, Brussels, 1848, pp. 241-62; and Henne.]

CLARISS. D. MAXIMILIANO, DOMINO DE HORNES ET DE  
GASBEEK, ERASMVS ROT. S. P.

VIR clarissime, huius loci amoenitas et hospitii inaudita humanitas me sic reficit recreatque, vt prorsus mihi videar reuixisse. Accedit Leonardi iucundissima consuetudo, qui paterno quodam animo filii tui pueritiam format et instituit. Ex oratione vero Scholastici saepe cogito celsitudinem tuam esse animo in me propenso: quo enim hoc magis tibi debeo, hoc minus promereor. Vtinam esset in quo vicissim animum in te gratum declarare possim! Agam hic fortassis menses tres: totam enim bibliothecam huc transtuli. Interim si vel consilio vel industria mea iuuare potero studia filii tui, nullus deero officio grati hominis. Indoles pueri perplacet; sed magni refert apud quos et a quibus instituatur. Precor tibi fortunam isto animo digniorem. Bene valeat tua celsitudo cum illustrissima domina coniuge tua.

Anderlaco, postridie Eucharistiae, [siue 31 Maii,] Anno 1521.

15 Erasmus tuus manu propria ex tempore.

#### 1209. TO CONRAD GOELENIUS.

Vita Erasmi p. 86.

Lond. xxx. 15: LB. 575.

<Anderlecht.>

8 June 1521.

[The year-date may be accepted from the mention of Erasmus' impending visit to Basle; cf. Ep. 1216. 72. It is evident that he was away from Louvain.

Of Conrad Goclenius (c. Dec. 1489—25 Jan. 1539), from the village of Mengerlinghausen, near Arolsen in Waldeck, little is known before his appearance at Louvain in 1519. Hamelmann (1580) styles him Paderbornensis, and adds that he was educated at Deventer (*Schriften*, ed. K. Löffler, 1908, i. 4, pp. 18, 32, 55); mentioning also (*ibid.* i. 3, p. 274) a nephew John, son of a brother. Reichling conjectures (*J. Murmellius*, p. 53n) that he may be the 'Coenradus Paterbornis' who was M.A. at Cologne, 26 March 1504; but in view of his age, given by Nannius (f<sup>o</sup>. B<sup>2</sup>: see below) as just over 49 at his death, and of Erasmus' repeated description of him at this time as *iuuenis*, the identification seems doubtful. Reichling also mentions (*ibid.* pp. 63, 141) a Hermann Gocelen, parish-priest of Hamm, between Soest and Münster, who was perhaps a relation.

1. amoenitas] For Erasmus' pleasure in the country at Anderlecht cf. Epp. 1215. 12-24, 1216. 81-2, 1223. 1-13, 1233. 185-9, 1236. 182-3, 1275. 50.

hospitii] Wychman; see Ep. 1231.

2. reuixisse] He enjoyed better health at Anderlecht than he had had for years: see Epp. 1223, 1238. 9-11,

1342. 25-6, 1518. Notwithstanding, numerous reports of his death were in circulation during the summer (Ep. 1518): cf. Ep. 1008. 8n.

3. Leonardi] Possibly Casimbrotius or Casperotus of Bruges; see Ep. 1594.

13. coniuge] Barbe of Montfort, married 15 May 1504.

On 1 Dec. 1519 Goelenius was appointed to supersede Barland as Professor of Latin in Busleiden's College (Epp. 1050, 1051); a post which he held until his death, only rarely leaving Louvain. His life was spent in teaching, for different estimates of which see VZE. 90; and he received private pupils into his house. In consequence his literary output was small: a poem on Erasmus' works, c. May 1519 (see Ep. 870 introd.); some verses upon Martens' second edition of the *Collog. Formulae* (Ep. 1041); a translation of Lucian's *Hermotimus*, Louvain, Th. Martens, 1522, dedicated to More; and some notes on Cic. *Off.*, added to Erasmus' (cf. Ep. 1013) in the Froben edition of 1528. Val. Andreas mentions also some ms. notes on Cicero, and an edition of Lucan; but the latter seems to be apocryphal. About 1533 he received a canonry at Antwerp (OE. p. 330).

With Erasmus he soon became an intimate friend: who could be recommended to others (cf. Ep. 1018), and who was deserving of every praise (cf. Epp. 1215, 1220, 1223, 1237; and a passage added to *Adag.* 1659 in Oct. 1520). On three occasions, beginning in 1521, Erasmus deposited money with him, and to his hands was committed the *Compendium Vitae* (II: see Ep. 1437) in 1524. He was named for legacies in Erasmus' wills of 1527 and 1536; and in the former it was proposed that he should come to Basle and supervise the projected edition of Erasmus' collected works. Erasmus' latest surviving letter, 28 June 1536, is addressed to him; and for devotion to 'the master' he might almost be ranked with Beatus Rhenanus and Boniface Amerbach. In the *Ciceronianus* (LB. i. 1014 c) he is described as stout, with a very short neck, and inclined to indolence.

Besides a collection of his letters to Erasmus in ms. at Basle, see OE, DGE, and EE; Val. Andreas, *Collegi trilinguis exordia*, 1614, pp. 47-50; and Nève pp. 143-9. Andr. Resendius dedicated to him a *Carmen . . . aduersus stolidos politioris literaturae oblatratores*, Basle, Froben, Sept. 1531, of which there is a copy at Schlettstadt (Cat. Rhen. 176); Alard of Amsterdam, who had been his friend since 1519, composed verses for his tomb, speaking of him as 'alter Erasmus'; and Peter Nannius, his successor, pronounced a *Funebris Oratio* upon him, Louvain, S. Zassenus, 1542.]

#### ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS D. CONRADO GOELENIO S.

VELIM te meminisse de domo conducenda quae mihi sit com-  
moda et hortum habeat. Potes hac de re communicare cum  
Dorpio. Nam etiamsi petam Germaniam hoc autumno, ob nomen,

3. , ob nomen, tamen O! : ? ob Nouum Testamentum, : cf. Ep. 1342. 89-93.

3. petam Germaniam] About this time Erasmus wrote to Froben that he should come to Basle as soon as he knew for certain about the Emperor's movements: cf. VE. 264, dated 21 July 1521. His letter is not extant.

4. nidum paratum] For Erasmus' intention of returning to Louvain in the spring cf. Ep. 1257. 10: also Epp. 1233. 188n, 1239. 19. It appears from Ep. 1351 that he had left his books behind. Ep. 1322 shows that a room was reserved for him in the Collegium trilingue. For the word cf. Epp. 314. 10, 1012. 4, 1342. 450.

A tradition of Erasmus' residence in the Collège du Lis—that for about two years he occupied the upper room on a staircase (cf. Ep. 1347. 8-9), and Rescius (l. 5) the lower—is to be found in G. J. Vossius' *De arte grammatica*, 1635, p. 101, with the detail of time added in the edition of 1662,

p. 107 (LB. i. 911). The story, which comes from Rescius' pupil, Henry Ravestein, at one time the possessor of the original document of the *Compendium Vitae* (see vol. i, p. 575), has many absurd inaccuracies (see I. Bywater, *The Erasmus Pronunciation of Greek*, 1908, pp. 8-10); but the tradition given above may well be true. It was written down by Ravestein at Nijmegen on 27 Oct. 1569.

There is another detail, in the evidence given, 13 July 1525, by Jan Dierixsoen de Backer, an old school-friend of Erasmus (see vol. i, p. 579) before the Inquisitors Nic. Coppin (Ep. 1162. 108n), Godesc. Rosemond (Ep. 1153), Ruard Tapper (Ep. 946. 3n), and Bern. Bucho (Ep. 1237), when they were trying his son, John Pistorius. He recalls to them that he had met them formerly, 'Ick hebbe by mijn heeren wel eer ghegeten, tot

tamen cuperem istic habere nidum paratum. Mitto librum quem  
5 petit Rutgerus. Reddes epistolas Heluetio. Bene vale.

6. Id. Iunias 1521.

Accipe ab hoc snaphano camisiam imperfectam, quam mihi misit  
vxoꝛ Frobenii. Videtur enim hic illam sibi qualificasse.

# 1210. TO RICHARD PACE.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 546.

HN: Lond. xiv. 18: LB. 577.

Anderlecht.

11 June 1521.

[The year-date is amply confirmed by the contents.]

ERASMVS ROT. RICARDO PACAEO S. D.

Ex officina Frobeniana scribunt eruditi quidam Polydori Prouerbia  
maiusculis formulis excudi, charta tam insigni vt non aliud opus  
dignatus sit Frobenius maiore vel honore vel cura. Addet opus de  
Rerum Inuentoribus simili dignitate. Idque facit hortatu, imo im-  
5 pulsu meo. Nam ille plane remiserat opus Antuuerpiam per Hiero-  
nymum filium, nec vllis rationibus adduci potuit vt aggrediretur.  
Exhibit vtrunque proximo mercatu Francfordiensi bonis auibus. Eat  
nunc Polydorus et credat susurronibus qui iactitant me inuidere illius  
gloriae.

10 Intelligo Morum e consiliario Regis factum esse Thesaurarium;  
quod munus cum honorificum est, tum salarii non poenitendi. Vt  
video, tam feliciter illi succedit aula vt me illius misereat. Sed me  
recreat quod iterum sui videndi spem aliquam facit in mensem  
Augustum.

Louen in die Lelie met Erasmo: daer  
was ic acht daghen lanck' (Fredericq  
iv, p. 483). Probably as the result of  
this visit the boy John, who was born  
c. 1498, was sent to work under Eras-  
mus' eye at Louvain: see his life by  
Gnapheus, reprinted by Fredericq (iv,  
p. 408).

Another pupil was Tossanus Hoco-  
dius of Valenciennes, afterwards Bp.  
of Toul, 1543—† 30 July 1565, 'in literis  
politioribus diu ac foeliciter versatus  
sub Erasmo nostro, quicum aliquandiu  
conuixit Louanii, atque adeo aedes ac  
mensam habuit communem' (BRE.  
328).

1209. 5. Rutgerus] Rescius; see Ep.  
546.

Heluetio] Perhaps a nickname for  
Jerome Froben; appropriate in view  
of his special citizenship (Ep. 903. 2n).  
He must have returned to Basle about  
this time; cf. Ep. 1226.

7. snaphano] Evidently a Latiniza-  
tion of the Germ. Schnapphahn, a  
footpad. Cf. the colloquy Πτωχοπλού-

στοι, which contrasts 'Snaphanum ex  
praedationum reditu iactantem sese'  
with the honest workman supporting  
a family by his labour (LB. i. 742 r):  
also a letter of Ascham from Germany,  
20 Jan. 1551 (no. 116, ed. J. A. Giles,  
1865; from Brit. Mus. MS. Lansdowne  
98, f. 52), 'thieves called snaphanses'.  
The word was also used in the Nether-  
lands for a small coin worth 3 stui-  
vers; see W. C. Hazlitt, *Coinage of the  
European Continent*, 1893, p. 234.

8. vxor Frobenii] Gertrude Lachner;  
see Ep. 419. 18n.

1210. 1. Polydori] See pp. 425-6.

5. per Hieronymum] Cf. Ep. 1175.  
115n.

10. Thesaurarium] This seems to be  
the earliest mention of More's appoint-  
ment as Under-Treasurer; the date of  
which has not been precisely estab-  
lished. Cf. Epp. 1223. 41-5, 1233. 25.

13. sui videndi] Evidently in con-  
nexion with the Conference at Calais  
arranged for August: see Brewer iii.  
1338-40, 1383, 1443.

Verum illud, mi Pacae, me male cruciat, quod de commentariis<sup>15</sup> Romae relictis nihil audio. Quaeso ne quid te sumptus moueat quo minus huc referantur. Non fiet tuo dispendio; reddetur impendium vel ad assem. Si redeat modo secundus liber Antibarbarorum, caeterorum iacturam facile patiar. Bene vale.

Ex rure Anderlaco. III. Id. Iunias. Anno M.D.xxi.

20

## 1211. TO JODOCUS JONAS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 569.  
HN: Lond. xv. 14: LB. 435.

Anderlecht.  
13 June 1521.

[This biographical sketch of Colet was projected by Erasmus immediately after his friend's death (Epp. 1026. 2-4, 1027. 8-9, 1030. 46-8), as not long since he had composed a similar sketch of More (Ep. 999). In executing it he enriched the picture by portraying another friend (see Ep. 163. 3n) whose character had much in common with Colet's. For some reason the work did not progress rapidly, perhaps because the information he had asked for from his English correspondents was not forthcoming (cf. Ep. 1229. 3-5): certainly it appears that the details given are drawn from what he might have known by personal experience. It may be noted that, like Ep. 999, this is addressed not to one of Colet's own countrymen, but to a German: perhaps in this case with special purpose (cf. Ep. 876 introd.).]

An evidence of the interest evoked by this sketch may be found in a letter of Martin Tyndall, a young Cambridge scholar, to Thomas Cromwell, 2 July 1533 (Brewer vi. 751, 752: the original being at the Record Office, and a rough-draft in the British Museum, Harl. MS. 6989, f. 45). Being driven away from King's College by the plague, Tyndall came to London; and there, to employ his time, visited the booksellers in St. Paul's churchyard. In one of the shops he found a copy of what he calls *Farrago Epistolarum Erasmicarum*, a 'boke off the worste printe', but which must have been F (cf. Ep. 1206 introd.), or even H; for there 'buried in a strange [s]tonge, in corner off greate boke', lay this letter. It delighted him so much that he borrowed the volume for a week and made a translation; which he sent to Cromwell written in a 'course hande', being unable to afford the six or seven shillings which it would have cost to get it copied out fair.

Tyndall's translation is not known to survive. The earliest extant version, of the life of Colet only, but amplified with material from other sources, is one by Dr. Thomas Smith, Cambridge, 1661; which was reprinted in a miscellany entitled *The Phenix*, vol. ii, 1708, and subsequently by Chr. Wordsworth in the successive editions of his *Ecclesiastical Biographies*. A complete translation was made by the late Mr. J. H. Lupton, London, 1883, with elaborate notes, to which I have been continually indebted—far more often, indeed, than I have been able to acknowledge.

The misprint in the year-date as given in H has caused this letter to be wrongly dated by almost all writers who have made use of it. From the fact of Erasmus' residence at Anderlecht, combined with the mention in Ep. 1229, there can be no doubt that 1521 is correct. The number of blunders in the text of F, which had to be set right in the corrigenda, is noticeable.]

ERAS. ROT. IODOCO IONAE ERPHORDIENSI S. D.

Qvov tam impense rogas, vir optime, vt tibi Ioannis Coleti vitam paucis velut in breui tabella depingam, hoc faciam lubentius, quod

1210. 16. Romae relictis] by Pace; cf. Ep. 1110. 39n.  
18. Antibarbarorum] See Ep. 1110.

suspicer te tibi quaerere egregium aliquod pietatis exemplar, ad quod tuum institutum attemperes. Equidem, mi Iona charissime, vt fateor  
 5 me cum multis habuisse consuetudinem quorum integritas mihi valde probaretur, tamen nullum adhuc vidi in cuius moribus nescio quid adhuc Christianae puritatis non desiderarem, quoties ad horum duorum sinceritatem conferrem aliquem: quorum alterum mihi nosse contigit apud oppidum Artesiae quod vulgo dicitur S. Audomari,  
 10 dum huc me pestis, hac sane in parte mihi felix, Lutetia propulisset; alterum in Britannia, quo me Montioii mei charitas pertraxerat. Lucrum facies, cuius scio te audissimum; pro vno duos dabo.

Prior dictus est Ioannes Vitriarius, ordinis Franciscani—nam in hoc vitae genus adolescens inciderat; meo iudicio nulla ex parte  
 15 posthabendus Coletus, nisi quod ob seruitutem instituti minus multis prodesse poterat. Annos natus erat ferme quadraginta quatuor cum hominem nosse coepissem; ac statim adamare me coepit, hominem sui multum dissimilem. Erat auctoritatis maximae apud optimos quosque, multis magnatibus gratissimus; corpore procerum et eleganti,  
 20 natura foelici, animo sic excelso vt nihil esset illo humanius. Scoticas argutias puer imbiberat, quas nec prorsus improbat, quod quaedam scite dicerentur licet sordidis verbis, nec rursus magni faciebat. Caeterum, vbi contigisset Ambrosium, Cyprianum, Hieronymum degustare, mirum quam prae his illa fastidiebat. Nullius  
 25 ingenium magis admirabatur in sacris literis quam Origenis: cumque cauillarer me mirari quod hominis haeretici scriptis delectaretur, ille mira alacritate 'Fieri non potuit' inquit 'quin hoc pectus inhabitaret Spiritus sanctus, vnde tot libri tam eruditi tanto ardore scripti prodierunt'.

30 Quamquam autem illud vitae institutum, in quod per incitiam aetatis fuerat vel delapsus vel pertractus, nequaquam probabat; subinde dictitans apud me fatuorum esse vitam potius quam religiosorum ad nolae signum dormire, expergisci, redormiscere, loqui, tacere, ire, redire, cibum capere, desinere pastu, denique nihil non  
 35 facere ad praescriptum humanum potius quam ad Christi regulam: nihil iniquius esse quam inter tam inaequales aequalitatem, maxime quod illic saepenumero coelestia ingenia ac melioribus rebus nata ceremoniis et constitutiunculis humanis aut etiam liuore sepelirentur. Tamen nec cuiquam vnquam fuit autor mutandae vitae, nec ipse  
 40 quicquam huiusmodi molitus est; paratus omnia ferre potius quam vlli mortalium offenculo esse, Pauli sui exemplum in hoc quoque referens. Nihil autem erat tam iniquum quod ille pacis seruandae studio non summa cum alacritate perpeteretur.

Libros diuinos, praesertim Epistolas Pauli, sic edidicerat vt nemo  
 45 melius teneret vngues digitosque suos quam ille Pauli sui sermones.

22. rursus *F* Corrig. : uersus *F*.

10. pestis] It drove Erasmus from Paris in May 1501; see Epp. 153 introd., 156. 6-8, 157. 1-4, 159. 35-6.

13. Vitriarius] See Ep. 163. 3n.

16. quadraginta quatuor] He was born, therefore, c. 1457, and so was about nine years older than Erasmus.

19. procerum et eleganti] So also

Colet; l. 262.

20. excelso] For the use of this epithet about Colet in a not commendatory sense see ll. 391, 399.

33. redormiscere] Cf. Epp. 296. 19, 447. 401.

41. offenculo] Cf. 1 Cor. 8. 9.

45. vngues] Cf. Juv. 7. 232.

Dedisses initium ex quacunque parte, ille mox totam epistolam absque vlllo lapsu fuisset prosequutus. Ambrosii pleraque tenebat memoriter. Vixque credibile est quantum item ex aliis orthodoxis veteribus memoria complecteretur. Praestitit hoc illi partim memoria natura felix, partim assidua meditatio.

Rogatus a me in familiari colloquio quibus modis praeperaret animum suum iturus ad concionandum, respondit se solitum in manus sumere Paulum, et in eius lectione tam diu commorari donec sentiret incallescere pectus. Illic haerebat, addens igneas ad Deum preces, donec admoneretur esse tempus incipiendi. Non diuidebat fere conciones suas: quod vulgus ita facit, quasi secus facere non liceat; vnde fit vt frequenter sit frigidissima distinctio. Quanquam omnis illa distinctionum cura frigus addit orationi, et artificii significationem praebens fidem eleuat dicentis. At hic perpetuo quodam sermonis fluxu connectebat sacram Epistolam cum Euangelica lectione, vt auditor domum rediret et eruditior et inflammator ad studium pietatis. Neque gesticulationibus ineptiebat, nec vociferationibus tumultuabatur, sed totus apud se sic promebat verba vt sentires ex ardenti ac simplici sed sobrio pectore proficisci: nec vsquam immorabatur ad taedium vsque, neque iactabat sese variis citationibus nominum; quemadmodum nunc e Scoto, Thoma, Durando, nunc ex iuris vtriusque libris, nunc e philosophis, nunc e poetis centones frigidus consarcinant, quo populo nihil nescire videantur. Totus sermo quem promebat, erat sacrae Scripturae plenus, nec aliud ructare poterat. Amabat quod loquebatur.

Habebat hominem incredibilis quidam ardor pertrahendi mortales ad synceram Christi philosophiam. Ambiebat ex huiusmodi laboribus martyrii gloriam. Proinde, quemadmodum ex illius familiarissimis cognoui, olim a suis autoribus impetrarat veniam adeundi regiones in quibus Christus aut ignoratur aut impie colitur, se felicem fore iudicans, si haec obiens martyrii palmam meruisset. At e medio cursu reuocatus est, voce velut coelitus audita, 'Redi, Ioannes; non defuturum est tibi apud tuos martyrium'. Paruit oraculo, et reperit esse verum quod vox illa praedixerat. Erat illic monasteriolum sororcularum, in quo sic erat prolapsa omnis religiosae vitae disciplina vt lupanar verius esset quam monasterium. Et tamen inter has erant

78. reperit N<sup>o</sup>.

79. monasterium N.

55. diuidebat] Lupton gives a detailed example of this chilling practice.

62. vociferationibus] Lupton has detected a reference to Vitruvius in the *Ecclesiastes*, bk. iii (L.B. v. 987c). After censuring various sensational modes of preaching (cf. Ep. 1111. 58n), Erasmus proceeds: 'Ipse familiariter noui quendam eiusdem ordinis, qui nec ambulabat nudis pedibus, nec humi cubabat, nec pane et aqua vivebat, nec vlli negabat sui copiam, pariter expositus omnibus, magnis et pusillis, bonis et malis, vbique venans lucrum Christo: breuiter nihil habebat in rebus ex-

ternis eximium. Is tamen doctrina non clamosa sed Euangelica, tum moribus ab omni vitio puris, innumeros viros innumerasque foeminas perduxit ad verum mundi contemptum'. In the first edition no clue is given to the person intended; but the index to the third, Basle, H. Froben and Nic. Episcopus, Aug. 1536, has an entry 'Ioannes Vitruvius Franciscanus', with a reference to the pages, 622, 3, on which this passage occurs. As the volume was 'denuo ab autore recognitum, sed cum indice . . . copiosiore', the clue may be regarded as authentic.

66. Durando] See Ep. 396. 90n.

quae sanari possent et cuperent. Has dum crebris concionibus hortatibusque reuocaret ad Christum, octo deploratae ex eo numero conspirant, et hominem obseruatum in locum semotum pertrahunt, 85 atque ibi fasciis iniectis praefocant. Nec finem faciunt donec casu nescio qui interuenientes impium facinus dirimunt. Atque ille iam exanimatus erat, vixque reuocatus est vt spiraret. Nec tamen vsquam hac de re questus est, ne his quidem quos habebat intimos; nec vllum officium praetermisit, quo solet illarum saluti subuenire; imo 90 ne vultus quidem vnquam visus est in illas solito tristior. Nouerat autorem huius conspirationis. Is erat theologus Iacobita, Episcopi Morinensis a suffragiis Episcopus, vir palam impiae vitae. Nec huic vnquam verbo molestus fuit, tametsi nulli hominum generi erat iniquior quam qui doctores ac duces pietatis professi moribus ac 95 doctrina impia populum a Christo alienarent.

Nonnunquam septies concionabatur vno die; nec vnquam illi deerat sermonis eruditi copia, quoties de Christo loquendum erat. Quanquam tota illius vita nihil erat nisi sacra concio. Erat alacer minimeque tetricus in conuiuio; sed sic vt nullam vnquam praeberet 100 speciem leuitatis aut ineptiae, luxus aut intemperantiae multo minus. Miscebat sermones eruditos, plerunque sacros et ad pietatem facientes. Talia erant colloquia, si quis illum adibat aut si quem ille viseret. Aut si quo faceret iter, habebat potentes amicos, qui illi in itinere mulum aliquoties aut equum subiiciebant, quo commodius liceret 105 confabulari: ibi promebat vir optimus exhilarato spiritu quae nullis gemmis poterant aestimari. Neminem ab se tristem dimittebat, imo neminem non dimittebat meliorem et ad pietatis amorem animatiorem.

Nihil erat in quo sentire possis illum vlli suo commodo seruire; non ventri, non ambitioni, non auariciae, non voluptati, non odio, 110 non liuori, non vllis malis affectibus erat obnoxius. Quicquid acciderat, agebat gratias Deo; nec aliud erat gaudium quam si quos inflammasset ad studium Euangelicae pietatis. Nec irritus fuit illius conatus. Complures tum viros tum foeminas lucrifecerat Christo; qui quantum differrent ab hoc Christianorum vulgo, mors arguebat. 115 Vidisses enim huius discipulos summa cum alacritate spiritus mori, et sub mortem vere cygneam canere cationem, ea promentes quae pectus afflatum sacro numine testarentur: cum caeteri, peractis cere-

91. Iacobita F: Dominicanus H.

89. solet] For this use of the present tense cf. ll. 138, 456, 513.

91. Iacobita] Le Vasseur; see Ep. 130. 63n.

92. Morinensis] Philip of Luxemburg († 2 June 1519), a prelate whose advancement at Rome left him little leisure for the affairs of the sees he held. He was Cardinal in 1496, Bp. of Terouenne 1497-1512, of Arras 1512-15, of Le Mans 1509-19, of Albano 1510, and of Frascati 1511. He is recorded (GC. x. 1569) as making solemn entries into Terouenne, (29) May, and into St. Omer, 9 June 1502, bearing the indulgences of the Jubilee year: at

the same time he consecrated the new church of the Franciscans (l. 169).

104. mulum] The statutes of the Observant Franciscans, as codified in the General Chapter at Barcelona, 1451, forbade, as before, the use of horses and carriages to travelling brethren, and condemned also the evasion by which they availed themselves of mules. At the same Chapter it was enacted that every brother should, as far as possible, be accompanied by another (cf. ll. 141, 155) when travelling or staying outside a convent. See *Monumenta Franciscana* (Rolls Series), ii, ed. R. Howlett, 1882, p. 95.



moniis et adhibitis solennibus illis protestationibus, fidentes, diffidentes, exhalarent animam. Testis est huius rei medicus eximius eius oppidi Ghisbertus, ac pertinax verae pietatis cultor, qui plurimis 120 vtriusque scholae morientibus adfuit.

Pertraxerat aliquot et e sui gregis sodalibus, sed pauciores; quem admodum et Christus apud suos non potuit multas virtutes facere. Nam illis fere placent qui sua doctrina plurimum commeatus conuehant in culinam, potius quam qui plurimas animas asserunt Christo. 125 Cum autem ab omnibus viciis abhorrebat animus ille purissimus ac vere templum Christo dicatum, tum maxime a libidine, adeo ut odore talium grauissime offenderetur, tantum aberat ut turpiloquium ferre posset. In vicia vulgi nunquam odiose debacchabatur, neque quicquam adferebat e secretis confessionibus: sed ita depingebat honestatis imaginem, ut se quisque tacitus agnosceret. In consiliis dandis 130 mira prudentia, mira integritas, mira dexteritas. Secretas confessiones non admodum volens audiebat, sed tamen in hoc quoque seruiebat charitati; anxias ac subinde repetitas confessiones palam detestabatur. 135

Superstitioni ac ceremoniis minimum tribuebat; vescebatur cibis quibuslibet sobrie et cum gratiarum actione. Vestitus erat nihil ab aliis differens. Solet nonnunquam et valetudinis causa suscipere iter aliquod, si quando senserat corpus humore degrauari. Quodam igitur die, cum persolueret pensum precum matutinarum cum suo 140 sodali, sensissetque stomachum, fortassis ob pridianam inediam, nauseantem, ingressus domum proximam sumpsit cibi nonnihil, ac repetito itinere pergebat precari. Ibi cum sodalis illius putaret omnia repetenda ab initio, quod primae horae precibus nondum dictis sumpsisset cibum, ille alacer negavit quicquam esse admissum, imo 145 Deo nonnihil fore lucrī. 'Antehac' inquit, 'languidi et segnes praecabamur; nunc alacribus animis illi dicemus hymnos spirituales. Et huiusmodi sacrificiis ille delectatur, quae ab hilari datore offeruntur'.

Ego cum id temporis diuersarer apud Antonium a Bergis, abbatem Bertinicum, nec nisi post meridiem illic pranderetur, neque meus 150 stomachus ferret tam diutinam inediam—erat autem tempus quadragesimae—, praesertim cum totus essem in studiis, solebam ante prandium sorbitiuncula tepida fulcire stomachum, quo duraret in horam prandii. Hac de re cum illum consulerem num liceret, ille circumspecto sodali, quem tum habebat laicum, ne quid offenderetur, 155 'Imo,' inquit, 'peccares nisi faceres, et ob cibulum omitteres ista tua sacra studia, tuoque corpusculo faceres iniuriam'.

118. H: potestationibus F. 120. FN<sup>3</sup>: Ghisbertus N<sup>2</sup>. 140. precum H: precium F. 148. huiusmodi F: eiusmodi N. 149. Bergis H: Bargis F.

120. Ghisbertus] The town-physician of St. Omer; see Ep. 95. 111n.

123. virtutes] 'mighty works'; cf. Matt. 13. 58, Mark 6. 5.

134. anxias] A similar statement is made about Colet in ll. 490-1. For the meaning of it cf. the *Liber de scienda Ecclesiae concordia*, Basle, Froben, 1533: 'Absit autem repetendi confessionem superstitio, absit anxietas enumerandi

commissa et circumstantias, aut totam iterandi confessionem apud alium sacerdotem, si quod crimen in priore fugit' (LB. v. 502 B).

138. Solet] Cf. ll. 89, 456, 513.

141, 155. sodali] Cf. l. 104n.

148. hilari datore] Cf. 2 Cor. 9. 7.

149. id temporis] c. March 1502; see Ep. 169 introd.

Antonium a Bergis] See Ep. 143.

Cum Alexander Pont. ex vno Iubilaeo fecisset duos, quo quaestus esset vberior, eiusque dispensationem Episcopus Tornacen(sis) prae-  
 160 sente pecunia suo periculo redemisset, summo studio adnitebantur commissarii ne sortem perderet Episcopus, imo vt lucrum non poenitendum accederet. Hic in primis ad fabulae partes vocabantur ii qui in concionibus populo essent gratiosi. Noster sentiens id in scrinia conferri quo subleuabantur antea pauperes, non improbabat quod  
 165 offerebat Pontifex, nec probabat tamen. Caeterum illud improbabat, quod tenues fraudarentur solito subsidio: damnabat stultam eorum fiduciam qui nummo in scrinium coniecto putarent sese liberos a peccatis.

Tandem obtulerunt commissarii centum florenos ad structuram  
 170 templi—nam id tum aedificabatur in eius monasterio—, vt si nollet commendare venias Pontificias, saltem ea taceret quae offerebant. Ibi vir velut afflatu sacro percitus, 'Abite' inquit, 'hinc, simoniaci, cum vestra pecunia. An eum me putatis qui ob pecuniam sim suppressurus Euangelicam veritatem? Ea si vestro quaestui obstat,  
 175 mihi maior esse debet cura animarum quam vestri compendii'. Cessere tum vigori pectoris Euangelici homines male sibi consci, sed interim praeter expectationem summo diluculo affixa est excommunicatio: quae tamen a ciue quodam detracta est priusquam multis innotesceret.

180 Ille nihil his minis territus, summa cum animi tranquillitate docebat populum et Christo sacrificabat; nec vllum metum prae se ferebat talis anathematis, quod ob Christum praedicatum intentaretur. Mox citatus est ad Episcopum Morinensem. Paruit Episcopo suo; venit vno sodali comitatus, nihil ipse de se sollicitus. Sed tamen inscio illo  
 185 ciues equitum praesidia collocarant in itinere, ne per insidias interceptus in antrum aliquod coniceretur. Quid enim non audet auri sacra fames? Episcopus obiecit articulos aliquot, quos ex illius collegerant concionibus; ille magno animo respondit, et Episcopo satisfecit. Aliquanto post denuo reuocatus est; obiecti sunt plures. Vbi  
 190 et ad hos respondisset, rogabat cur non adessent accusatores, vt suo quoque periculo accusarent: se iam bis venisse honoris illius gratia, quod Episcopus esset, caeterum non venturum tertio, si simili modo

164. ante H.

183. H: Mormensem F.

189. reuocatus F: vocatus H.

158. Iubilaeo] It is incorrect that Alexander VI reduced the interval between two Jubilees to 25 years: this was done by Paul II in 1470. Erasmus' statement perhaps reflects the fact that Sixtus IV's Jubilee of 1475 proved a failure: so that 1500 was the first of the new system which attracted notice. See Pastor iv, pp. 117, 284.

159. Tornacen.] During the years of Jubilee the see of Tournay seems to have been in the hands of the French bp., Louis Pot († 6 March 1505), rather than of the Papal nominee, Peter Quicke (GC. iii. 236,7): but from the action of Philip of Luxemburg (l. 92n) in connexion with indulgences it seems

possible that Erasmus may have confused here the names of Terouenne and Tournay.

169. structuram templi] The first house of the Franciscans at St. Omer was outside the town; but it had been demolished in 1477 for military needs. A new site was granted to them within the walls; and in 1493 they began to enlarge their buildings, the church being completed in 1502. See J. De-rheims, *Hist. de St. Omer*, 1843, pp. 594,5; and cf. l. 92n.

177. affixa] Cf. Ep. 1077. 3n.

183. Morinensem] See l. 92n.

186. antrum] Cf. Ep. 80. 45.

auri] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3. 57.

vocaretur; esse sibi domi melius negocium. Ita suo ingenio relictus est, siue quia deerat ansa nocendi, siue quia timebant populi tumultum, in quo probitas illius habebat optimum quemque addictissimum: 195 etiamsi ille tale nihil ambiret.

Iamdudum rogabis, scio, quis huius viri fuerit exitus. Non solum displicuit commissariis, sed etiam suis fratribus aliquot: non quod non probarent vitam, sed quod ea melior esset quam ipsis expediebat. Totus inhiabat in lucrum animarum, caeterum ad instruendam 200 culinam aut extruendos parietes, ad illectandos dotatos adolescentes, segnior erat quam illi vellent: etiamsi hoc quoque non negligebat vir optimus, duntaxat si quid ad subleuandam necessitatem pertineret, verum non vt plerique praepostere curabat ista. Imo quendam etiam thynnum alienarat. Is erat aulicus ac prorsus aulicis moribus, 205 foris per omnia cubilia se voluens, passim matrimonia aliena contaminans, et vxorem pro derelicta habens, quam habebat et claro genere natam et aliquot liberorum matrem. Per occasionem euenit vt haec quoque seduceretur: ilico reiecit mulierculam primo lapsu, qui sibi tot lapsus ignouerat. Illa tandem longius etiam prolapsa, 210 ad extremam deuenit calamitatem; praeter infamiam, scabiei etiam, quam Gallicam vocant, obnoxia. Hic cum omnibus tentatis quo vxorem marito reconciliaret, nihil ageret, nec durus ille vel affinium respectu, vel liberorum communium affectu, vel sua ipsius conscientia, qui tot adulteriis, qui suo neglectu occasionem dedisset, 215 flecteretur, reliquit hominem ceu deploratum. Is paulo post ex more petasonem aut armum suillum misit. Caeterum Ioannes—nam tum Guardianum agebat—mandarat ianitori ne quid reciperet nisi se vocato. Cum adesset munus, vocatus est. Ibi famulis qui deferebant heri nomine, 'Referte' inquit, 'onus vestrum vnde attulistis. Nos 220 non recipimus munera diaboli.'

Itaque tametsi non ignorarent illius vitam ac doctrinam esse seminarium egregium Euangelicae pietatis, tamen quoniam non perinde conducebat prouentui culinae, iussus est deponere Gardiani munus (quo nihil ille fecit lubentius), et suffectus est illi quidam, 225 quem ego noui, aliunde ascitus, homo non dicam qualis aut quam alteri dissimilis—in summa is mihi visus est cui nemo prudens caulem suum vellet committere: siue hunc obtruserunt qui cupiebant abesse, siue is visus est ad rem magis idoneus. Porro cum ex huius conuictu subolesceret vnus atque alter, qui simili spiritu 230 raperetur ad studium consulendi pietati Christianae potius quam ad augendum penu, relegarunt hominem Curtracum in monasteriolum

196. ambiebat *H.* 218. Guardianum *H.* 222. ignorabant *H.* 224. *H.*:  
Guardiani *F.*: Guardiani *N.* 230. huius *F.*: eius *N.*

205. thynnum] a fish caught in their net, i. e. a rich person from whom gifts might be expected; cf. Ep. 451. 7, also Ep. 447. 420. In Ep. 451 and here the word has a capital letter, as though a proper name; but the sense is plain.

aulicus] The description here is not unlike that of the courtier to

whom the *Enchiridion* (Epp. 164, 858. 2) is dedicated: see 1, pp. 19. 34—20. 12.

232. Curtracum] The only nunnery at Courtray was the Cistercian house named Groninga: see GC. iii. 316—19. But between Courtray and Menin was another Cistercian nunnery, Wevelgem (ibid. 309—13); which may perhaps be the place intended.

virginum : ibi quantum licuit, sui similis, docens, consolans, adhortans, diem suum feliciter obiit, relictis aliquot libellis quos e sacris  
 235 autoribus decerpserat Gallice ; quos non dubito tales esse qualis erat hominis vita et oratio. Et tamen audio nunc a nonnullis damnari, qui putant esse ingens periculum si populus aliquid legat praeter ineptas fabulas historiarum aut somnia monachorum. Viuit adhuc illius doctrinae scintilla in multorum pectoribus, quos si conferas  
 240 cum caeteris, dices hos non esse Christianos sed Iudaeos. Sic contemptim habitus est a suis vir ille singularis : qui si Paulo Apostolo collega contigisset, nihil addubito quin illum suo Barnabae aut Timotheo fuerit antepositurus.

Habes vere gemmeum Vitrarium nostrum, ignotum mundo, celebrem et clarum in regno Christi. Nunc Coletum huic simillimum  
 245 accipe. Alterum alteri depinxeram, et vterque alterius videndi desiderio flagrabat, atque hac gratia Vitrarius in Angliam traiecerat. Ac mihi post narrabat Coletus apud se fuisse Minoritam quendam, cuius colloquio prudenti pioque mirum in modum fuisset delectatus ;  
 250 sed adhibitum alterum quendam eiusdem ordinis Stoicum, qui visus indigne ferre Christianum colloquium interruperit. Ac fortasse Coletus hoc nomine plus laudis meretur, quod nec indulgentia fortunae nec impetu naturae longe alio trahentis potuerit ab Evangelicae vitae studio depelli. Natus est enim e claris et opulentis  
 255 parentibus, idque Londini : siquidem pater bis in vrbe sua praefecturam summam gessit, quam illi maioritatem appellant. Mater quae adhuc superest, insigni probitate mulier, marito suo vndecim filios peperit ac totidem filias. Quorum omnium natu maximus erat Coletus, ac proinde solus haeres futurus iuxta leges Britannicas,  
 260 etiamsi illi fuissent superstites : sed ex omnibus ille superfuit solus, cum illum nosse coepissem. Accesserat his fortunae commodis corpus elegans ac procerum.

Adolescens apud suos quicquid est scholasticae philosophiae, diligenter perdidicit, ac titulum assequutus est qui septem liberalium  
 265 artium scientiam profitetur. Quarum nulla erat in qua ille non

234. libellis] I do not know that any of these survive.

248. post] Perhaps on Erasmus' return to England in 1505.

253. naturae] Cf. ll. 387-411, 623.

255. pater] Sir Henry Colet († c. 20 Oct. 1505) ; Lord Mayor of London 1486 and 1495.

256. Mater] Dame Christian Knyvet (c. 1431-1521). Erasmus, who was a favourite with her (cf. Ep. 423. 65, 6), extols her again in Lond. xxiv. 16, LB. 1226 of 6 July 1532. See also Ep. 258. 3-6.

257. superest] In 1532 Erasmus qualified this statement : ' Denique, ni fallor, et Coletu superuixit '.

258. filios] Lupton has identified one of these ; Thomas, † 8 Sept. 1479.

261. coepissem] In the autumn of 1499.

262. procerum] There is a brief life of Colet by George Lily in his *Virorum aliquot in Britannia Elogia*, addressed to Paulus Jovius and first printed with Jovius' *Descriptio Britanniae*, Venice, M. Tramezinus, 1548. Lily was a son of Colet's first high master at St. Paul's (Ep. 341. 18n), and as he entered as a commoner at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1528, he might have seen Colet as a boy. But his account is largely based upon this letter : with which it has a great many close verbal resemblances. Indeed the only sentence which has any value is his rather fuller description of Colet's personal appearance (f. 46) : ' Huc accedebat ea egregii corporis proceritas et suspiciendi oris serenitas, vt subinde in omni actione mirus venerandusque existeret '.

264. titulum] Master of Arts.

fuisset gnauiter ac feliciter exercitatus: nam et libros Ciceronis audissime deuorarat, et Platonis Plotinique libros non oscitanter excusserat, nec vllam mathematicas partem intactam reliquit. Post tanquam audius bonarum rerum negociator adiit Galliam, mox Italiam. Ibi se totum euoluendis sacris autoribus dedit; sed prius 270 per omnia literarum genera magno studio peregrinatus priscis illis potissimum delectabatur, Dionysio, Origene, Cypriano, Ambrosio, Hieronymo. Atque inter veteres nulli erat iniquior quam Augustino. Neque tamen non legit Scotum ac Thomam aliosque huius farinae, si quando locus postulabat. In vtriusque iuris libris erat non in- 275 diligenter versatus. Denique nullus erat liber, historiam aut constitutiones continens maiorum, quem ille non euoluerat. Habet gens Britannica qui hoc praestiterunt apud suos quod Dantes ac Petrarcha apud Italos. Et horum euoluendis scriptis linguam expoliuit, iam tum se praeparans ad praeconium sermonis Euangelici. 280

Iam reuersus ex Italia, relictis parentum aedibus Oxoniae maluit agere. Illic publice et gratis Paulinas Epistolas omnes enarrauit. Hic hominem nosse coepi, nam eodem tum me deus nescio quis adegerat; natus tum erat annos ferme triginta, me minor duobus aut tribus mensibus. In theologica professione nullum omnino 285 gradum nec assequutus erat nec ambierat: tamen nullus erat illic doctor vel theologiae vel iuris, nullus abbas aut alioqui dignitate praeditus quin illum audiret, etiam allatis codicibus; siue hoc laudis

281. Iam *om.* H.

mox *ante* relictis *add.* N.

267. Platonis] Cf. Ep. 118. 21.

273. iniquior] 'severe upon', 'unfair to'—implying not so much condemnation as wrong estimation, based upon inadequate consideration: cf. Epp. 967. 92, 998. 13, 1061. 59, also ll. 430, 461, 478. Precisely the same charge, of being 'iniquior Augustino' in one of the *Annot.* on N. T., was brought against Erasmus by Martin Lypsius; see *Apol. qua respondet* (f<sup>o</sup>. C<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup>; Jortin ii. 507). As to Colet's position, the Disputation *de tedio, pauore, tristitia Iesu* (Epp. 108-11) shows him as an adherent of Jerome, and Erasmus as arguing against him. This, which Erasmus was perhaps recalling here, implies some contrariety to Augustine: cf. Ep. 844. 199 seq. But see Lupton's note, where the passage is discussed at length, and his *Life of Colet*, p. 57n: 'Colet quotes Augustine oftener than any other Father, nowhere with disapproval, and more than once with the addition of a "Praeclare dicit"'. 278. apud suos] That Erasmus is here comparing probably Gower (c. 1325-1408) and Chaucer (c. 1340-1400) with Dante (1265-1321) and Petrarch (1304-74) as writing in their national language (cf. Ep. 1126. 95n), is shown by a passage in the *Ecclesiastes*, bk. ii (LB. v. 856 AB): where among the

methods by which the preacher is to train himself for his work, one is 'euoluere libros eorum qui linguae vulgaris eloquentia polluerunt: quales celebrantur apud Italos Dantes et Petrarcha. Nec est vlla tam barbara lingua quin habeat suam peculiarem elegantiam et emphasim, si fuerit ex-culta. Qui callent Italice, Hispanice et Gallice, constanter asseuerant in his linguis, vteunque corruptis, inesse gratiam quam Latina lingua non assequatur. Idem affirmant de lingua Britannica, licet ex multis conflata, deque lingua Saxonica. Et in singulis linguis extiterunt qui libris aeditis non vulgarem dicendi laudem promeriti sunt'.

282. gratis] Cf. l. 344; and see Ep. 1053. 535n.

Paulinas] Cf. Ep. 108. 77.

284. triginta] If Colet was a few months younger than Erasmus, he must have been nearly 33 when they first met. For Erasmus' inaccuracy about figures cf. l. p. 2. 26n; and Epp. 1143. 25, 1166. 6.

287. abbas] Richard of Kidderminster (Ep. 1061. 150n) was perhaps one of these.

288. codicibus] mss. or printed texts (cf. Ep. 441. 1) of the Epistles, to refer to during the lecture.

debetur Coleti auctoritati, siue illorum studio quos non puduerit  
 290 senes a iuvene, doctores a non doctore discere: tametsi post vltro  
 delatus est doctoris titulus, quem ille recepit magis vt illis gereret  
 morem quam quod ambiret.

Ab his sacris laboribus, Regis Henrici, eius nominis septimi, fauore  
 Londinum est reuocatus, ac Decanus apud diuum Paulum factus, vt  
 295 illius praeesset collegio cuius literas sic adamabat. Est autem  
 dignitas eius nominis apud Anglos prima, tametsi sunt aliae pro-  
 uentu magis opimo. Hic vir optimus tanquam ad opus vocatus,  
 non ad dignitatem, collegii sui collapsam disciplinam sarsit, et,  
 quod erat illic nouum, singulis diebus festis in suo templo concionari  
 300 instituit, praeter conciones extraordinarias, quas nunc in regia, nunc  
 aliis atque aliis locis habebat. Porro in suo templo non sumebat  
 sibi carptim argumentum ex Euangelio aut ex Epistolis Apostolicis,  
 sed vnum aliquod argumentum proponebat, quod diuersis concionibus  
 ad finem vsque prosequeretur: puta Euangelium Matthaei, sym-  
 305 bolum fidei, precationem Dominicam. Et habebat auditorium fre-  
 quens, in quo plerosque primores suae ciuitatis et aulae regiae.

Mensam Decani quae antea sub hospitalitatis titulo luxui seruierat,  
 contraxit ad frugalitatem. Nam cum et ante annos aliquot in totum  
 abstinuisset a coena, caruit vespertinis conuiuiis. Porro quum serius  
 310 pranderet, etiam tum minus habuit multos: sed hoc pauciores, quod  
 et frugalis esset apparatus, tametsi nitidus, et brevis accubitus,  
 denique sermones qui non delectarent nisi doctos ac bonos. Con-  
 secrata mensa mox puer aliquis clara voce distincte pronuntiabat  
 caput aliquod ex Epistolis Pauli aut Prouerbiis Salomonis. Ex eo  
 315 delectum locum ipse fere repetebat ac sermonis occasionem sumebat,  
 sciscitans ab eruditissimis aut ingeniosis, etiam idiotis, quid hoc aut  
 illud dictum sibi vellet. Atque ita sermonem temperabat vt quan-  
 quam et pius et grauis, tamen nihil haberet taedii aut supercilii.  
 Rursus sub conuiuii finem, quum iam vteunque satisfactum esset non  
 320 voluptati sed necessitati, aliud argumentum iniecit: atque ita con-

292. morem *F* *Corrig.*: moram *F*.

306. et . . . 307. Decani *F* *Corrig.*: Decani. Mensam et aulae regiae *F*.

serius *F* *Corrig.*: cum seruis *F*.

296. dignitas *F* *Corrig.*: ea dignitas *F*.

309.

291. doctoris] Cf. Ep. 181. 18n.

294. Decanus] Cf. Ep. 181. 18n.

309. a coena] Erasmus notes similar abstinence in Warham: see the sketches of him in the *Ecclesiastes*, bk. i (LB. v. 811c), and in the 1533 preface to Jerome (wrongly cited as *Adagia* in Ep. 188 introd.). Cf. also Epp. 1229. 16, 1349. 144-5. It seems from the colloquy *Ichthyophagia*, first printed in Feb. 1526 (LB. i. 803e), that in England at this time supper was regarded as a self-indulgence. It was forbidden by custom on alternate days in Lent, and on Fridays throughout the year; cf. Ep. 119. 76. See also Erasmus' *De esu carniū*, of 21 April 1522 (LB. ix. 1202 B, 1214 c), and the scholia which

he added in 1532 (see Ep. 1274. 14n), pp. 171, 178. Busbecq, *Leg. Turc.*, Ep. 4 fin., 16 Dec. 1562, records that the Emperor Ferdinand 'perpetuo coena abstinet, neque amplius quam semel die cibum sumit, et quidem parce'. Cf. SE. 279, p. 235.

312. sermones] For the importance attached by Colet to conversation see *Adag.* 974 (964 in the edition of 1508), where Erasmus records that he was wont to say 'tales nos esse qualia sunt quotidiana colloquia, tales euadere qualia frequenter audimus'. Erasmus quotes the saying also, without mention of Colet, in the *Paraclesis* (*N. Instr.*, 1516, f<sup>o</sup>. aaa<sup>4</sup> v<sup>o</sup>: LB. v. 140 c).

316. idiotis] Cf. Ep. 1153. 171n.



Painting of Colet in MS. written for him, 1509.





uiuas dimisit et animo et corpore refectos, vt meliores discederent quam venerant, et stomachum minime cibis onustum referrent.

Impense delectabatur amicorum colloquiis, quae saepe differebat in multam noctem; sed omnis illius sermo aut de literis erat aut de Christo. Si grati confabulonis non erat copia—nec enim qui-<sup>325</sup> buslibet delectabatur—, puer aliquis e sacris libris aliquid pronuncia- bat. Me nonnunquam et peregrinationis comitem ascieuit. Nihil erat illic eo festiuius; sed semper libellus erat itineris comes, nec alii sermones quam de Christo. Impatiens erat omnium sordium, adeo vt nec sermonem ferret soloecum ac barbarie spurcum. Quic-<sup>330</sup> quid erat domesticae suppellectilis, quicquid apparatus in cibis, quic- quid in vestibus, quicquid in libris, nitidum esse volebat; de magni- ficentia non laborabat. Non nisi pullis vestibus utebatur, cum illic vulgo sacerdotes ac theologi vestiantur purpura. Summa vestis semper erat lanea ac simplex: si frigus hoc postulabat, interulis pelliciis se<sup>335</sup> muniebat.

Quicquid e sacerdotiis redibat, id in vsus domesticos oeconomio suo dispensandum reliquit: quod erat patrimonii—erat autem amplissi- mum—, ipse in pios vsus distribuebat. Nam patre defuncto, cum ingentem pecuniae vim accepisset ex haereditate, ne seruata gigneret<sup>340</sup> in eo aliquid morbi, nouam scholam extruxit in coemiterio S. Pauli, puero Iesu sacram, opere magnifico: adiecit aedes magnificas, in quibus agerent duo ludi magistri, quibus amplum salarium desi- gnauit, quo gratuito docerent, sed sic vti schola non capiat nisi certum numerum. Eam distinxit in partes quatuor. Primus in-<sup>345</sup> gressus habet ceu catechumenos; nullus autem admittitur nisi qui iam norit et legere et scribere. Secunda pars habet eos quos hypo- didascalus instituit. Tertia quos superior erudit. Alteram ab altera dirimit velum quoddam, quod adducitur ac diducitur cum libet. Supra cathedram praeceptoris sedet puer Iesus singulari opere, do-<sup>350</sup> centis gestu, quem totus grex adiens scholam ac relinquens hymno

<sup>325.</sup> de Christo] Cf. l. 329 and Ep. 1027. 6-8.

<sup>327.</sup> comitem] The description of their visit to Canterbury is given in the colloquy *Peregrinatio religionis ergo*, first printed in Feb. 1526, under a thin veil of disguise. The identification of Colet with Gratianus Pullus of the colloquy rests on the mention of him in the *Modus orandi Deum* as being with Erasmus at Canterbury (LB. v. 1120 A): it was pointed out to Jortin by an anonymous correspondent (ii. 706). Lupton (*Life of Colet*, p. 210n) has ingeniously interpreted Gratianus as an allusion to Jerome's 'Iohannes, in quo est gratia, vel Domini gratia', evidently = Hebr. Johanan (*De nominibus Hebraicis*, Acts: ed. 1516, vol. iv, f. 147 v<sup>o</sup>). Pullus is to be derived, not from Colet's habit of using 'pullis vestibus' (l. 333), but from the Vulgate use of the word (Matt. 21, Mark 11, Luke 19, John 12) in passages translated 'a colt, the foal

of an ass'.

<sup>341.</sup> morbi] Cf. l. 393 and Ep. 270. 52.

nouam scholam] A school at- tached to St. Paul's cathedral un- doubtedly existed from very early times. There has been much dis- cussion as to whether Colet founded a new school, distinct from the old, which continued to work for some time, or refounded the existing school on new lines. The former view is maintained by Lupton, *Life of Colet*, ch. 9; the latter by a correspondent in the *Times*, 2 April 1904, 7, 14 July and 3 Aug. 1909, and by M. F. J. McDonnell, *Hist. of St. Paul's School*, 1909, ch. 2.

<sup>350.</sup> puer Iesus] Erasmus' verses on this image, the *Carmina ad scholam per- tinentia*, were first printed in 1511 (see Ep. 175 introd.). They are included in vol. v of the Basle *Opera*, 1540, p. 1106; LB. v. 1320, 1.

salutat. Et imminet Patris facies dicentis 'Ipsam audite': nam haec verba me autore asscripsit. In postremo sacellum est, in quo licet rem diuinam facere. Tota schola nullos habet angulos aut  
 355 secessus, adeo vt nec solarium sit vllum aut cubiculum. Pueris singulis suus est locus in gradibus paulatim ascendentibus, distinctis spaciis. Quaeque classis habet sedecim, et qui in sua classe praecellit, sellulam habet caeteris paululo eminentiorem. Nec quosuis admittunt temere, sed delectus fit indolis et ingeniorum.  
 360 Vidit hoc vir perspicacissimus, in hoc esse praecipuam reipublicae spem, si prima aetas bonis rationibus institueretur. Ea res cum constet immensa pecunia, tamen nullum in huius consortium admittit. Quidam legarat in eam structuram centum libras monetae Britannicae. Vbi sensit Coletus hac gratia sibi nescio quid iuris  
 365 vindicare laicos, permissu Episcopi sui eam pecuniam contulit in sacras vestes templi. Reditibus totique negotio praefecit non sacerdotes, non episcopum aut capitulum, vt vocant, non magnates; sed ciues aliquot coniugatos probatae famae. Roganti causam ait nihil quidem esse certi in rebus humanis, sed tamen in his se minimum  
 370 inuenire corruptelae.

Atque vt hoc opus nemo non probauit, ita multi demirabantur

355. solarium *F*: coenaculum *H*.

360. hoc ante vir *F*: illud *H*.

352. Ipsam audite] Cf. Matt. 17. 5. Luke 9. 35, 2 Pet. 1. 17.

355. solarium] This term is commonly used in English of an upper chamber, as towards the sun; but it sometimes denotes a room cut off from the great hall and giving privacy. The change in *H* was perhaps made by Erasmus because the classical and Vulgate (*O.T.*) usage of the word is different, for a flat house-top or balcony; which would be inappropriate here.

362. immensa pecunia] Cf. Ep. 260. 20-30.

365. Episcopi] Richard Fitzjames (c. 1440—15 Jan. 1522), a native of Bruton in Somerset. In 1465 he was elected Fellow of Merton College, Oxford; of which he was afterwards Warden, 1483-1507. He was Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University 1481, and Chancellor 1502. After serving as chaplain to Edward IV and almoner to Henry VII, 1495, he was appointed bp. of Rochester 1497, and in 1499 went as ambassador to Flanders. He was translated to Chichester 1504, and again to London 1506; where he rebuilt Fulham Palace. At Merton he ornamented the chapel and enlarged the Warden's lodgings, and presented 20 mss. to the library (H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus*), two of which are now in the Bodleian. He is depicted here (ll. 530-1) as a strongly

conservative theologian; but one of the mss. mentioned is of the Homilies of Origen, who was then regarded as dangerously heretical (cf. ll. 24-9); others are of Seneca, Jerome and Augustine, Isidore, Galen in Latin, and Lully. An Easter sermon in English preached by him was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, c. 1495. With his brother he was joint-founder of Bruton School, 1519; see *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, iii (1892-3), pp. 241-8. Bk. 17 of Bern. Andreas' notes on Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* (Ep. 243. 52n) is dedicated to him.

See DNB. and B. W. Henderson, *Merton College*. The estimate of his age in l. 539 is perhaps as vague as that for More's father in Ep. 1233. 162.

365. contulit] In his *Expositio literalis* on Romans, ed. Lupton, with the *Letters to Radulphus*, 1876, pp. 112, 245, Colet enunciates the principle of interference with unsatisfactory bequests: 'Quando vero <testamentum> non congruit voluntati Dei, nec habet pietatem, nec olet charitatem, nec fructum aliquem in gracia, sed dispendium secundum humanum affectum, tunc id dirumpi et potest et debet'.

366. praefecit] Erasmus discusses Colet's principle in this matter at length in the *De promuntiatione* (LB. i. 918 F-19 A).

cur magnificentissimas aedes extrueret intra pomeria monasterii Carthusiensium, quod non procul abest a regia quae dicitur Riche-  
monda. Aiebat se parare sedem illam suae senectuti, cum iam  
impar laboribus aut morbo fractus cogeretur se submovere ab ho-  
minum consortio. Illic erat animus philosophari cum duobus aut  
tribus amiculis eximiis, inter quos me solitus est numerare: sed  
mors anteuertit. Nam cum ante paucos annos correptus esset  
sudore pestilenti, qui morbus peculiariter infestat Britanniam, et  
ab eodem tertio repetitus, vteunque tamen reuixit; sed ex morbi  
reliquiis contracta viscerum tabes, qua periit. Medicus vnus hydro-  
pem esse iudicauit. Anatomia nihil indicauit noui, nisi quod epar  
reperitum est extremas fibras cirrhis prominentibus hirsutum. Se-  
pultus est ad australe chori latus in suo templo, humili sepulchro  
quod in eum vsus iam ante annos aliquot delegerat, inscriptione  
addita IOAN. COL.

Finem faciam, mi Iona, si pauca commemoraro primum de ipsius  
natura, deinde de opinionibus paradoxis, postremo de procellis quibus  
explorata est hominis ingenua pietas, cuius minimam portionem  
debebat naturae suae: siquidem animo praeditus erat insigniter  
excelso et omnis iniuriae impatientissimo, ad venerem ac luxum ac  
somnum mire propensus, ad iocos ac facetias supra modum procliuus  
(haec ipse mihi fassus est), nec omnino tutus a morbo philargyriae.  
Aduersus haec ita pugnauit philosophia sacrisque studiis, vigiliis,  
ieiuniis ac precibus, vt totum vitae cursum ab huius seculi inquin-  
mentis purum peregerit. Nam quantum mihi licuit ex illius con-  
suetudine colloquiisque familiaribus colligere, virginitatis florem ad  
mortem vsque seruauit. Opes in pios vsus dissipauit. Aduersus  
animi celsitudinem ratione pugnauit, adeo vt a puero quoque moneri  
se pateretur. Venerem, somnum ac luxum abstinentia coenae  
perpetua, iugi sobrietate, indefessis laboribus studiorum, sanctisque

373. Richemonda *F. Corrig.*: Ruhemonda *F.*

382. hepar *Lond.*

372. magnificentissimas aedes] In Ep. 314. 10-12 Colet calls this a 'nidus'. It was afterwards occupied by Wolsey, when fallen from power, in Lent 1530: see G. Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, ed. F. S. Ellis, 1893, p. 195, 'My lord than in the begynnyng of Lent removed owt of the loge in to the Charter-howsse of Richemond, where he lay in a lodgyng whiche Doctor Collett, sometyme Dean of Powll's, hade made for hyme self; untill he removed northward, whiche was in the Passion weke after. And he had to the same howsse a secret gallery whiche went owt of his chamber in to the Charter-howsse chirche'.

373. Carthusiensium] See Ep. 314. 10n.

Richemonda] See Ep. 937. 46n; and cf. Ep. 287. 5.

379. sudore] Probably during the outbreak of Aug. 1517; for which cf. Epp. 623, 639 and see Giustinian ii. 113, 114, 126-7, 130. Wolsey had four

attacks of the sickness then within a month (ibid. 120, 127).

peculiariter] Cf. Giustinian ii. 114: 'Very few strangers have died, but an immense number of the natives'.

386. IOAN. COL.] He no doubt designed for himself nothing more than this simple inscription, though scarcely in this form. The abbreviation is in accordance with the usage of the time in writing. Lupton, *Life of Colet*, ch. 13, discusses an epitaph by W. Lily in verse, which hung near by the tomb, and one in prose which was subsequently placed on the stone: pointing out the resemblance between the latter and Ep. 1053. 531-6, and suggesting that it may have been composed by either Lupset or Erasmus.

388. paradoxis] Cf. Epp. 230. 31, 999. 252, 1195. 91: also ll. 419-20, 512-13 *infra*.

393. philargyriae] Cf. Ep. 270. 29-37.

colloquiis profligauit: et tamen si quando sese obtulisset occasio, vel iocandi apud facetos vel colloquendi cum foeminis vel accumbendi in opiparis conuiuuiis, vidisses aliqua naturae vestigia. Et ob id  
 405 fere a laicorum consuetudine abstinuit, sed praecipue a conuiuuiis: ad quae si quando cogeatur, me aut mei similem adhibebat, quo Latinis fabulis declinaret prophana colloquia. Atque interim sumpto ex vno tantum genere cibi pusillo, vno aut altero cereuisiae haustu contentus erat, a vino temperans: quo tamen delectabatur eleganti,  
 410 sed temperatissime vtens. Ita se sibi semper habens suspectum, cauebat ab omnibus quibus esse posset offendiculo cuiquam. Nec enim ignorabat omnium oculos in se coniectos.

Nunquam vidi ingenium felicius, atque ob id similibus ingeniis vnice delectabatur: sed ad haec se malebat demittere quae praepararent ad immortalitatem vitae futurae. Nulla in re non philosophabatur, si quando se laxaret fabulis amoenioribus. In pueris ac puellis delectabat naturae puritas ac simplicitas, ad cuius imitationem suos vocat Christus; angelis eos solitus comparare.

Iam vt alteram exsoluam partem, opinionibus a vulgo multum  
 420 dissidebat, sed mira prudentia hac in re sese attemperabat aliis, ne quos offenderet, aut ne quid labis in famam contraheret; non ignarus quam iniqua sint hominum iudicia, quanque prona in malum credulitas, quantoque facilius sit maledicis linguis contaminare famam hominis quam benedicis sarcire. Inter amicos ac doctos liberrime  
 425 profitebatur quid sentiret. Scotistas, quibus hominum vulgus ceu peculiare tribuit acumen, aiebat sibi videri stupidos et ebetes, et quiduis potius quam ingeniosos. Nam argutari circa alienas sententias ac verba, nunc hoc arrodere, nunc illud, et omnia minutatim dissecare, ingenii esse sterilis et inopis. Thomae tamen, nescio qua  
 430 de causa, iniquior erat quam Scoto. Etenim cum hunc apud illum aliquando laudarem, vt inter recentiores non aspernandum, quod et sacras literas et autores veteres videretur euoluisse—cuius rei suspicionem mihi fecerat Catena quae vocatur Aurea—, et aliquid haberet in scriptis affectuum, semel atque iterum dissimulauit obticescens.  
 435 Verum vbi rursus in alio colloquio inculcarem eadem vehementius, obtutus est me, velut obseruans serione haec dicerem an *εἰρωνεύων*: cum animaduerneret me ex animo loqui, tanquam afflatus spiritu quodam, 'Quid tu' inquit, 'mihi praedicas istum? qui nisi habuisset multum arrogantiae, non tanta temeritate tantoque supercilio defini-  
 440 nisset omnia; et nisi habuisset aliquid spiritus mundani, non ita totam Christi doctrinam sua prophana philosophia contaminasset'. Admiratus sum hominis *ἐνθουσιασμόν*, coepique diligentius eius viri scripta euoluere. Quid verbis opus est? omnino decessit aliquid meae de illo aestimationi.

422. sint H: sunt F.  
 426. hebetes Lond.  
 444. aestimationi F: existimationi H.

418. solitus] sc. Coletus.

419. alteram] Cf. l. 388.

433. Catena] A work which 'under the form of a commentary on the Gospels was really an exhaustive summary of the theological teaching of the greatest of the Church Fathers':

T. M. Lindsay in *Encycl. Brit.* (1910) ii. 251. It was first printed at Rome, Sweeney and Pannartz, 7 Dec.

1470: unless the Augsburg edition, G. Zainer, s. a. (Proctor 1555) is earlier.

442. *ἐνθουσιασμόν*] Cf. Ep. 116. 28-31.

443. decessit aliquid] Lupton points

Cum nemo magis faueret Christianae pietati, tamen erga monasteria, 445  
 quae nunc falso nomine pleraque sic vocantur, minimum habebat  
 affectus: eisque aut nihil aut quam minimum largiebatur, ac ne  
 moriens quidem aliquid illis decedit. Non quod inuisos habebat  
 ordines, sed quod homines suae professioni non responderent. Nam  
 ipsi in votis erat se prorsus ab hoc mundo extricare, sicubi reperisset 450  
 sodalitiū vere coniuratum in vitam Euangelicam. Atque id negotiū  
 mihi delegarat Italiam adituro, narrans sese apud Italos comperisse  
 quosdam monachos vere prudentes ac pios. Nec enim ille iudicabat  
 esse religionem quam vulgus iudicat, cum sit aliquoties ingenii  
 penuria. Laudabat et Germanos aliquot, apud quos residerent etiam- 455  
 num priscae religionis vestigia. Dictitare solet se nusquam reperire  
 minus corruptos mores quam inter coniugatos, quod hos affectus  
 naturae, cura liberorum, ac res familiaris ita veluti cancellis quibus-  
 dam distringerent, vt non possint in omne flagitii genus prolabi.

Cum ipse castissime viueret, tamen inter illaudatos minus erat 460  
 iniquus his qui tametsi sacerdotes essent aut etiam monachi, venere  
 duntaxat peccarent: non quod impudicitiae vitium non detestaretur,  
 sed quod hos experiretur multo minus malos, quoties eos cum aliis  
 conferret, qui cum essent elatis animis, inuidi, maledici, obtrectatores,  
 fucati, vani, indocti, toto pectore pecuniae et ambitioni dediti, tamen 465  
 sibi magnum quiddam esse viderentur; cum alteros infirmitas agnita  
 redderet humiliores ac modestiores. Aiebat magis execrandam in  
 sacerdote auaritiā et superbiam quam si centum haberet concubinas.  
 Ne vero quisquam haec huc rapiat, vt putet leue crimen esse in  
 sacerdote aut monacho libidinem, sed vt intelligat alterum genus 470  
 longius abesse a vera pietate.

Nulli mortalium generi erat infensior quam episcopis qui pro  
 pastoribus lupos agebant, nec vllus magis execrabatur; quod cultu  
 sacro, ceremoniis, benedictionibus ac venioliis sese venditarent  
 populo, cum toto pectore seruirent mundo, hoc est gloriae et questui. 475  
 E Dionysio caeterisque priscis theologis quaedam hauserat. Quibus  
 non ita fauebat vt vsquam contenderet aduersus decreta Ecclesiastica,  
 sed tamen vt minus esset iniquus iis qui non probarent sic passim  
 in templis adorari imagines pictas, ligneas, saxeas, aereas, aureas,

448. habebat *F* Corrig.: habeat *F*.

454. iudicat *F* Corrig.: iudicabat *F*.

out that elsewhere Erasmus speaks of Aquinas with great respect: e.g. in *Annot. on Rom. i. 4*, p. 413 of 1516 edition. Of his style, however, he had less opinion (cf. Ep. 379. 5,6): though that was not what Colet demurred to.

451. sodalitiū] Such as that which Chr. of Utenheim and Wimpfeling wished to found in the Black Forest; see Ep. 598 introd.

452. apud Italos] Colet's movements in Italy cannot be traced: but it is likely that he visited Padua, where he would see the Abbey of St. Justina's, then the centre of the reform movement in N. Italy.

455. Germanos] Perhaps the Breth-

ren of the Common Life, or some of the reformed orders, such as that of Bursfeld (cf. my *Age of Erasmus*, pp. 79-84), whom Colet may have seen. It was possibly this opinion of which Erasmus reminded Colet in 1516 (cf. Ep. 423. 26-8); no doubt in praising Germany to him as he had done to other friends at the same time (Epp. 411. 3,4; 414. 10-12; 416. 8,9).

456. solet] Cf. l. 89n.

457. coniugatos] Cf. ll. 368-70.

476. Dionysio] For Colet's interest in the writings attributed to the Areopagite (cf. also l. 272) see the introduction to his *Treatises on the Hierarchies of Dionysius*, ed. Lupton, 1869.

480 argenteas; item iis qui dubitarent an sacerdos insigniter ac palam improbus conficeret aliquid sacramentali functione: haud quaquam fauens istorum errori, sed indignans iis qui vita palam et vndique contaminata praeberent causam huiusmodi suspicionis.

Collegia quae multo magnificoque sumptu sunt apud Anglos  
485 instituta, dicebat officere bonis studiis, nec aliud esse quam inuitabula ociosorum: neque scholis publicis perinde multum tribuebat, quod ambitio profitendi et quaestus omnia vitians corrumpere

Vt confessionem secretam vehementer probabat, negans se vlla ex  
490 re capere tantundem consolationis ac boni spiritus, ita anxiam ac subinde repetitam vehementer damnabat. Cum apud Anglos mos sit vt sacerdotes fere quotidie faciant rem diuinam, ille tamen contentus erat diebus Dominicis ac festis sacrificare, aut certe pauculis diebus extra hos: siue quod sacris studiis, quibus se parabat ad  
495 concionandum, et ecclesiae suae negociis distineretur; siue quod comperiret se maiore cum affectu sacrificare, si id ex interuallo faceret. Haud quaquam tamen improbabat illorum institutum, quibus placeret quotidie adire mensam Dominicam.

Cum esset ipse doctissimus, tamen anxiam hanc et laboriosam  
500 sapientiam non probabat, quae ex omnium disciplinarum cognitione et ex omnium autorum lectione velut ansis omnibus absoluitur: dictitans ita deteri natiuam illam ingenii sanitatem ac synceritatem, hominesque reddi minus sanos et ad Christianam innocentiam puramque ac simplicem charitatem minus idoneos. Plurimum tribuebat  
505 Epistolis Apostolicis; sed ita suspiciebat admirabilem illam Christi maiestatem vt ad hanc quodammodo sordescerent Apostolorum scripta. Omnia fere Christi dicta miro ingenio reuocarat ad terniones, vnde et librum instituerat scribere. Quod sacerdotes etiam occupati quotidie tam prolixas preces exhaurire cogerentur, etiam

480. palam improbus] The underlying principle on which Colet would admit no doubts, was differently regarded by Erasmus when asserted in a coarser form by a Franciscan opponent: cf. Epp. 1188, 1192, 1196. Vittrarius, on the contrary, held that 'Quiconques oüoit la messe d'un prestre tenant une femme en sa maison, peche mortellement': see d'Argentré, *Collectio iudiciorum*, i (1728), pt. 2, p. 340.

484. Collegia] From comparison with a passage in the *De Pronuntiatione* (LB. i. 919A) in which Erasmus discusses Colet's new foundation, it seems that this term must mean here 'Collegia canonicorum', corporations of secular canons serving a church and having a school attached. Some of these, such as Beverley and Crediton, were of great antiquity: others dated from the reaction against monasticism in xiii<sup>c</sup>. med., the earliest being that founded by Bp. Giles of Bridport at Salisbury in 1261. A few of these

colleges were founded at or moved to the Universities; but the majority were scattered over England. See A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 1896, i, pp. 11-15, 20-24.

486. scholis publicis] See Ep. 1002.9n.

490. anxiam] Cf. l. 134n.

501. ansis] Cf. *Adag.* 304: 'Philosophus quidam adolescentes nullis mathematicis disciplinis instructos noluit admittere, quod diceret illis deesse ansam philosophiae'.

507. ad terniones] into groups of three: cf. Ep. 735. 1. Lupton in editing Colet's *Letters to Radulphus*, 1876, pp. 310, 11, identifies the work mentioned here with the *Breuioloquium dictorum Christi* attributed to Colet by Gesner (*Elenchus scriptorum*, ed. C. Lycosthenes, Basle, J. Oporinus, Sept. 1551); and gives examples of such arrangement among the sayings of Christ. For Colet's fondness for such grouping see his *Hierarchies of Dionysius*, ed. Lupton, 1869, pp. 191, 2.

domi atque in itinere, vehementer admirabatur; nam cultum eccle- 510  
siasticum magnifice fieri valde probabat.

Innumera sunt hodie in publicis scholis receptissima, a quibus ille plurimum dissentiebat. De quibus inter amiculos solet aliquando conferre; apud alios dissimulabat, ne geminum caperet incommodum, vt et nihil proficeret nisi in peius, et existimationis suae 515 iacturam faceret. Nullus erat liber tam haereticus quem ille non attente euolueret, dicens se plus aliquotiens ex illis capere fructus, quam ex horum libris qui sic omnia definiunt vt frequenter adulentur coryphaeis, nonnunquam et sibi ipsis. Recte loquendi copiam non ferebat peti e praeceptionibus grammaticorum: quas asseuerabat 520 officere ad bene dicendum, nec id contingere nisi euoluendis optimis autoribus. Sed huius opinionis ipse poenas dedit. Cum enim esset et natura et eruditione facundus, ac dicenti mira suppeteret orationis hubertas, tamen scribens subinde labeatur in his quae solent notare critici. Atque hac, ni fallor, gratia a libris scribendis abstinebat. 525 Atque vtinam non abstinuisset! nam huius viri cogitationes quacunque etiam lingua proditas optarim.

Iam ne quid defuisse putetur absolutae Coleti pietati, tempestates quibus agitatus est accipe. Nunquam illi bene conuenerat suo Episcopo; de cuius moribus ne quid dicam, superstitiosus atque 530 inuictus erat Scotista, et hoc nomine sibi semideus videbatur: quo quidem ex genere cum aliquot nouerim quos nolim improbos appellare, nullum tamen adhuc vidi quem mea quidem sententia possis vere pureque dicere Christianum. Nec admodum gratus erat plerisque sui collegii, quod tenacior esset disciplinae regularis; ac subinde 535 quirabantur se pro monachis haberi, quanquam hoc collegium olim fuit, et in vetustis sygraphis vocatur Orientale monasterium.

Sed cum iam odium senis Episcopi—iam enim erat non minor annis

518. adulentur F: ? aduersentur. 520. H: asseuerabat F. 524. ubertas N.  
538. iam enim erat F: erat enim H.

510. nam] The line of thought seems to be that Colet regarded the hurried repetition of a fixed quantity of prayers as detracting from the proper solemnity of the ritual.

512. publicis scholis] The universities: cf. l. 486n.

513. solet] Cf. l. 89n.

520. praeceptionibus] On that perennial subject of controversy, the value of grammar in the study of language, Erasmus is evidently combating a view expressed in Colet's *Accidence* (ed. 1527, f<sup>o</sup>. D<sup>6</sup> v<sup>o</sup>: Lupton, *Life of Colet*, pp. 291, 2), advising the student to 'rede good latyn authours... and note wyse-ly how they wrote and spake...', desyring none other rules but theyr examples. For in the begynnyng men spake not latyn bycause suche rules were made, but contrariwyse, bycause men spake suche latyn, vpon that folowed the rules were made. That is to saye, latyn speche was before the rules, not the rules before the

latyn speche'. Lupton's judgement of Colet, in editing his *Treatises on Dionysius*, 1869, pp. xii, xiii, is: 'Although his Latin style is always forcible, and occasionally not wanting in elegance, there is in his extant compositions a certain inaccuracy of diction'. For Erasmus' opinion on the general question cf. Epp. 641 introd., 1115. 24-44.

530. Episcopo] Fitzjames; see l. 365n.

534. gratus erat] sc. Coletus.

535. collegii] The Chapter of St. Paul's: cf. ll. 295, 298.

537. Orientale] This passage seems to be the only authority for the use of the name Eastminster for St. Paul's. It is perhaps a 'learned popular etymology' evolved by Erasmus on the basis of 'Occidentale coenobium' for Westminster. The true Eastminster was St. Mary de Graces, a Cistercian abbey near the Tower, founded by Edward III in 1349. See *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser., xi, pp. 62-3, 209-11.

octoginta—atrocius esset quam vt premi posset, ascitis duobus  
 540 episcopis aequae cordatis nec minus virulentis, incipit Coletus negocium  
 facessere, non alio telo quam quo solent isti, siquando cuiquam  
 exitium moluntur. Defert eum apud Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem,  
 articulis aliquot notatis quos ex illius concionibus decerpserat. Quo-  
 rum vnus erat quod docuisset non adorandas imagines. Alter  
 545 quod sustulisset a Paulo laudatam hospitalitatem, qui enarrans illud  
 ex Euangelio, 'Pasce, pasce, pasce oues meas,' cum in prioribus  
 duobus cum reliquis interpretibus consentiret, pasce exemplis vitae,  
 pasce sermone doctrinae, in tertio dissensisset, negans conuenire vt  
 Apostoli, qui tum erant pauperes, iuberentur oues suas pascere  
 550 subsidio temporali, et huius loco aliud quiddam substituisset. Tertius  
 quod cum in concione dixisset quosdam de charta concionari (id  
 quod multi frigide faciunt in Anglia), oblique taxasset Episcopum,  
 qui ob senium id solitus sit facere. Archiepiscopus, cui Coleti dotes  
 erant egregie cognitae, patrociniū innocentis suscepit, e iudice  
 555 factus patronus; cum ipse Coletus ad haec aliaque stultiora respon-  
 dere dedignaretur.

Non conqueuit tamen senis odium. Tentauit aulam regiam in  
 Coletum concitare, atque in primis Regem ipsum. Iam aliud telum  
 nacti, quod publice dixisset in concione pacem iniquam praeferendam  
 560 bello aequissimo: iam enim adornabatur bellum in Gallos. Et huius  
 fabulae non minimam partem Minoritae duo agebant: quorum alter  
 fax belli mitram meruit, alter bonis lateribus vociferabatur in con-  
 cionibus in poetas; sic enim designabat Coletum, cum is a poeticeis

541. cuiquam *F*: cui *H*.  
 enim temporis *H*.

550. *H*: Tertium *F*.  
 561. agebant *add. N*.

560. iam enim *F*: Id

539. octoginta] Cf. l. 365n.

542. Cantuariensem] Warham. For the part that he played in this matter cf. Ep. 414. 1-5 and EHR. xvii. 303-6.

544. imagines] Cf. l. 479.

545. a Paulo] Rom. 12. 13, Tit. 1. 8.

546. Euangelio] John 21. 15-17.

551. de charta] Colet's memory was exceptionally strong, if the story told by the Augsburg physician, Chr. Wirtzung (c. 1500-1571), in his *Artzney Buch*, bk. 1, ch. 12, § 1, really refers to him: 'Es ist zu vnsern zeiten ein Canonicus zu Candelberg in Engelland gewesen, Doctor in Theologia vnd der Rechten, Johannes Coletus genant, dem ist im 16. Jar[s] seins alters von eim getauften Juden folgende Kunst mitgeteil(t) worden, dardurch er ein wunderbarliche Gedechtnuss erlangt hab, also das was er einmal lass, sein lebenlang behielte. Wie nun dieser im 39. Jar seins alters sein sterben sahe, baten seine gute Freund solche geheinnuss zu offenbaren. Der zeigte an, Er were eins grobens vnfähigens verstands gewesen, aber durch mittel dieser Kunst in kurtzer zeit ein guten ringfächigen verstand, darzu ein solche

Gedechtnuss erlangt, die gleich vber menschlich were, also das er nit allein alles was er lese, sonder auch sehe vnd hörte, on alle mühe im gedechtnus behalten möchte, wie er dann die Decreta, Decretales, Ordnung der Keyserlichen Rechten sampt ihren Glossen: Aristotelem vnd andre Lehrer die er besichtigt hette, von wort zu wort erzelte. Wo im auch mancherley Namen vorgesagt wurden, kund er die on alles bedencken nach ordnung widerumb erhollen, er das nicht einmal felete' (ed. 1572, p. ci).

559. nacti] Fitzjames and his supporters; see ll. 539-40.

pacem] Cf. Cic. *Fam.* 6. 6. 5. Pace alludes to this incident in his *De Fructu*, Basle, Froben, Oct. 1517, p. 83; speaking of Scotist theologians, 'qui in te, o Colete, satis non indocte modo sed etiam impie insurrexerunt, quum diceres salutarem pacem pernicioso bello longe esse praeferendam'.

560. bellum] The expedition of 1512.

561. Minoritae] Birkhead (l. 602n) and Standish (Ep. 608. 14n). In *Adag.* 1498 Standish's *latera* are noticed.

563. in poetas] Cf. Ep. 258. 7-12.



numeris esset alienissimus, alioqui non imperitus musices. Hic Rex, egregius iuuenis, dedit euidens specimen ingenii sui regno 565 dignissimi, priuatim hortans Coletum, pergeret sua doctrina libere succurrere moribus eius seculi corruptissimis, neque subduceret lucem suam temporibus tenebrosissimis: se non ignorare quid in illum stimularet episcopos illos, neque nescire quantum ipse fructus attulisset genti Britannicae sua vita sacraque doctrina. Addebat sese 570 sic cohibiturum illorum conatus vt aliis liqueret non impune fore, si qui Coletum impeterent. Hic Coletus egit quidem gratias pro animo regio, caeterum quod obtulit deprecatus est, negans se velle vt cuiquam peius esset sua causa: se potius cessurum munus quod gerebat.

Sed aliquanto post data est illis ansa, vt sperarent iam posse 575 confici Coletum. A Pascha parabatur expeditio in Gallos. In die Parasceues Coletus apud Regem et aulicos mire concionatus est de victoria Christi, adhortans Christianos omnes vt sub Regis sui vexillo militarent ac vincerent. Etenim qui odio, qui ambitione 580 mali pugnarent cum malis seque vicissim trucidarent, non sub Christi sed sub diaboli signis militare: simulque ostendit quam res esset ardua Christianam obire mortem, quam pauci bellum susceperent non odio aut cupiditate viciati; quam vix consisteret eundem habere fraternam charitatem, sine qua nemo visurus esset Deum, 585 et ferrum in fratris viscera demergere. Addidit vt Christum Principem suum imitarentur potius quam Iulios et Alexandros. Multaque alia tum declamauit in hanc sententiam, sic vt Rex nonnihl metueret ne haec concio adimeret animos militibus quos educebat. Huc velut ad bubonem omnes conuolant mali, sperantes fore vt 590 Regis animus iam in illum posset exacerbari. Accersitus est Coletus iussu Regis: venit, pransus est in monasteriolo Franciscanorum quod adhaeret regiae Grienuuikensi. Rex vbi sensit,

591. *F* Corrig. : possit *F*.

592. monasterio *H*.

577. Pascha] 27 March 1513.

578. Parasceues] From 1510 to 1517 Colet was regularly the Court preacher on Good Friday, and usually at Greenwich. See Henry VIII's Book of Payments, in Brewer ii, pp. 1445-74; and cf. the preface to Longland's *Sermones*, London, Pynson, s. a. The only exception is in 1514: for which year the accounts mention no name. In 1508 too Colet preached at Greenwich in Lent; see Hasted's *Hist. of Kent*, ed. H. H. Drake, pt. 1 (1886), p. 57n.

587. Iulios] Neither Colet nor his hearers can have overlooked the double comparison of Christ; with the conquering kings of antiquity, and with His papal vice-gerents represented by Alexander VI and Julius II.

592. monasteriolo] A site next to the palace (l. 593n) had been granted to the Observant Franciscans by Edward IV c. 1480; and their first house had been rebuilt by Henry VII on a

larger scale. The connexion between palace and friary was very close. Henry was married to Catharine of Aragon in the friars' church, 11 June 1509; the Princess Mary was baptized there in Feb. 1516, and Elizabeth in Sept. 1533. A letter from Henry to Leo X, 12 March 1512 from Greenwich, on his neighbours' behalf, extols their virtues and devotion (Brewer i. 487r). Catharine, too, cherished them: often attending their services, and making one of them, John Forrest (executed in 1538), her confessor. Over the Divorce they espoused her cause; and the house was dissolved in Aug. 1534.

See Hasted, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-8.

590. ad bubonem] Cf. *Ov. M.* ii. 24-5.

593. regiae] The manor of Greenwich fell to the Crown on the death of Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, 1447. Queen Margaret of Anjou began to make it into a palace; which was continually enlarged by successive kings

descendit in ortum monasterii, et Coletus prodeunte dimisit suos  
595 omnes.

Vbi solus esset cum solo, iussit vt tecto capite familiariter colloqueretur, atque ita exorsus est iuuenis humanissimus: 'Ne quid temere suspiceris, Decane, non huc accersiui te quo turbem tuos sanctissimos labores, quibus vnice faueo, sed vt exonerem conscientiam meam scrupulis aliquot, tuoque consilio rectius satisfaciam officio meo'. Verum ne totum colloquium repetam, quod fere sesquihoram productum est, interim in aula ferociebat Bricotus, ex Franciscano episcopus, existimans periclitari Coletum, cum per omnia conueniret illi cum Rege: nisi quod Rex optabat vt quod Coletus vere  
605 dixisset, diceret aliquando explanatius ob rudes milites, qui secus interpretarentur quam ipse dixisset, videlicet Christianis nullum esse bellum iustum. Coletus pro sua prudentia proque singulari animi moderatione non solum animo regio satisfecit verumetiam auxit gratiam pristinam. Vbi reditum est in regiam, Rex dimis-  
610 surus Coletum, allato poculo praebibit illi, et complexus hominem humanissime, omniaque pollicitus quae sint ab amantissimo rege expectanda, dimisit. Iam aulica turba circumstans, expectabat exitum eius colloquii. Ibi Rex omnibus audientibus 'Suus' inquit, 'cuique doctor esto, et suo quisque faueat. Hic est doctor meus'. Ita  
615 discesserunt quidam lupi, quod aiunt, hiantes, et praecipue Bricotus; nec ab eo die quisquam est ausus impetere Coletum.

Habes, Iodoce, duos quos aetas nostra tulit mea sententia vere syncereque Christianos, non tam depictos quam deliniatos, quantum passa est epistolaris angustia. Tuum erit ex vtroque decerpere quod  
620 tibi videbitur ad veram pietatem maxime conducere. Iam si quaeres vtrum alteri praeferam, mihi videntur pari laude digni, cum dissimili fuerint conditione. Siquidem vt magnum erat Coletum in ea fortuna

599. vt add. H.  
611. rege add. H.

602. ex Franciscano episcopus add. H.

610. illi om. H.

(Hasted, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-8). Richmond (l. 373) had been the favourite residence of Henry VII in London. Henry VIII's preference was for Greenwich, where he had been born, 28 June 1491: and his book of payments (Brewer ii, pp. 1441-80) shows that in the early years of his reign he spent much of his time there.

594. ortum] For this form cf. Epp. 270. 16, 1062. 115n.

597. iuuenis] aged 21.

602. Bricotus] Edmund Brygate, Birkhead, or Birkenhead († April init. 1518) was a Franciscan, of the house at Norwich. About 1492 he went to Cambridge, where he was D.D. in 1502-3 (*Cambridge Grace Book B*, ed. M. Bateson, pt. 1, 1903, pp. 160, 182). From 1510 to 1516 he was a regular Lenten preacher at Court; usually, as in 1513, on Palm Sunday (Henry VIII's Book of Payments, in Brewer ii, pp.

1445-70). He appears to have had influence with the King, who in Aug. 1510 gave him £10 for the purposes of his Order (*ibid.* p. 1447). On 15 April 1513 he was created bp. of St. Asaph; in which position he contributed to the building of the fine perpendicular tower of Wrexham church (D. R. Thomas, *Hist. of the diocese of St. Asaph*, 1906-13, i. 221, iii. 298).

The Edmund Briget, LL.B., who was a Franciscan at Norwich in 1485, prebendary of the cathedral 1493-1505, and executor to Bp. Goldwell († 1498), was perhaps an elder kinsman; see F. Blomefield, *Hist. of Norfolk*, 1806, iii. 542, iv. 115, 172.

606. nullum... bellum] Cf. Ep. 1232. 52-3.

615. lupi... hiantes] Cf. *Adag.* 1258: 'Aiunt lupum praedae inhiantem rictu late diducto accurrere: quia si frustratur, obambulare hiantem'.

constanter sequutum esse, non quo vocabat natura sed quo Christus; ita speciosior est laus Vittrarii, quod in eo genere vitae tantum obtinuerit ac praestiterit spiritus Euangelici: perinde quasi piscis in palude viuens nihil trahat de sapore palustri. Sed in Coletto quaedam erant quae testarentur illum hominem esse: in Vittrario nihil vnquam vidi quod vllo pacto saperet affectum humanum. Quod si me audies, Iona, non dubitabis hos duos diuorum ascribere catalogo, etiamsi nullus vnquam Pontifex eos referat in canonem.

Felices animae, quibus ego multum debeo, vestris precibus adiuuate luctantem adhuc in huius vitae malis Erasmum, vt in vestrum contubernium remigrem, nusquam postea diuellendus.

Vale, mi Iona. Bene habet si tuo desiderio feci satis; nam argumento scio nequaquam esse satisfactum.

Ex rure Andrelaco. Id. Iun. AN. M.D.XXI.

#### 1212. TO LOUIS GUILLARD.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 545.

HN: Lond. xiv. 17: LB. 578.

Anderlecht.

17 June 1521.

[The year-date may be accepted in view of Erasmus' residence at Anderlecht and his occupation with the New Testament and Augustine. For Guillard see Ep. 360. 18n.]

ERASMVS ROT. R. D. P. LODOVICO, EPISCOPO TORNACENSI, S. D.

NAE mihi magnopere felix fuit, reuerende Praesul, illa mea ad Petrum Amicum epistola; quae quidem effecit, quod ego vix ausurus eram concipere votis, vt tua celsitudo literis humanissime scriptis suum erga me studium testaretur, et singularem illam naturae tuae bonitatem veraeque pietatis studium iam multorum praedicatione mihi non incognitum ceu viua quadam imagine repraesentaret.

Suffraganeo tuo facile ignoscerem quod alieno impulsu talia dixisset in famam meam apud populum, si vel leuis esset iniuria vel eam gereret personam cui venia deberetur. Nunc quid atrocius quam in populari, imo in sacra, concione manifestis conuiciis atque adeo mendaciis incessere famam hominis immerentis, imo benemerentis, et, quo nihil apud Christianos detestabilius, haereseos crimen impingere? Atque haec facit monachus, senex, theologus, et episcopus; denique tuas, hoc est laudatissimi Praesulis, vices gerens. Quis autem est scurra tam perfrictae frontis qui responsurus sit impudentius quam ille respondit, rogatus quid offendisset in libris meis haereticum? 'Non legi' inquit 'libros Erasmi. Paraphrases habebam in animo legere; sed visa est Latinitas tam pro-

1211. 636. FN<sup>2</sup>: Anderlaco N<sup>2</sup> Lond.  
1212. TIT R. D. P. om. H. LVDVICO H.

Idus H. Iunii N. M.D.XIX. H.  
2. amicum F.

1212. 2. Amicum] Cf. Ep. 1173. 9n. Erasmus had perhaps used him as an intermediary through whom to address to Guillard some request in connexion

with his Courtray pension; such as he afterwards addressed to the Bp.'s successor c. 20 April 1526 (cf. Ep. 1695). 7. Suffraganeo] Cf. Ep. 1144. 39n.

funda vt metus sit ne in haeresim aliquam posset prolabi'. Ita se  
 20 purgabat magnificus ille theologus apud hominem egregie cordatum  
 neque vulgariter eruditum.

Caeterum quod autoritas tua literis admonuit hominem ne posthac  
 ita petulanter debacchetur in nomina eorum qui bene merentur de  
 sacris studiis, functus es tu quidem officio boni Praesulis; sed aliis  
 25 magis ista ratione consultum est quam mihi. Vtinam scorpius  
 iste venenum quod infixit auditorum simplicium animis, ad se posset  
 retrahere! Ex amicorum literis didici monachum quendam apud  
 Christianissimum Galliarum Regem in concione magis etiam insa-  
 nisse: qui dixerit iam aduenturum Antichristum, cum extiterint  
 30 quatuor praecursores, Minorita nescio quis in Italia, Lutherus in  
 Germania, Iacobus Faber in Gallia, Erasmus in Brabantia. Haec  
 qui audent, nonne summos principes aut pro stupidis habent, qui  
 nihil intelligant et credant omnia; aut pro pessimis, qui virulentis  
 mendaciis oblectentur; aut plane contemnunt?

35 Sed tamen ad ista, quoniam pene quotidiana sunt, par est me  
 iampridem occalluisse; praesertim cum videam illos insanis tumulti-  
 bus nihil aliud efficere quam vt stoliditatem suam cum pari incitia  
 malitiaque coniunctam prodant orbi. Equidem an vtilitatis aliquid  
 attulerim sacris studiis nescio, certe conatus sum enixissime: vt si  
 40 videor indignus gloria, saltem his contumeliis dignus videri non  
 possim. Argumentum operis quod mihi suppeditat tua pietas,  
 etiamsi maxime probaretur, tamen in praesentia non vacabat aggredi,  
 in adornanda tertia Noui Testamenti aeditione et recognoscendis  
 diui Augustini libris occupatissimo. Sed de hoc post consultabitur,  
 45 cum se dabit otium. Interim demiror tuam amplitudinem hoc e  
 nostris lacunis petere, cum domi habeas vberimum optimarum  
 rerum fontem, Iodocum Clothoueam. Quod offers omne studium et  
 officium tuum, nihil in praesentia peto nisi vt pergas fauere meliori-  
 bus literis ac sacris studiis, et Erasmus inter tuos ascribas. Habebis  
 50 clientulum et amantem et minime onerosum. Bene vale.

Ex rure Andrelaco. xv. Cal. Iulias. Anno M.D.xxi.

1213<sub>1236</sub> FROM PAUL BOMBASIUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 646.

HN: Lond. xvii. 13: LB. 579.

Rome.

18 June 1521.

PAVLVS BOMBASIVS ERASMO SVO S. P. D.

Qvod tam negligenter et raro ad te scribo, mi Erasme, noli aliam  
 causam putare quam assiduam et confusam quandam negociorum

1212. 36. H: occalluisse F. 47. Clithoueam H: Clitoueam N. 51. Ander-  
 laco H. 1213. TIT. SVQ S. P. D. F: ROTERODAMO S. D. H.

1212. 27. monachum] Cf. Ep. 1192.  
 25n.  
 30. praecursores] Cf. Ep. 1192. 26n.  
 41. operis] I have no clue to this  
 work.

43. Noui Testamenti] See Ep. 1174.  
 15n. He was now busy with the Notes.  
 44. Augustini] See Ep. 1144. 71n.  
 46. lacunis] Cf. Ep. 1002. 15n.  
 47. Clothoueam] Cf. Ep. 594. 14n.

congeriem, a pristino illo studio nostro penitus abhorrentium; quae perplures iam annos ita me distraxerunt vt pene ab omni doctrina et humanitate abstraxerint et ad nescio quam ἀμωσίων adegerint. 5 Cui vt non solum contra genium meum seruire sed etiam placere modis omnibus studeam, δυσωπία τις me cogit, ne scilicet in tanta bene gerendae rei occasione mihi ipsi defuisse curiosum vulgus iudicet, meque leuitatis arguat; aetate interim, vt vides, labente, nec facultatibus adeo crescentibus vt earum non poeniteat, ipsisque 10 bonarum literarum iactura compensari possit. Quanquam non ita mecum maligne agitur vt ad professoriam linguam redeundum fore timeam. Nam redditus annuos ad cccc. ducatos nullis sacris addictos, nec fortunae sed industriae meae acceptos ferendos, auxi; quos nunquam ex literario illo ocio sperare ac ne somnare quidem mihi 15 licuisset. Quibus si tecum aliquando libere frui possem, Croesi thesauris non inuiderem, iustaque mihi daretur ab ineptis istis ac parum liberalibus curis missio. Quare vt Hercules ad liberandum Thesea, ita et tu ad Bombasium vinculis redimendum, non ad inferos vt ille, sed ad liberiores hanc et magis claram caeteris lucem, te 20 conferas rogo et obsecro: si modo eum me esse censes quem in studiis socium habere non te poeniteat, vel certe studiorum tuorum admiratorem.

Complures magnos viros hic esse scito, qui tuae famae impendio fauent, tibi que aduersus quoscumque patrocinantur. Leonem x. 25 maxime propitium habes; cui quoties tuae ad quoscumque literae ostenduntur, eas audissime legit et candidissime laudat. Nouissimas ad me tuas, postquam sibi per R. Card. meum delatas legisset, diebus aliquot post repetiit, ac Sadoletto et aliis doctis legendas dedit. In quibus hoc vnum, meo vtique iudicio, peccare visus fuisti, quod 30 nimis multa de N.: cum tua eo iam peruenerit fama vt quoscumque de te sermones plus inuidiae quam iudicii praeseferentes floccifacere possis; praesertim Leone Pont(ifice) bene adeo de te sentiente vt Hispanum nescio quem in scripta tua procaciter inuectum, sicut audio, monuerit ne quid in posterum aedere velit quod nomen tuum 35 proscindat, et si veritati adesse libeat, id eo temperamento faciat vt nihil odio aut liuori dedisse videatur.

Quem cum tu, in eius causa tam iusta et pia silens, adeo benignum habeas, quid futurum putares si pro eo vel potius veritate ipsa, quam Lutherani isti, nouis rebus studentes ac haereses iampridem explosas 40 et extinctas importune excitantes, impiis modis conuellere ac penitus demoliri nituntur, arma sumeres et strennue, vt nosti, decertares?

28. R. Card. F: Cardinalem patronum H.

3. studio nostro] at Bologna in 1507.

12. professoriam] See Ep. 210 introd.

27. Nouissimas] Perhaps contemporary with an answer to Ep. 1180.

28. R. Card.] L. Pucci: see Ep. 860 introd.

29. Sadoletto] See Ep. 1511 introd.

31. N.] From Erasmus' reply (Ep. 1236. 9-13; cf. Epp. 1218, 1219) this person may be identified with Alexander: about whom Erasmus might

with propriety complain to Bombasius, though not to the Pope.

34. Hispanum] Stunica; see App. 15.

35. monuerit] See Ep. 1581; but cf. Epp. 1260. 188-94, 1268. 70-5.

42. decertares] Cf. Ep. 1180, in which the same wish is not obscurely indicated; and, for a similar suggestion made from the Imperial side, Epp. 1269. 7-10, 1270. See also I, p. 35. 11-20.

Quod plerique de te expectabant, et monstra ista vni tibi quasi fato quodam, vt magnus et immortalis fieres, destinata fuisse loquebantur. Contra quae ego te hortarer, si putarem me quicquam, in hac praesertim causa tibi notissima, scire quod te lateat. Hoc vnum certe scio, reliquos omnes labores quos hactenus vigilando et scribendo sumpsisti, omnino steriles fuisse, prae quam hic vnus esset. Nec ignoro quid potissimum ab hoc tuum deterreat animum: non dico plurimorum offensiones, quas non sine periculo subire necesse esset, sed quorundam stultorum immodicam petulantiam; qui quasi de industria praeuaricantes, dum optimam per se causam iuuare satagunt, ei vel maxime obsunt, et optimos quosque ab ea tutanda summouent, sibi caute prospicientes, ne cum eis pariter insanire videantur. Quorum ineptos furores non tanti ego faciendos putarem, vt quae meae partes essent oblitus viderer. Quod scribis expedisse hanc rem per alios viros et aliis rationibus agi, plures iam tecum sentiunt, et ego semper in hac sententia fui. Sed actum ne agatur, potius quam remedia excogitentur aliqua.

60 Postquam te Basileam venisse audio, a negociis meis impetrare conabor, vt per ea crebrioribus te literis meis appellare atque adeo interpellare mihi liceat. Hactenus dum Louanii fuisti, cogitans quantum spacii interesset, vix animum inducere potui vt aliquid ad te scriberem. Nunc operam dabo vt nugarum mearum te nunquam poeniteat, quas vel occupatissimus ad saturitatem vsque tibi suggeram.

Epistolam Ioannis primam vetustissimis characteribus scriptam in Vaticana bibliotheca tandem reperi, cuius versus capituli quarti hi sunt: Ἀγαπητοί, μὴ παντὶ πνεύματι πιστεύετε, ἀλλὰ δοκιμάζετε τὰ πνεύματα, εἰ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶν, ὅτι πολλοὶ ψευδοπροφήται ἐξεληλύθασιν εἰς τὸν κόσμον. Ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκετε τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ. Πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ ὁμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶ. Καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ μὴ ὁμολογῇ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἐστὶν. Καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου. Ἀκηκόατε ὅτι ἔρχεται, καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Item ex quinto: 75 Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. Εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνομεν, ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Θεοῦ μέγας ἐστίν. Ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι μεμαρτύρηκε περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. Ὁ πιστεύων εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔχει τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐν αὐτῷ· ὃ μὴ πιστεύων τῷ Θεῷ ψεύστην πεποιήκεν αὐτόν, ὅτι 80 οὐκ ἐπίστευκεν εἰς τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἣν μεμαρτύρηκεν ὁ Θεὸς περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία, ὅτι ζῶν ἀιώνιον, καὶ τὰ λοιπά.

Haec in quibus ab impressis codicibus dissideant, non est quod

67. Ioannis] 1 John 4. 1-3, 5. 7-11. scriptam] From the readings given Bombasius' Vatican MS. may be safely identified with the famous B (Vaticanus). In the *Apologia de loco* 'Omnes quidem resurgemus' (Ep. 878. 13n) Erasmus describes it as 'mirae vetustatis' (LB. ix. 435 n). For assistance given by Bombasius in 1522, in passages of the Pauline Epistles, see BRE. 221.

82. impressis codicibus] Besides Erasmus' own of 1516 and 1519, the

only printed texts of the Greek New Testament as yet in existence were the Complutensian, Jan. 1514, which was not put into circulation until after 22 March 1520 (see Leo x's Brief, printed in some copies of its first volume, f. 1<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup>), and which Erasmus did not see till after his third edition (p. 425) was completed; the Aldine of Feb. 1518 (Ep. 770; cf. Epp. 373 introd., 1174. 14n); and Gerbell's (Ep. 342 introd.), Hagenau, T. Anshelm, March 1521, based on Erasmus'

a me docearis. Si quid erit in quo iudicium meum exquires, non tam in his quam in plerisque aliis super quibus doctorum altercatio est, nihil tecum dissimulanter vel mussitabunde agam, sed, vt me nosti, parrhesiastes ero. Vale, et me cohorti doctorum commendatum redde. Ex vrbe xviii. Iunii. ANNO M.D.XXI.

## 1214. TO LIVINUS HUGENOYS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 613.  
HN: Lond. xvi. 16: LB. 580.

Anderlecht.  
21 June 1521.

[The date is sufficiently confirmed by Erasmus' residence at Anderlecht, and by his forthcoming visit to Bruges.

Livinus Hugenoys († 1535), monk of St. Bavo's at Ghent, was elected Abbot, 4 Nov. 1517: probably at an advanced age, since for some years before his death he had his successor as coadjutor. He was the last Abbot on the old footing; for in the year following his death the Abbey church was made collegiate and the monks were converted into seculars (GC. v. 183). Besides other generosity (Ep. 1271. 124-6) he lent Erasmus a Latin MS. of the Gospels for one of the later editions of the N. T., perhaps the second (cf. Epp. 373 introd., 597. 16n): but the unflattering description of his library in the colloquy *Synodus grammaticorum* (LB. i. 825 AB: first published in 1529) indicates that it was mainly medieval. He is there called 'homo senex' (cf. Ep. 1025. 16n). In Erasmus' will of 1527 he is one of the 20 recipients named for presentation copies of the projected edition of Erasmus' collected works.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS R. P. AC D. D. LIVINO, ABBATI  
MONASTERII S. BAVONIS GANDAVI, S. D.

QVAE praeter meritum obtingunt, hoc plus solent habere precii; et quae praeter expectationem obueniunt, solent esse gratiora. Nunquam et autor magnificus precium addit suo muneri. Nihil autem tam per se vile est quod non eximie charum reddatur si proueniat ab animo amico. Quot igitur nominibus mihi putas gratum fuisse munus tuum, Praesul egregie, quod per insignem virum Cornelium, aduocatum a fisco, misisti? adeo non expectanti vt si de coelo delapsus fuisset, non potuisset magis inexpectatum accidere. Nam quod vltro mittitur, quod immerenti, quod nec per somnium expectanti, non potest non ab amicissimo pectore proficisci. Et munus per se gratissimum verbis etiam commendas. Negas esse munus, sed animi symbolum. Ais non ditandi causa missum, sed salutandi gratia. Amplector igitur istum animum tuum, et agnosco quid debeam. Vt pariter te redamem, tamen hoc calculo vinces,

1214. TIT. R. P. AC D. D. om. H.

and the Aldine. It seems hardly likely that Bombasius can have seen Gerbell's edition; but the Complutensian may easily have reached Rome by this time. About 1522 Sebastian Munster saw its O. T. and Vocabulary at Basle, in the hands of Conrad Pellican: lent from Constance by John Faber (see Ep. 386 introd.), who had

procured them from Rome. See Munster's interesting preface to his *Dictionary Hebraicum*, Basle, Froben, June 1523. For a volume at Louvain in 1522 see Ep. 1274. 1n.

1214. 7. Cornelium] Perhaps Corn. of Schoonhoven, advocate at Ghent, who is described in Ep. 1594 as 'magnus amicus' of Erasmus.

- 15 quod me prior ad amicitiam prouocaris. Nam in ea consuetudine quae mihi tecum fuit Gandaui ac Dernemondae, tam me gessi inciuiliter vt non semel veritus sim ne prorsus animum tuum a nobis alienassem. At qui sic prouocatus amare potest, dignum arbitror qui toto pectore redametur.
- 20 Sed Marcus Laurinus, decanus apud collegium Sancti Donatiani, pollicitus est mihi vetustissimum codicem manu descriptum e vestra bibliotheca, qui contineret commentarios diui Hieronymi in Psalmos. Qui si commode ad nos mitti non potest, saltem optarem ex eo describi vnam aut alteram paginam: quo mihi collatione liceat
- 25 experiri num hi commentarii quos habemus excusos typis, adulterini aut mutili sint necne. Quod si ne id quidem commodum est, arbitror me ad Calendas Augustas Brugas repetiturum. Tum igitur vel obiter salutabo tuam amplitudinem. Bene vale, pater omnibus modis obseruande in Christo Iesu.
- 30 Ex Andrelaco. XI, Cal. Iulias. AN. M.D.XXI.

## 1215. TO CHARLES HARST.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 613.  
HN: Lond. xvi. 17: LB. 581.

Anderlecht.  
22 June 1521.

[The year-date is confirmed by Erasmus' residence at Anderlecht.

Charles Harst (1492-1563), of Wyssenbrück in the diocese of Spire, matriculated at Cologne 28 Oct. 1509, studied law at Orleans c. 1514-18 (Ep. 866. 5n); and at the present time evidently was at Louvain. Later in the year he accompanied Erasmus as far as Coblenz on the way to Basle (Ep. 1342. 176-8), and carried back letters for him. In 1524 he spent some time in Erasmus' service at Basle (Ep. 1437), in company with Sig. Gelenius: see the latter's dedication to him (fo. 3<sup>v</sup>) of Symmachus' *Epistolae*, Basle, Froben, Sept. 1549. He seems also to have acted as messenger for Erasmus: going to Rome for him in Aug. 1525 (NE. pp. 26, 7; Epp. 1594-5, 1649-50) in connexion with a dispensation to make a will, and to England in Dec. 1525 with a parcel of letters. For the next two or three years he was teaching privately at Louvain; where he married Katharine van der Klusen († 16 Jan. 1559), of whom Erasmus thought well (Q. 57). For a time he was estranged from Erasmus, whom he accused of defaming him; but this did not last long. In March 1530 he entered the service of Duke John of Cleves (Ep. 829. 12n); and the rest of his life was spent in executive and diplomatic work for that family. In 1533 he visited Erasmus at Freiburg (EE. 183; cf. Ep. 1313. 85n, and LB. App. 373); but later was engaged on missions of higher importance—to Ferdinand in 1538, to Spain in 1539, to England in 1540-4 as attendant on Anne of Cleves, but keeping no great state (Brewer xv-xix), to the Emperor in 1544 (Brewer xix. i. 915), to England again in 1547 and 1556. In 1552 he settled at Dusseldorf; but he died at Xanten.

See five letters from him to Boniface Amerbach, 1527-37 (Basle MSS. G. II. 18. 92-6); Goelenii Epist., ff. 3, 32 v<sup>o</sup>; EE. and ADB.

Nicholas Episcopus the younger (1531-29 Dec. 1565) dedicated to Harst the first book which he printed, an edition of Politian's *Opera*, Basle, 1553. In the preface, dated 1 Sept., he refers to a warm reception 'ante aliquot annos in

26. Quod F Corrig.: Quid F.

30. Anderlaco H.

16. Gandaui] Apparently Erasmus had travelled with the Abbot from Ghent to Termonde, on return from one of his visits to Bruges, perhaps that of July 1520 (cf. Ep. 1129. 1n).

21. codicem] I cannot find in the second edition of Jerome, 1524-6, anything to show whether or no Erasmus had the use of this ms.

27. Brugas] See p. 551.



aedibus tuis Louanii', and speaks of the close tie formed between them by 'inueterata tua cum meis maioribus et cognatis amicitia, praesertim cum parentibus et Frobeniis, inchoata iam tum quando propter Des. Erasmus nostrum, virum aeterna dignum memoria, haec patria visebatur ab eruditissimis et candidis, quos ille ceu magnus ferrum ad se attrahebat occulta quadam *συμπάθεια* studiorumque, in quibus excellebat, similitudine'. Of this Nicholas can have had little personal recollection, for at the time of Erasmus' death he was only about five years old.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS CAROLO HARST SVO S. D.

Bis igitur tibi debeo, mi Carole, et quod nos volueris inuisere, et quod abstineris ne studia mea interpellares. Quod mihi rus hoc gratularis, certe nihil iam multis mensibus a me factum est quod cesserit felicius. Perieram ni vrbium nidorem reliquisssem. Iam mihi cum medicis res esse coeperat: consulti diuersi diuersa prae-<sup>5</sup> scripserant remedia. Ea quo minus sumpserim, nihil obstitit nisi quod non vacabat aegrotare, subinde nouis negociis alio vocantibus. Quanquam huc quoque penetrant *οἱ πτωχοτύπαιοι*: quid enim istis est inaccessum? Et e propinquo quotidie audimus insulas fabulas.

De Carino quod mones, iamdudum a me curatum est. Nesen<sup>10</sup> nisi: cui tradideram, ait se reddidisse Capioni nostro. Tu fac modis omnibus compiles Conradum Goclenium, omni genere literarum opulentum, ac veluti gnauus et audax negociator honestissimis mercibus in patriam tuam onustus redeas. Sed in primis stilum acue, quo possis aliquando rabulas istos, qui tam stolidè reclamant<sup>15</sup> optimis studiis, suis depingere coloribus. Bene vale.

Ex rure Andrelaco. x. Calen. Iulias AN. M.D.XXI.

#### 1216. TO PETER BARBIRIUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 594.

HN: Lond. xvi. 4: LB. 582.

Anderlecht.

26 June 1521.

[Between the death of William Croy (l. 17n) and the publication of F. There is close resemblance with the second *Apologia* against Stunica (see App. 15); many of the sentences being almost identical.]

ERASMVS ROTEROD. PETRO BARBIRIO S. D.

TANDEM nactus sum librum quem in me scripsit Iacobus Lopidis Stunica, vt non paulo doctior, ita minus virulentus, si ad Lei

1215. tit. svo om. H.

11. H: red/disse F.

17. Anderlaco H.

1216. 1. Iacobus H: Ioannes F.

Lopis H.

1215. 2. rus] Cf. Ep. 1208. 1n.

5. cum medicis] Cf. Ep. 1223. 4-6; and Ep. 1208. 2n.

8. *οἱ πτωχοτύπαιοι*] The friars; cf. Ep. 998. 59n.

10. De Carino] It had perhaps been proposed that he should enter Erasmus' service: as he did shortly afterwards (Ep. 920 introd.). Erasmus seems to have directed his letter to Nesen, who,

from his previous connexion with Carinus, might have been expected to be able to find him. But on his way to Frankfort, where Nesen now was, the messenger, passing through Mainz, gave the letter to Capito, with whom Carinus had recently been (cf. Ep. 1165. 49).

12. Goclenium See p. 504.

1216. 1. Tandem nactus sum] Though

calumnias conferatur. Cuius ego laudibus adeo nihil detrahā, vt  
 velim etiam conduplicatum quod sibi liberalissime tribuit: quan-  
 5 quam in me tam malignus vt nihil non adimat, ingenium, memoriam,  
 iudicium, eruditionem, lectionem sacrorum voluminum, peritiam  
 linguarum, denique et grammatices; horum omnium beatissimum  
 quoddam cornu sibi suauiissime vindicans. Certe pulchre pensauit  
 quorundam immodicum fauorem, qui me laudibus sic vehunt vt ex  
 10 musca faciant elephantem: hic e pygmeo facit culicem. Quod sibi  
 tam impense fauet, nec miror nec inuideo. Caeterum demiror quae  
 res sic exacerbarit hominis animum in me, a quo ne verbo quidem  
 vnquam fuerit laesus: neque enim mihi persuadere possum tantum  
 odium concipere bene natos animos (quando, vt audio, gentis claritu-  
 15 dinem cum eruditione coniunxit), nisi adsit improbus aliquis insti-  
 gator. Nunc audio felicis memoriae Cardinalem Toletanum, cui  
 noster heu iam iterum successit Croius, illi fuisse autorem vt prius  
 opus ad me mitteret quam euulgaret: quod si responsione satis-  
 facerem, magis e re ipsius esse premi librum quam aedi; sin aut  
 20 non responderem aut proterue et indocte responderem, publicaret  
 suos labores bonis auibis. At ille statim a morte Cardinalis typo-  
 graphis tradidit opus, cum illum id temporis latere non posset,  
 alteram additionem Noui Testamenti aut exisse iam aut mox  
 exituram.  
 25 Haec vtcunque habent, mihi certe voluptati est etiam apud  
 Hispanos efflorescere linguas ac bonas literas: ac de Stunicae inge-  
 nio mihi satis ampliter promitto. Sed vereor ne apud cordatos et  
 eruditos ex hoc labore quo famam auspicari voluit, non tam opimam  
 gloriam retulerit quam ipse sibi polliceri videtur. Siquidem, vt  
 30 maxime persuadeat se linguis et literis omnibus, longaque ac dili-  
 gentissima veterum euolutione, si quisquam alius, instructum,  
 optime nosse quid deferendum sit interpreti, cum aliquando labatur  
 in rebus manifestissimis; vt persuadeat me heri ac nudius tertius  
 coepisse legere sacros interpretes, in Hieronymo nihil intelligere,

Erasmus had heard of it nearly a year earlier (Ep. 1128. 2-6), the book did not circulate outside Spain until Stunica brought it to Rome in Feb. 1521. Mich. Hummelberg found a copy from Rome at Constance 21 May 1521 (BRE. 204); Alciati saw it at Milan between 24 April and 31 May (*Gudii Epistolae*, 1697, pp. 90-1, 94); cf. also VE. 258 and s.<sup>3</sup> 73<sup>b</sup>. It reached Basle a little later (Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup> 73. 222 v<sup>o</sup>). For Erasmus' reply see Ep. 1235.

2. Stunica] See App. 15.

8. cornu] Cf. *Adag.* 502, citing Hor. C. S. 59, 60.

14. audio] Perhaps from John Vergara: who was now in the Netherlands, and had met Erasmus. See Epp. 1128. 4n, 1277 introd.

16. Toletanum] Ximenes, †8 Nov. 1517; cf. Epp. 541. 37n, 1128. 4.

17. Croius] †6 Jan. 1521; see Ep. 647 introd.

21. statim a morte] In Ep. 1128. 4-5 Erasmus is less precise and more correct.

23. exisse] An incorrect statement. At the time of Ximenes' death (l. 16n) Erasmus had indeed laid aside his secrecy (see Ep. 809. 6on), and was writing openly of his intention (Epp. 694. 17-20, 695. 19-21, 768. 29, 809. 56 seq.). But Stunica could not then have been aware of the publication; for Froben did not even accept the new edition till the spring of 1518 (Ep. 801. 9-15), and the volumes were only completed in Aug. 1518 and March 1519 (see Ep. 864 introd.). Erasmus seems to be judging Stunica's book from its date, 1520, as though it had been composed early in 1519; and to have forgotten when Ximenes died.

qui ante annos viginti scripserim Enchiridion, qui in hoc opere, ut 35 ipse vere scribit, tumultuario tantum adferam testimoniorum, nullis interim indicibus adiutus, quibus ille felicius me fuit: quis crediturus est illi, quod hoc opus susceperit, non villo maledicentiae studio, sed 'animo prorsus ab omni contentione alieno'? cum toto opere ab initio vsque ad finem nihil aliud quam me derideat ex 40 alto, carpat, laceret: lapsus etiam alienos mihi odiosissime impingens, puta typographorum et Oecolampadii, nonnunquam atroces tragoedias excitans ex his quae sunt simplicissime dicta; quale est, quod scripseram Neapolim nunc ab Hispanis occupari, et Σπαρίαν apud Paulum pro Hispania scribi: subinde magni conuicii loco me 45 Batauū appellans. Quasi mihi vicio verti debeat, etiamsi apud Sogdianos natus essem, aut Hollandiae regio sit vlli regioni contemnenda, siue cultum spectes, siue celebritatem urbium, siue rerum affluentiam, siue laudem ingeniorum! quae tam felicia passim apud illos oriuntur, ut ad illos collatus ego vere talis videri possim qualem 50 me facit Stunica.

Nec satis erat sic temperasse operis praefationem, ut totidem fere sint in me conuicia quot sunt verba: singulis fere annotationibus addit praefationes novas et coronides, quibus me laniet. Ac rursum, quasi hoc quoque parum esset, addidit indices marginales aculea- 55 tiores ipso contextu. Adeo nihil erat satis illius animo modesto et 'ab omni contentione prorsus alieno'.

Iam haud scio num satis prudentis hominis videbitur, quod hunc interpretem affirmet scite et eleganter vertisse Nouum Testamentum. Certe non videbitur praestare patrocinium, quo pollicetur se defen- 60 surum ab omni calumnia suum interpretem, cum ad tot soloeismos a me notatos nihil respondeat. Adeo silentio suo damnat quem ita magnifice tuendum suscepit: etiamsi ipse non hoc agebam, ut impeterem interpretem, vnde quid mihi fructus erat futurum? sed obiter annoto si quid videtur profuturum lectori studioso. Quantum 65 offerit famae meae Stunica nescio, certe vellem suae rectius consulisset: nam ego facile boni consulo quicquid cedit in commodum studiorum. Et acuit quidem ingenia contentio moderata; sed hanc virulentiam qua nunc, nescio quo fato, feruent omnia, vellem abesse cum ab omnibus honestis studiis, tum praecipue a sacris. 70

Tu, mi Barbiri, expectatione tui nimium diu nos torques, noua subinde spe lactans animos nostros. Meum abitum remoratae quidem sunt aliquot aliae causae, sed harum praecipua fuit, tui videndi desiderium. Quod si te mutuum habet nostri desiderium, properes

47. *F* Corrig.: Sogdianas *F*. 50. vere *F* Corrig.: vero *F*. 53. sunt *F* Corrig.: sint *F*. 60. videbitur *F*: videtur *H*. 61. *H*: ad/ad *F*. 72. *N*<sup>3</sup>: lactas *F*: lactās *N*<sup>1</sup>.

35. Enchiridion] See Ep. 164.

42. Oecolampadii] as corrector of the first edition: cf. Ep. 358. 5n.

44. scripseram] In the *Annot.* on Acts 16. 11 and Rom. 15. 24.

47. Hollandiae] For this eulogy of Holland cf. *Adag.* 3535, 'Auris Bataua'.

52. praefationem] See Ep. 1128. 3n. The phrase quoted in ll. 39, 57 occurs at the end of it.

58. hunc interpretem] The abruptness of the transition suggests that Erasmus is here abridging his own *Apologia*. Comparison with that shows that by these words he intends the author of the *Transductio ecclesiastica* of the New Testament.

71. expectatione] Cf. Ep. 1114. 3n.

72. abitum] To Basle and Rome: cf. Epp. 1078. 62n, 1143. 79n.

75 oportet. Sic enim hic quotidie lapidor rabularum conuiciis, vt  
periculum sit ne conficiat tot saxis in vnum caput inuolantibus.  
Lutheri tragoedia peracta est apud nos; atque vtinam nunquam  
prodisset in theatrum! Tantum hoc verentur quidam, ne cupide  
vitata Scylla deferamur in Charybdim; et hac victoria quidam crude-  
80 lius abutantur quam expediat rei Christianae. Bene vale, patrone  
incomparabilis. Ex Anderlaco, vbi nunc ex vrmano factus rusticus  
sat suauiter ago. VI. Cal. Iulias. ANNO M.D.XXI.

## 1217. TO THE THEOLOGIANS OF LOUVAIN.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 659.  
HN: Lond. xvii. 19: LB. 603.

Anderlecht.  
(June?) 1521.

[Of the renewed attacks on Erasmus by Vincent Theodoric and Latomus, which led to this address to the Faculty of Theology, I can find no definite indication. Only a conjectural date is possible, between Luther's departure from Worms (l. 52n) and Erasmus' return from Anderlecht to Louvain in the middle of October on his way to Basle.]

## ERASMVVS ROT. THEOLOGVS LOVANIENS. S. D.

REVERENDI patres ac domini plurimum obseruandi, quoties con-  
sidero et ordinis theologici grauitatem et meam innocentiam, vel  
merita potius in sacrarum literarum cultores, si licet gloriosius  
aliquid dicere, non libet credere quae ad me deferuntur. Et tamen  
5 deferuntur a tam multis tamque grauibz viris, vt non possit omnino  
videri vanum quod tot ac talium autorum consensu probatur. Re-  
ferebat hoc omnium, vt istarum tragoediarum quae iam annis  
aliquot inter nos aguntur magno vestro meoque incommodo, tandem  
finis aliquis esset. Quid ego promeritus sim vigiliis meis, posteritas  
10 aequior iudicabit: quid Louanii sim passus a quorundam petulan-  
tissimis linguis, nulli potest obscure esse.

Nunc audio rursus instaurari tragoediam per quosdam, ducibus et  
autoribus Vincentio et Latomo: quorum alterum male habet epistola  
ad Cardinalem Mogontinensem, in qua videor illi perstringere ordi-  
15 nem Dominicalium; alterum offendit Consilium quoddam nullo  
autore vulgatum, de componenda tragoedia Lutherana, quod a me  
profectum esse quidam male suspicaces dietitant. Primum epistola,  
tum scripta cum nondum neque vestra condemnatio prodisset  
neque Pontificis censura, nihil aliud agit in summa quam vt Lutherus  
20 corrigatur potius quam vt magno orbis tumultu perdat. Eam  
epistolam obsignatam miseram ad quendam Cardinalis consiliarium,

1216. 81. Anderlaco H. 1217. TIT. LOVANIEN. H. 14. Moguntinensem H.

1216. 79. Scylla] Cf. Ep. 1186. 10n. 15. Consilium] See p. 357.  
81. rusticus] Cf. Ep. 1208. 1n. 18. condemnatio] See Ep. 1030. 16n.  
1217. 13. Vincentio] Theodoric; see 19. censura] *Exsurge, Domine*; see  
p. 463. Ep. 1141. 20n.  
Latomus] See Ep. 934. 3n. 21. consiliarium] Hutten; cf. pp.  
epistola] Ep. 1033. 96-7.

illi ius faciens redderet, si videretur expedire; sin minus, exureret. Is et sero reddidit et, priusquam redderet, excudendam curauit, mutatis etiam verbis aliquot, vt audio. Cum enim ego scripsissem 'de Luthero', ille mutauit 'de Luthero nostro'. Quod res tumultuosis clamoribus statim ageretur apud promiscuam multitudinem, neque tum probabam neque nunc probo. Et hoc plus habet ponderis apud omnes Parisiensium censura, quod sero prodierit. Nullum ordinem nec laesi vnquam nec odi. Malos odi, quacunq[ue] veste tegantur. Vt autem ordo sit honestissimus apud omnes, id in ipsis situm est, non in me. Quod si istis cordi est magni fieri apud omnes, eas dotes sibi parent quae famam honestam, quae auctoritatem ac fauorem concilient. Sin intelligunt se minoris fieri quam vellent, ea mutant vnde detrimentum opinionis nasci senserint.

Hactenus de epistola. Consilium illud non est a me profectum, sed a Praedicatore quodam theologo non vulgariter erudito. Id cuidam principi fuit exhibitum, vt expenderetur an placeret, et exhibitum fuit ante vulgatam Captiuitatem Babylonicam, cum res esset adhuc sanabilior. Id quoque nescio quo casu vulgatum est a Germanis, qui haud scio quo consilio nihil non habent palam. Ac mihi quidem tum exhibuit Praedicator ille, qui non negabit esse suum; nec mihi displicuit omnino, vt ingenue dicam. Non enim hoc agebat, vt rescinderetur sententia Pontificis aut vestra, sed vt hominum persuasioni satisfaceret, qui clamitabant, et adhuc clamitant, Lutherum auctoritate opprimi; nec laederetur auctoritas Pontificis, si volens aliquid remitteret de sua seueritate ob publicam tranquillitatem. Atque id Consilium placuit etiam regibus, nisi Captiuitas aliq[ue] huic similes libelli complurium animos alienassent. In consultationibus liberum est vnicuique dicere suam sententiam, opinor. Et pium est tranquillitati publicae consulere, modo id fiat incolumi Pontificis dignitate. Quod si fas non est, qua fronte, cum Lutherus esset Vuormaciae, magnis studiis hoc ipsum agebatur per viros laudatissimos, idque cum laude? Ita si meum esset hoc Consilium, vt non est, tamen non video cur mihi sit excitanda tragoedia. Nunc habet autorem suum, quem non pudebit fateri.

Meministis quantum tragoediarum mihi concitatum sit ex falsissima suspicione, cum primum prodissent opera Lutheri, ob praefatiunculam paulo politio[ri]orem: cum et verissimum sit et a me crebro testatum, in omnibus illius libris nullam esse syllabam me conscio aut

34. *H*: senserit *F*.  
 42. mihi *add.* *H*.

36. praedicatore *F*: Dominicano *H*.  
 41. praedi-

25. Luthero nostro] See p. 98.

28. censura] See Epp. 1141. 19n, 1202. 22on.

sero] as compared with those of Cologne and Louvain; see Ep. 1030. 16n.

29. ordinem] Cf. Ep. 1006. 4n.

36. Praedicatore] John Faber; see Ep. 1149 introd.

37. principi] The Abp. of Mainz; see *Spongia* (LB. x. 1648 B = HE. 333, § 158).

38. Captiuitatem] published c. 6 Oct. 1520 (LE<sup>2</sup>. 350. 38): see Ep. 1153. 146n.

40. a Germanis] Cf. Ep. 1186. 22n.

50. consulere] This sentence roughly reproduces the title of the *Consilium*.

52. Vuormaciae] Luther left Worms on 26 April: see also Ep. 1203. 10n.

59. paulo politio[ri]orem] Cf. Epp. 1167. 106, 1225. 108-9.

volente scriptam. Imo semper hunc exitum timui, et ideo modis omnibus conatus sum hominem ab hoc scribendi genere detertere. Nunc cauendum est prudentiae vestrae ne denuo ex suspicione simili laedatis proximum. Homicidii genus est famam hominis impetere.

65 Quo magis demiror quid sibi proponat Vincentius, qui nusquam de me cessat maledicentissime loqui, opportune, importune, lacerare nomen Erasmi, lapidare me conuiciis. Quod si ego talis essem qualem ille me falso praedicat, tamen tanta linguae procacitas indecora sit et sacerdoti et monacho et theologo, pestilens etiam vestrae

70 Academiae, ne huius exemplo consuescant et in innoxios sic debacchari. Nec alia re peius consulere potest ordini suo. Nam virulentam et impotentem maledicentiam improbant et ii qui mihi male volunt. Porro eos qui sunt alieni, non alienat a me; qui mihi bene volunt, hos offendit. Sunt autem vbique non pauci qui

75 nobis bene cupiunt, haudquaquam exambitis fauoribus, sed utilitate studiorum nobis deuincti. Quod si ego velim meo calamo tam insolenter vt quam ille sua lingua, nonne res in manifestam rabiem exiret? Nonne scandalo essemus et Christianis et Christiani nominis hostibus? Sed ille me contemnit, quasi non pluribus nominibus

80 illum vicissim possem contemnere, si contemnere nos inuicem esset Christiani pectoris: aut quasi meum sit digladiari cum talibus qualis ille est, si res agatur ingenii praesidiis. Quod si certandum sit linguae virulentia, impudentia, procacitate, facile reperietur mulier aliqua quae cum tali hominum genere congregiatur.

85 Sed vt mittamus Vincentium, a quo, qualis qualis est, vinci me non patiar, si bonis rebus mecum certet, hoc est si quid adferat quod magis pietatem ad Christi gloriam veramque pietatem: a Latomo inuitus dissideo, vel ob eruditionem non prorsus aspernamdam, vel ob quaecunque commercium cum Musis amoenioribus; et

90 inuitus credo, quod tamen a multis audio, praesertim cum a me nunquam sit laesus. Illud nobis vel sero cauendum est, ne mordentes inuicem consumamur alteri ab alteris. Seditiosa nunquam mihi placuerunt. Neque Reuchlini neque Lutheri factioni me vnquam admiscui; Christi gloriae pro mea virili semper faui.

95 Vestrae Academiae nihil attuli neque dedecoris neque incommodi. Lutheranis libellis obstiti plusquam quisquam mortalium: non quod nesciam illum pleraque bene monere, sed quod intelligam satius esse bene tacere quam sinistre tentare remedia. In omnibus quae illi siue vere siue falso inscribuntur, non est vllus apex meus.

100 Libellos maledicos qui vndique prouolant, vtinam prohibere possem vel mea causa! Nam omnes me grauunt inuidia, quidam etiam infamant, ac magis laedunt qui laudant quam qui maledicunt. Illud certissimum est, in his omnibus nihil esse meum. Et de quorundam autoribus est mihi nonnulla suspicio; de plerisque nec suspicari

105 possum vnde prodierint.

Sollicitatus sum a multis etiam magnatibus vt prodirem in partes

68. me om. H.

72. F Corrig.: virulentiam F.

93. Reuchlini] Cf. Ep. 1155. 18n.

100. Libellos] Cf. Ep. 1195. 4n.

96. obstiti] Cf. Ep. 1033. 47n.

106. Sollicitatus sum] Cf. Epp. 1154,

98. bene tacere] Cf. Ep. 1119. 40n.

1161, 1225. 177-80.

Lutheri. Sensi et alia quaedam hic non referenda. Reieci manibus ac pedibus. Ab aduersariis, praesertim monachis, tam atrociter sum impetitus vt etiam si fuisset antea inimicus Lutheri, odiis potuerim impelli vt illi adiungerer. Rursus sentio Lutheri fautores hoc omnibus studiis egisse, vt technis me pertraherent in hoc certamen; quod si non possent, vi nolentem volentem pertraherent. Nihil horum me dimouere potuit ab instituto meo. Executiantur omnia scripta, dicta etiam ioco inter pocula effusa; nihil aliud comperietur quam mihi displicuisse subitos ac seditiosos clamores apud populum, et placuisse rem absque tumultu orbis transigi. Si aliis placuit diuersa ratio, precor vt Christo sit felix; sed adhuc qualis sit futurus exitus nescio.

Si in me situm esset, cras esset haec sedata tempestas. Si mihi non est vobiscum arcta amicitia, per me non stetit. Coepta erat in Falcone; comprobata erat superiorum malorum obliuio, etiamsi quicquid erat malorum, in meum reciderat caput. Nec enim Ioannes Atensis ambisset concordiam, ni sibi conscius fuisset se vana suspitione deceptum mihi mouisse eam tragoediam. Nec video quid obstiterit quo minus coaluerit illa pax, nisi quod non esset satis placatus Egmondanus. Nec video quid ille mihi sit infensus, nisi quod pro maledictis, quae in me ingessit etiam antequam vidisset, non egerim homini gratias. Quod si hoc est consilium quorundam, vt me quouis modo petant, animis etiam gladiatorii ac fictis criminibus, primum videant ne hoc non sit illis tam secundis ventis successurum quam putant, et si succedat, videant ne non tam felix futurum sit quam sibi pollicentur. Postremo si decreuerunt prorsus abolere Lutherum, paulo melius succedet, si me non admisceant. Quicquid tamen molientur alii, me nemo diuellet a petra Christi, nullus inuoluet vlli factioni. Quod si fuisset Lutheranus, nihil aliud dicam, res illius melius haberent. Sed absit vt aliud sim quam Christianus.

Hactenus in illum non scripsi. Verum est. Si non prodest mihi metus periculorum, si praeter alias causas innumeras oculi penuria, senectus, corporis imbecillitas, certe prosit imperitia rei theologiae, quam isti mihi summam tribuunt, et ego magna ex parte agnosco. Postremo cum tres Academiae damnarint Lutherum, cum summus ipse Pontifex fulmen suum in eum torserit, cum suum addiderit Caesar, quid habitura sit momenti meae censurae accessio, vermiculi potius quam hominis? praesertim cum vndique tam multi prodeant vestro iudicio doctissimi qui scribant in Lutherum. Et tamen pro mea virili non deero, neque tranquillitati Ecclesiae Catholicae, neque

107. hic non referenda add. H.

120. amicitia] Cf. Ep. 1016. 15n.

121. Falcone] Of the four *paedagogia* belonging to the Arts Faculty, three—du Porc, du Lis, and du Château—were founded in 1430; the fourth, du Faucon, was in existence in 1442, but little is known of it before 1546. See E. van Even, *Louvain monumental*, 1860, pp. 295-7.

142. tres Academiae] Cologne and

Louvain and Paris.

144. Caesar] For the condemnation of Luther, in an Imperial Edict issued at the close of the Diet of Worms, see Creighton v. 156-7. It was dated 8 May, when it was finally drawn up, but was not actually signed till 25 May: before long it was printed (Ep. 1221. 44n). For an earlier proclamation see Ep. 1192. 66n.

veritati Euangelicae, neque dignitati Romani Pontificis, cum licebit.  
 Et fortassis plus adferam momenti quam ii qui putant his tumultibus  
 150 rem posse confici. Illud nobis videndum, ne sic oderimus Lutherum  
 vt illius odio perdamus et ea quae sunt optima; et ita seruiamus  
 dignitati nostrae vt non laedamus auctoritatem Euangelicae veritatis,  
 et ita faueamus hominum gloriae ne quid officiamus gloriae Christi.  
 In me interim si quid habetis, ne agite conuiciis, quemadmodum  
 155 nuper apud Rectorem Rosemundanum egit Egmondanus, et nunquam  
 non agit Vincentius. Argumentis agite, et satisfaciam vobis per  
 omnia. Quod si voletis officiis certare, non patiar me vinci. Sin  
 erunt qui malint maleficiis contendere, non contendam quidem in  
 hoc genere vincere; sed tamen conabor meam innocentiam defendere,  
 160 nec puto defutura praesidia Christi ac bonorum virorum. Bene  
 valete, domini reuerendi et fratres in Christo obseruandi.

Ex Anderlaco. An. M.D.XXI.

# 1218. TO RICHARD PACE.

British Museum MS., Harl. 6989, f. 5.  
 Jortin ii. 396: LB. 583.

Brussels.  
 5 July 1521.

[An original letter, autograph throughout: now in the British Museum, as part of the collection formed by Robert Harley, earl of Oxford († 1724). It was first printed by T. Crenius (T. T. Crusius) in his *Animaduers. philol.*, Leiden, 1699, v. 238, and then by J. W. van Meel in an appendix to *Hotomanorum Epistolae*, Amsterdam, 1700, p. 427. To both editors (Crenius p. 238; van Meel f. 2\*, v°) it had been communicated by the young J. Burkhard Menkenius of Leipzig (ADB. xxi. 310), who with a friend, G. F. Schutz, had been travelling in England in 1698. But the text as they print it, is defective; for the variants show that Menkenius' transcript was made not 'ex autographo', as Crenius states, but from a xvii<sup>c</sup>. copy which accompanies it in the Harleian volume (f. 6), and which though often inaccurate, is more easily decipherable. As Harley's first considerable purchase of books was made in 1705 (DNB. xxiv. 405), it seems likely that this manuscript was not in his hands when Menkenius saw it.

For LB. Leclerc was supplied with another copy, made—it is not evident whether from the original or its copy, or from Menkenius' transcript—by Sebastian Kortholt, professor of eloquence at Kiel. Leclerc accepts his readings, which vary from van Meel's printed text in many places: but they are not always more correct. These variants need not be reproduced here; for the original does not admit of any doubt.

The manuscript year-date is quite clear: it is confirmed by the resemblances to Epp. 1221, 1236. In Ep. 1342, 64-5 Erasmus says that after Charles' return from Germany to Brussels (where he arrived on 14 June) 'propemodum magis habitabam Bruxellae quam Anderlaci'. In view of this, the fact that this letter is dated from Brussels and Ep. 1221 from Anderlecht on the same day, creates no discrepancy. Pace was now with the King at Windsor.

The last four lines of the manuscript are reproduced in J. G. Nichols' *Autographs of remarkable personages*, 1829. The address-sheet is missing.]

S. VTINAM huic fabulae, quam nobis parum auspicato exorsus est  
 Lutherus, deus aliquis ἀπὸ μηχανῆς felicem imponat finem! Dedit  
 ipse telum hostibus suis quo confoderetur, atque ita rem gessit quasi

1217. 157. Sin *F* Corrig.: Sint *F*.

1217. 155. nuper] See Ep. 1162.



seruari nolle; frequenter et meis litteris et amicorum vocibus admonitus ut stili mucronem temperaret. Tanta est enim in eo 5 acerbitas ut, etiam si omnia essent verissima que scripsit, tamen res non potuerit habere felicem exitum. At vereor ne Iacobitae et theologi quidam parum moderate sint vsuri victoria sua; presertim Louanienses, quos habet priuatum quoddam in me odium. Et nacti sunt ad eam rem organum longe accommodissimum, Hieronymum 10 Aleandrum. Is satis insanit suapte natura, etiamsi nullus instiget; nunc habet instigatores qui possint etiam moderatissimum ingenium ad insaniam adigere. Prouolant vndique libelli virulentissimi: hos omnes mihi tribuit Aleander, cum ego multos nescirem natos priusquam ex illo cognoscerem. Agnouit Lutherus suos libros apud 15 Cesarem: et tamen ex his mihi tribuit Captiuitatem Babylonicam. O me fecundum, qui tot libellis scribendis sufficiam! cum interim difficillimo labore reconcinnem Nouum Testamentum, castig(em) Augustini libros, preter alias studii portiones. Dispeream si in omnibus Lutheri libris est vna syllaba mea, aut si vllus maledicus 20 liber me autore prodiit: imo deterreo sedulo.

Nunc hoc agunt, ut doceant Lutherum quedam hausisse e meis libris, quasi non plura hauserit ex Epistolis Paulinis. Nunc demum sentio hoc fuisse consilium Germanorum, ut me volentem nolentem pertraherent in Lutheri negocium. Inconsultum me hercle consi- 25 lium. Qua re me potius alienassent? Aut quid ego potuissem opitulari Luthero, si me periculi comitem fecissem, nisi ut pro vno perirent duo? Quo spiritu ille scripserit non queo satis demirari, certe bonarum litterarum cultores ingenti grauauit inuidia. Multa quidem preclare et docuit et monuit. Atque vtinam sua bona 30 malis intolerabilibus non viciasset! Quod si omnia pie scripsisset, non tamen erat animus ob veritatem capite periclitari. Non omnes ad martyrium satis habent roboris. Vereor enim ne, si quid incideret tumultus, Petrum sim imitaturus. Pontifices ac Cesaes bene decernentes sequor, quod pium est; male statuentes fero, quod 35 tutum est. Id opinor etiam bonis viris licere, si nulla sit spes profectus. Ac rursus libellum de Iulio mihi impingunt; adeo nihil relinquunt intentatum, quo ledant non tam me quam bona studia, que nollent isti sic efflorescere.

Sed de me viderit Christus, cui semper meae seruiant litterulae. 40 Posteaquam Lutherus abiit in fauillas, eamque laudem sibi vindicant Predicatores ac theologi quidam non admodum synceri, videndum est cordatis principibus, ne ius laxetur istis seuiendi in innoxios ac de religione Christiana benemerentes, neue ita feramur odio in ea que male scripsit Lutherus, ut e benedictis fructum amittamus. 45

Cetera cognosces e Mori litteris. R. D. Cardinali, patrono ac

7. Iacobite] Cf. Ep. 1153. 113n.

13. libelli] Cf. Ep. 1195. 4n.

15. Agnouit Lutherus] At his first interview with Charles on 17 April: see *Acta Wormatiæ habita*, in his *Opera Latina*, vol. ii. Cf. Epp. 1219. 88, 1236. 141.

16. tribuit] sc. Aleander.

Captiuitatem] See Ep. 1217. 38n.

18. Testamentum] See Ep. 1174. 15n.

19. Augustini] See Ep. 1144. 71n.

22. hausisse] Cf. Ep. 1195. 62.

37. de Iulio] See Ep. 502 introd.

41. Lutherus] sc. libri Lutheri, as a consequence of Charles' edict (Ep. 1192. 66n): cf. Ep. 1221. 41-4, also Epp. 1102. 13n, 1157. 6, 1186. 15n.

46. Mori litteris] Not extant.

Cardinali] Wolsey: whose mission to the Continent (see p. 551) was now being anticipated.

domino meo incomparabili, facies, quam potes, commendatissimum.  
Bene vale, Patee clarissime.

Bruxellae 3. Nonas. Iulias. An. 1521.

Erasmus tuus.

1219. TO WILLIAM BLOUNT, LORD MOUNTJOY.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 666.

Anderlecht.

HN: Lond. xvii. 26: LB. 606.

<c. 5 July ?> 1521.

[Between the Diet of Worms (l. 88) and the publication of F. The numerous resemblances to Ep. 1218 suggest that this letter is of the same date. The resemblances to Ep. 1195 are also striking; but the difference of date is shown by the statements about Luther's acknowledgement of his own books (cf. l. 88 with Ep. 1195. 69-70).

With Ep. 1228 this letter is appended to the Strasburg editions of Henry VIII's *Assertio*, 9 Aug. and 7 Sept. 1522 (see Ep. 1227. 5n), the latter being a translation into German by Murner (Ep. 1397. 26n); but as there is no variation in either of them, Grieninger was no doubt reprinting from F. For Murner's translations see the Weimar edition of Luther's *Werke*, x, pt. 2, pp. 175-6; and, for their character, cf. Ep. 1228. 25, 58n.]

ERASMVS ROT. CLARISS. BARONI GVILHELMO MONTIOIO S. D.

Qvo syncerior est tuus in nos affectus, vir clarissime, quoque tu nobis es Moecenas amicior, hoc magis doleo me tibi non esse perinde felicem amicum quam animi tui candor iste promerebatur. Scribis isthic per nescio quos spargi rumorem me Lutheranae factionis non  
5 solum fautorem sed adiutorem etiam ac propemodum autorem esse; et hortaris vt me purgem, aedito aduersus Lutherum libro. Quod quum non minus impudens mendacium sit quam si quis dicat Erasmum alatum esse, paucis aperiā fontem vnde rumor iste manarit.

10 Sunt hic aliquot mihi plusquam capitaliter infensi, quod linguas ac bonas literas credar in ipsorum regnum inuexisse. Hi et antequam Lutheri nomen audisset orbis, vndique telum aliquod quae-  
rebant quo suum dolorem vleiscerentur. Itaque qui rumorem hunc primi genuerant, nondum sibi persuaserunt quod aliis persuadere  
15 conati sunt. Idem Hieronymum Aleandrum, nuncium apostolicum, hominem apprime doctum, mihiqve vetere ac iucundissima necessitudine coniunctum, miris mendaciis in me conati sunt iritare. Voli-  
tabant libelli nescio qui maledici hinc atque hinc. Horum suspici-  
onem Germani quidam, vt ab se depellerent, in me deriuarunt.  
20 Quid multis? persuaserant homini, vt acri simplici ingenio praedito, ita credulo, me parum amice de ipso et sentire et loqui. Nec defuerunt qui coalescentem amicitiam nouis subinde delationibus discinderent.

Caeterum hoc habe tibi quouis Sibyllae folio certius, in omnibus

1219. TIT. CLARISS. BARONI *om. H.*

1219. 15. Aleandrum] Cf. Epp. 1195.  
47n, 1213. 31n.

16. necessitudine] Cf. Ep. 1195. 50n.  
17. Volitabant] Cf. Ep. 1218. 13.

Lutheri aut Lutheranorum libris nec vnam syllabam esse meam, 25  
aut me conscio scriptam. Nec faui; nisi forte fauet qui dehortatur  
ab instituto, qui pro viribus obstat ne libri illius exeant in vulgus.  
Primus enim omnium praesagii futurum vt haec res exiret in  
grauem orbis tumultum. Nec cum Luthero nec cum villo Lutherano  
foedus clancularium inii: et adeo non addidi cuiquam animos, vt 30  
omnes quos potui, tum dictis tum scriptis deterruerim ab instituto  
periculoso. Tantum improbabam quorundam praecipites tumultus,  
praesertim apud populum, priusquam satis appareret quorsum iret  
Lutherus.

Nemo non fatetur disciplinam ecclesiasticam longe prolapsam 35  
esse a synceritate Euangelica, populum Christianum multis modis  
grauatum esse, conscientias hominum variis tricis illaqueatas. His  
malis Lutherus bonis ac doctis videbatur remedium aliquod allaturus.  
Et passim fauentibus omnibus, solus extiti monitor, vt stilum  
verteret ac negotium tractaret Euangelica mansuetudine. Nemo te 40  
melius nouit quam mihi semper cordi fuerit pax, quam inuisum  
bellum. Itaque si Lutherus omnia vere scripsisset, mihi tamen  
magnopere displiceret seditiosa libertas. Ego vel falli malim in  
nonnullis quam tanto orbis tumultu pro veritate digladiari. Et in  
huiusmodi contentionibus, post cruentas rixas re discussa, tandem 45  
comperitur aliquoties eadem esse partis vtriusque sententia, de verbis  
modo dimicatum fuisse. Euangelicae doctrinae Christique gloriae  
semper faui, bonis literis hactenus faui, vt seruirent gloriae Christi.  
Dolebam plus satis tribui theologiae argutatrici: veterem prorsus  
abolere molestum erat.

Hic fuit scopus lucubrationum mearum. Nec huius instituti me 50  
poenitet. Lutherum exoriturum qui potui diuinare, qui meis scriptis  
abuteretur? Iactant enim illum quaedam e meis libris hausisse.  
At quo pacto queam praestare ne quis meis scriptis abutatur, quum  
plurimi sint abusi libris Euangelicis? Et tamen si quis deus mihi 55  
praedixisset hoc seculum exoriturum, quaedam aut non scripsissem  
aut aliter scripsissem: non quod perniciose scripserim, sed quod  
non omnia quouis tempore recte dicuntur. Atque ego sane hoc  
animo sum vt ne Turcas quidem cupiam offendere, si liceat. Germani  
fremunt in me quod aduerser Luthero; et isthic, vt video, sum 60  
Lutheranus? Ita veluti Mercurius quispiam versatilis alius sum  
hic, alius isthic. Nec technis quorundam, nec pollicitis nec odiis  
aliorum vnquam percelli potui, aut potero, vt alius sim quam Chri-  
stianus. Male sit omnibus qui gaudent dissidiorum vocabulis. Si  
Lutheranus est qui tuetur quicquid Lutherus scripsit aut scripturus 65

25. nec vnam syllabam] Cf. Ep. 1218.  
20.

35. Nemo non] Cf. Faber's *Consilium*  
(see p. 357): 'Nullus ignorat vitam  
Christianam rebus paulatim in de-  
terius prolabantibus multum degene-  
rasse ab illa syncera Christi Euan-  
gelica doctrina, adeo vt nemo non  
fateatur ...'

39. monitor] Cf. Ep. 980. 38-51.

40. Nemo te melius] An eloquent  
testimony to the intimacy of Erasmus'

relations with his 'Moeenas vetustis-  
simus' (Epp. 783. 30, 829. 3).

41. inuisum bellum] For his writ-  
ings against war see I, p. 37. 7-9, Epp.  
288, 575. 111, 603, and the Panegyric  
(Epp. 179, 180). His feeling on the  
subject breaks out repeatedly in his  
letters, e.g. Epp. 289. 2-3, 335. 180-1,  
549. 6-30, 586. 253-7, 704. 46-7, 858.  
248-51, 378-87, 919. 35-41, 1225. 225-6.

53. Iactant] Cf. Ep. 1195. 62.

59. Turcas] Cf. Ep. 1041. 28n.

est, quid me dementius, si Lutheranus haberi velim, quum illius libros non legam? Aut quid esset causae quur me coniciam in factionem tam periculosam? Risi vero satis censorem istum qui ex colloquio deprehendit Lutherum nihil aliud esse quam caudicem  
 70 ac stipitem, omnis theologiae rudem. Vtinam vir ille tantum haberet moderationis quantum habet eruditionis theologiae! Et vtinam tam studuisset concordiae Christianae quam se declarauit aliquid posse in sacris literis! Sed interim vbi iudicium illius qui apud vos et habetur et est rei theologiae callentissimus, qui palam  
 75 in regia pronunciauit Erasmum non minore interuallo relinqui a Luthero in scientia sacrarum literarum, quam ille ab Erasmo vinceretur eloquentia? Et qua fronte nunc me volunt committere cum Luthero, qui hactenus me blaterarunt nihil aliud esse quam grammatisten?

80 Sed finge nihil scire Lutherum. Quid tum postea? Bellum vero enthymema illius, qui, vt scribis, placido vultu te intuens subindicauit, si Lutherus esset indoctus, a me profectos illius libros. Germania tot viris eruditis et eloquentibus abundat, et ego tam longe semotus solus illi adfui scribenti. Quid opus erat ad ista  
 85 tam stolida respondere? Sed magnates sunt qui ista dicunt. Sed neque stemmata neque torques addit sapientiam. Praestaret istos in conuiuuiis de venatu loqui potius quam de his rebus quas non intelligunt. Lutherus suos libros agnouit omnes apud Caesarem. Ego nihil vnquam aedidi cui non apposuerim nominis mei titulum.  
 90 Nec vnquam aliena mihi vindicaui, nec mea titulis alienis supposui. Ab obscoenitate, a seditione, a periculosa asseueratione semper abstinui. Ecclesiae iudicio mea semper submisi, doctorum hominum consiliis libenter auscultau; paratus etiam nunc sarcire, si quid offendit doctos et graues viros. Excipio paucos qui et impotentis  
 95 odii et parum integri iudicii sui manifesta dederunt argumenta. Mihi nunquam fuit animus pugnare cum Ecclesiae primatibus. Si praescriberent quae facient ad gloriam Christi, lubentes amplectemur. Sin erit quod nobis merito displiceat, modo ne sit palam impium, tolerabimus. Habent illi dominum suum, cui stant aut cadunt.  
 100 Et arbitror phas esse tacere quod verum est, si non sit spes fructus. Sic Christus tacuit apud Herodem. Nec sum tam temerarius vt pugnare velim cum edictis summorum principum, tantillus vermiculus. Si poscent a me consilium, et volent id licere tuto, dabo pro mea simplicitate, si non prudens, certe fidele. Non de nihilo est  
 105 quod hic affectus tot gentium animos occupauit, ac subinde repullulat malum. Fortassis magis expedierit imitari prudentes medicos, qui saniem omnem repurgant priusquam vulnus obducant cicatrice, qui

84. erat *H* : eat *F*.

98. nobis merito *add. H*.

99. cui *H* : qbus *F*.

68. censorem] I cannot identify any of the three critics mentioned here. It is evident from l. 81 that Erasmus had heard of them from Mountjoy.

88. Lutherus] Cf. Ep. 1218. 15n.

89. aedidi] This statement is correct, if the emphasis be laid on *aedidi* : see

Ep. 502 introd. It may be compared with the crafty utterance in Ep. 967. 180-5.

90. titulis alienis] But cf. the works discussed in Epp. 495 introd., 1061. 505n, 1149 introd.

92. submisi] Cf. Ep. 1225. 119n.

100. tacere] Cf. Ep. 1119. 40n.

e venis eiciunt morbi materiam, potius quam illos qui febrim vi depellunt mox recursuram. Si non poscent a me consilium, con- quiescam et, quatenus licet, seruiam Euangelico negotio; et si quid 110 secus agetur quam vellem, precabor Christum vt animos illorum vertat ad meliora.

Porro quod scribis mihi in manu esse totum hunc tumultum componere, vtinam vera praedicaret tua celsitudo! Ne exorta quidem fuisset haec tragoedia. Clamitant hic mihi non esse calamum. Imo 115 calamus est, sed innumera sunt quae dehortantur. Lutherum vocare fungum perfacile est; idoneis argumentis tueri causam fidei, mihi certe difficillimum. Et haec non admodum successit aliis. Et tamen ad hoc negotium lubentius accingerer, si certus essem quosdam qui sub praetextu fidei mundi causam agunt, vsuros sua victoria 120 in rem Christianae religionis. Et tamen hoc animo petemus Basileam, vt absolutis quae sunt in manibus, aliquid moliamur quod conducat huic dissidio sopiendo, certe testemur animum nostrum. Nec tamen video quorsum attineat me tam arduum suscipere negotium, quum sint docti, magni, graues, summa autoritate praediti, 125 qui iam prouinciam aggressi sunt. Argutum vero lemma proferunt isti qui dicunt, 'Qui tacet, consentire videtur'. Si tacent qui non scribunt, ingens consensus est. Et tamen ita tacui vt Lutheranos omnes in me concitarim.

Sed vt finiam, optime Moecenas, nihil est quod dubites de tuo 130 Erasmo; neque pietas, neque religio, neque mores, neque tranquillitas publica meis literis laedetur. Innocentiam praestare possum, linguas hominum in manu non habeo. Qui talia blaterant, reddituri sunt rationem Deo vel temeritatis vel maliciae. Si hominibus parum approbare possum meos conatus, certe confido me Christo approba- 135 turum. Et si hoc seculum parum erit gratum laboribus meis, posteritas erit aequiore iudicio. Postremo est aliquid vel vnus Christi calculum tulisse.

Haec scripsi raptim ex tempore, forte oblato tabellione. Scribam alias accuratius. 140

Ex Anderlaco. Anno millesimo quingentesimo vigesimoprimum.

#### 1220. TO THOMAS MORE.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 637.

HN: Lond. xvii. 7: LB. 556.

Anderlecht.

<c. 5 July? 1521.>

[Between Ep. 1210, in which More's appointment as Treasurer is announced, and Ep. 1223, which clearly refers to this letter: perhaps contemporary with Ep. 1218. Very likely Goclenius, hearing of More's expected arrival in the Netherlands (cf. Ep. 1210. 13-14), had asked for an introduction.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS CLARISSIMO EQVITI AVRATO THOMAE MORO,  
SERENISSIMI REGIS ANGLORVM A THESAVRIS, S. D.

MAIOREM in modum probo laudoque mentem istam tuam, More clarissime, qui nulla re magis gaudeas ditescere quam fidis ac

1219. 121. Et tamen *F*: Tametsi *H*. 141. Anno . . . vigesimoprimum *add. H*  
(Anno M.D.XXI *N*). 1220. TIT. CLARISSIMO EQVITI AVRATO *om. H*.

1219. 120. vsuros] Cf. Ep. 1218. 5.

synceris amicis, nec alibi praecipuam huius vitae delectationem ponendam esse ducas. Aliis cautio summa est ne gemmis adulterinis  
5 deludantur; tu talium opum contemptor abunde locuples tibi videris si tuis possessionibus accesserit amicus neutiquam fucatus. Nec vlli suauior est alea, laterunculi, venatio, musica, quam tibi cum amico docto ingenuoque libera confabulatio.

Hoc opum genere cum vehementer abundes, tamen quoniam  
10 sciebam homini auaro nihil esse satis, et mihi tibiue iam saepe successit feliciter, vnum etiam tibi traditurus sum in manum, quem tu totum totus totoque pectore possis amare. Is est Conradus Goclenius, gente Vuesphalus. Qui populus vt vulgo rudior habetur, ita multos nobis dedit summis ingeniis minimeque vulgari doctrina  
15 praeditos. Non aliud genus mortalium laboris patientius; fide morumque synceritate, simplici prudentia et prudenti simplicitate potissimum commendantur. Scis nuper institutum Louanii Trilingue Collegium. In eo publice Latinas literas maxima cum laude summo totius Academiae fructu profitetur, ea morum integritate  
20 comitateque vt literas quas docet, etiam apud illos reddat gratias qui prius auersabantur. Ingenium argutum, quod feliciter sui specimen prae-buit, etiam in his disciplinis quas solenniter tradunt in scholis publicis. Sales habet, sed prorsus Atticos, ac lepidis fabellis vel tecum certare queat. In carmine peculiarem quandam habet  
25 gratiam, nusquam non dilucidus, nusquam non duleis et amoenus. Nec est vllum argumentum tam inamabile quod illo tractante non mitescat. In prosa oratione sic est sui similis, imo sic est sui dissimilis, vt illius soluta legens putes eum prorsus alienum esse a carmine.

30 Ad amicitiam plane factus videtur: quam si semel cum eo coieris, non est quod metuas ne quis casus eam dirimat. Hoc vsu venit in his qui vel natura perfidi sunt vel impotentibus affectibus: siquidem istiusmodi solent ad enatam occasionem desciscere, et amicitiae legibus neglectis animo suo morem gerere. Hic neque gloriae  
35 est appetens, neque iniuriae admodum vindex, neque voluptatis vllius immodice auidus. Inuidere quid sit, ne per somnium quidem vnquam intellexit, tantus est ingenii candor. Quod ad vitae consuetudinem attinet, nihil eo facilius nec magis alienum ab omni morositate. Caeterum a lucro nihil hoc auersius, tametsi fortuna adhuc tenuis  
40 est, nec aliud suppetitans quam victum mundum et supellectilem literariam. Quod si nostri principes prophani pariter atque ecclesiastici didicissent egregiis ingeniis habere suum honorem, quem admodum apud Italos habetur, Goclenius noster totus aureus esset.

Sed tamen expergiscuntur. Iam enim fere nullus est magnatum  
45 qui non curet suos liberos bonis literis diligenter instituendos, licet

7. laterunculi *N.*

12. possis *F.*: potes *H.*

42. suum *add. H.*

4. gemmis adulterinis] These words are used in the story of More and his wife told in the *Moria*: see Ep. 999. 168n.

7. laterunculi] Cf. Ep. 748. 34.

13. rudior] Cf. the account of Jacob of Vreden in my *Age of Erasmus*, p. 75: derived from D. J. Becker's translation of Butzbach's *Hodoeporicon*, 1869,

p. 199n. In the *De pronuntiatione* (LB. i. 935 c, 936 f-937 a) Erasmus describes the breadth of the Westphalian speech as *immodicus*.

18. Collegium] Cf. Ep. 1221. 12 seq.

23. scholis publicis] Cf. Ep. 1002. 9n.

45. liberos] Cf. Epp. 737, 1018, 1192. 80-83, 1208, 1237.

inter aulicos procures nemo literas calleat praeter vnum Georgium Haloinum: cui cultae hactenus praeter inuidiam nihil fructus attulerunt, quanquam, ni fallor, breui plurimum dignitatis sunt allaturae. Iam spero futurum vt simul atque Goclenium propius cognoris, ab vtroque mihi gratiae agantur: quod nuper accidit in Francisco Craneueldio, qui vnum sic te totum possidet vt illi propemodum inuideam. Bene vale. Anderlaci [Anno M.D.XX].

## 1221. TO DANIEL TAYSPIL.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 612.  
HN: Lond. xvi. 15: LB. 584.

Anderlecht.  
5 July 1521.

[The year-date needs no confirmation.

Daniel Tayspil († 17 June 1533) of Neuve Église, n. of Armentières (or ? Nieu-kerken, Waes), joined the Praemonstratensians of St. Augustine's near Terouenne (GC. iii. 539). Being appointed Suffragan to Francis of Melun, bp. of Terouenne († 22 Nov. 1521), he assumed the customary title of bp. of Gibel *in partibus* (cf. Ep. 130. 63n). In 1524 he was elected Abbot of Wormezel, a house of Austin canons, s. of Ypres (GC. v. 351); the chronicle of which (see *Recueil de Chroniques de la Flandre*, 1<sup>e</sup> sér., Bruges, 1847, pp. 14, 15) describes him as interested in learning, and strict in enforcing discipline. EE<sup>2</sup>. 111, where the date of his death is given as 20 June, speaks of him as '(Erasmii) amantissimus', and as knowing Latin and Greek. Peter Tayspil, who was President of the Council of Flanders in 1527, was perhaps a kinsman.]

ERASMVS ROTEROD. R. D. DANIELI TAISPILLO, EPISCOPO GEBELDENSII,  
R. D. EPISCOPI MORINENSIS A SVFFRAGIIS, S. D.

REVERENDE Pater, mox vt Bruxellae mihi redditae sunt tuae literae, accersiui ad colloquium Aegidium Buslidium, virum adeo propense fauentem bonis literis vt suis etiam damnis faueat. Exosculatus est animum tuum, qui cum honestis studiis, tum Buslidiani nominis gloriae tam ex animo consultum velles. Legit autem et tuas ad me et Agathii ad te literas. Placuit ingenium, et cupit hominem accersi,

1220. 52. Anderlaci Anno M.D.XX add. H.

1221. TIT. R. D. om. H bis.

1220. 46. nemo] Cf. Epp. 1004. 145n, 1233. 99n. Erasmus was doubtless thinking of the contrast with More himself and Mountjoy: to whom he was perhaps now writing (Ep. 1219). Cf. also his frequent eulogies of the English Court (Ep. 999. 221n).

47. Haloinum] See Ep. 641 introd.

51. Craneueldio] See Ep. 1145.

1221. 2. Buslidium] See Ep. 686 introd.

6. Agathii] Probably Ag. Guidacerius († c. Nov. 1540), 'clericus ex Calabro oppido Roccha Coragii', apparently Catanzaro; author of *Grammatica Hebraicae linguae*, s. l. et n. (c. 1517?), dedicated to Leo x. In the preface to this he states that for seven years he had studied Hebrew at Rome under a Portuguese Jew, Rabi Jacob

Gabbai; and had received encouragement from Adrian de Castello, as well as from Leo. He visited Alciati at Avignon c. 30 Oct. (1518) (*M. Gudii Epistolae*, ed. P. Burmann, 1697, p. 75), perhaps in quest of employment; which he appears subsequently to have found under Leo x. In spite of the present application he continued teaching at Rome under Clement vii until 1527; when he suffered much in the Sack, and lost a valuable collection of Oriental mss. Returning to Avignon he found protection from the Governor, Jo. Nicolai, bp. of Apt; and in 1530 was appointed to one of the Hebrew chairs in the Collège de France. During his ten years at Paris he composed several books to promote the study of

praesertim cum morum etiam integritate commendetur, idque abs te, viro bonis omnibus commendatissimo. Proinde de statu negotii non placet secus quicquam illi scribi quam res habet.

- 10 Academia Louaniensis frequentia nulli cedit hodie praeterquam Parisianae. Numerus est plus minus tria milia, et affluunt quotidie plures. Collegium domi paucissimos alit, Praesidem vnum, cui rei familiaris cura delegata, professores treis, et duodecim, opinor, adolescentes, atque hos gratuito. Extra hos paucos capit domus, qui suo  
15 sumptu viuunt apud praefectum ac professores. Auditorium est, vt in hac Academia, satis frequens, aliquoties non pauciores habens trecentis. Placebit illi coelum hoc nostrum, nec displicebit gentis humanitas. Collegii locus et honestus est, nec inelegantis structurae. Salarium pro modo reddituum satis amplum, pro rationibus professo-  
20 rum, vt ingenue dicam, nimis angustum est, sed quod pro respectu personae aut industriae possit executorum arbitrio augeri nonnihilo. Et licebit illi extra ordinem profiteri, seu Graece malit seu Hebraice. Erit illi res cum viris probissimis optimaque fidei. Et bona spes est fore vt breui ex principum liberalitate crescant Collegii prouentus,  
25 praesertim si tu tuique similes suum fauorem adiunxerint. Pium est opus, magnoque olim ornamento futurum et huic Academiae et Carolo Principi. Prima laus debetur clarissimo viro Hieronymo Buslidio, qui totum quod habebat, huic negotio dedicauit, fraudatis etiam fratribus. Nec fraudabuntur tamen sua laude qui pulcherri-

13. treis add. H.

20. H: augustum F.

quod om. H.

Hebrew: but they are said to be of no great value. See A. Lefranc, *Hist. du Coll. de France*, 1893.

The person here mentioned evidently wished to obtain a post in Busleiden's College. The Chairs of the three languages were now full; but as Erasmus seems to consider Agathius' election a possibility, it is perhaps to be inferred that the original appointments were only for a year, as in Barland's case (cf. Epp. 1050, 1). Or, as the Hebrew Chair already had its fourth occupant in three years (cf. Ep. 1257. 16n), he may have expected a further change: which did not, however, occur till 1531:

10. praeterquam Parisianae] But cf. Ep. 1481.

12. Collegium] For its position at this time see Ep. 691 introd.

Praesidem] John Fortis: see Ep. 1322 introd.

13. adolescentes] I am indebted to Prof. H. Van der Linden of Liège for pointing out to me that a census made on 26 April 1526 showed that the College then held, besides the President and the 3 Professors, 3 'commensales' (cf. l. 14n), 1 servant, and 9 'bursarii': see J. Cuvelier, *Dénombrements de foyers en Brabant*, i, 1912, p. 314. Busleiden's

will (Nève pp. 376, 378) provided for 8 bursarii at first, and after 10 years for 2 more.

14. paucos capit domus] Busleiden's will (Nève pp. 379, 80) allowed the admission of 12 such 'non bursarii' at one time, 8 'commensales' and 4 'iuuenes'. In this way a room was set apart for Erasmus: cf. Ep. 1322. 12-14.

15. professores] Rescius, Goclenius, and Campensis: see Epp. 546, 1209, 1257. 16n.

Auditorium] Before long the need was felt for more space; cf. Ep. 1322. 11-12. In Ep. 1564 a larger figure is given.

17. coelum] Cf. Ep. 1111. 78n.

18. Collegii locus] The site was purchased 14 Sept. 1519; behind the houses on the east side of the *Marché aux Poissons*, with outlets on the *Rues des Augustins*, *des Ecreniers* et *des Bâteaux*. In the last named, now the *Rue de Malines*, was the principal entrance, constructed in 1520 and demolished in 1777. On 18 Oct. 1520 the President and the Professors took possession. See Val. Andreas p. 277, and E. van Even, *Louvain monumental*, 1860, pp. 298, 9.

19. Salarium] Cf. Ep. 836. 6, 7.

28. Buslidio] See Ep. 205 introd.



mum hoc institutum copiis auxiliariis adiunxerint. Non enim poterit latere posteritatem quod trilingui facundia celebrabitur; nec minima famae portio redibit ad illos qui primi professionem hanc, olim futuram longe clarissimam, fuerunt auspicati. Quod si quem non mouet humana gloria, certe pium est ambire laudem apud Christum. Ad-uolet igitur te autore ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ tuus Agathius.

De Luthero insidiis intercepto atque extincto vanus rumor huc quoque peruenit. Omnibus modis tentatum est Vuormaciae, partim minis, partim blanditiis, ut suos libellos quos agnouit omnes, Caesareae submitteret maiestati: id ubi non quitum est impetrari, per caduceatorem Caesaris publica fide Vuittenbergam reductus est, dato ad hoc viginti dierum spacio. Mox ex mandato Caesaris, qui vehementer infensus est Luthero, siue instigantibus aliis, siue saedulo quodam ac propenso fidei Christianae studio, libri Vuormaciae combusti sunt. Excusum est et Louanii terribile aedictum in ultionem eorum qui non paruerint Caesareae voluntati. Bene vale.

Ex Anderlaco. III. nonas Iulias. ANNO M.D.XXI.

## 1222. FROM JOHN LOUIS VIVES.

Vivis Opera, 1555, ii, p. 960 (a).

Bruges.

Vi. E., f. 54 (β): Lond. Viv. 6 (=5): LB. 585.

10 July 1521.

[This letter and many others from Vives which follow (Epp. 1256, 1271, 1281, 1303, 1306, 1362 &c.) come from the first collected edition of Vives' works; which was published at Basle by Nic. Episcopus the younger, Aug. 1555, in two volumes (α). The originals were no doubt the actual letters received by Erasmus, and probably formed part of the great manuscript collections preserved by Boniface Amerbach; but they are not now to be found, having perhaps been allowed to perish when once they had been printed. They were not carefully edited; and consequently a number of obvious errors have made their way into the text.

In the following year this series was appended to another collection of Vives' letters (Vi. E.), printed from his rough drafts, which had come into the hands of the printer G. Simon, Antwerp, 1556 (β). Simon's text of this part is a mere reprint of the Basle volume, with a few corrections and some depravations. The London editors, also printing from α, did more harm than good to the text; but Leclerc improved it notably, though admitting some of the London corruptions—a coincidence in error which shows evidently that he was using Lond. to print from. It is noticeable, too, that in dealing with the difficulty in l. 40 he quotes the London edition, but no other.

The year-dates of these letters of 1521-2 are confirmed by the frequent references to Vives' edition of Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, for which Erasmus wrote a preface (Ep. 1309), and which Froben finished printing in Sept. 1522. The series of Erasmus' letters, written from Basle, would have completed and elucidated the correspondence; but they have disappeared. By 1529, when Erasmus

36. intercepto] The fact of Luther's detention (see Ep. 1203. 10n) by his friends was known at Wittenberg by 30 June; though the place was still a secret except to Melancthon. See BRE. 206, which gives an interesting account of the University and discusses the decline there of Erasmus' credit as a theologian.

43. combusti] on 29 May (Brown iii. 224): cf. Ep. 1218. 41n.

44. aedictum] See Ep. 1217. 144n. By 10 Aug. the Louvain print had been seen at Wittenberg (ME. 126). A copy of it is in the Vatican Archives, *Acta Wormacensia*: it was also printed by Vorsterman at Antwerp, no doubt at this time. See Fredericq iv, p. 57.

issued his next great volume of letters, the *Opus Epistolarum* (H), these may have seemed somewhat out of date: or, if he felt at all uncomfortable about the omission of Vives' notes in the Froben Augustine of 1529, it would not be surprising that he failed to print his own letters about the earlier edition, just as Vives' letters also he never printed. The dates of some of them can be recovered:

1. (c. 14 Dec. 1521): answered by Vives on 19 Jan. 1522 (Ep. 1256).
2. 4 Feb. 1522: intermediate between Vives' letters of 19 Jan. and 1 April (Epp. 1256, 1271).
3. 20 March 1522, delivered at Bruges 7 May: answered by Vives on 20 May (Ep. 1281).
4. 16 June 1522, delivered at Louvain via Antwerp c. 10 July: intermediate between Vives' letters of 20 May and 14 July (Epp. 1281, 1303).
5. (c. 1 Sept. 1522): contemporary with Ep. 1311.]

IOANNES LODOVICVS VIVES CLARISSIMO VIRO D. DESYDERIO

ERASMO ROTERODAMO, PRAECEPTORI SVO COLENDISS., S. D.

Nunc primum renunciat mihi Laurentius Decanus Stephanum Comitem iturum isthuc: si quid vellem mandare, discessurum eum hinc eras sub solis ortum. Itaque accipies a me quae in mentem nunc veniunt. Nam habebam in animo literas tibi scribere longi  
5 subsellii, ut ait ille, si tabellarium inuenissem a quo essem sub-  
monitus tempestive.

Louanio, pridie quam illinc abirem, dedi Regenti Lili literas ad te  
μετὰ παροιμιῶν τινῶν: credo esse redditas. Et significabam tibi me  
iturum postridie Antuerpiam: ubi inueni Ioannem tuum in conuentu  
10 mercatorum. Quem paulopost requisivi, ut ad te scriberem: iam  
nusquam erat; miratusque sum nihil eum attulisse mihi abs te.  
Cumque Antuerpiae non conualescerem, veni Brugas, ratus me non  
mansurum hic supra hebdomadas duas: iam sextam hic ero; vsque  
adeo infixus haerebat hic morbus. Maxima tamen pars abiit; et  
15 quod restat, non me magnopere terret. Sed cum hic haecenus desedi,  
manebo hic Regem et Morum, ut videam quo pacto sit mihi viuendum  
posthac. Pecunia Reginea me huc vsque alui, et alo. Moro scripsi  
me prolixè collocuturum cum eo cum venerit. Suspiciari potest quid  
velim, sed non aperte quicquam, quum nollem te inconsulto: tametsi

1. Laurentius] Marcus Laurinus (Ep. 201. 2n), dean of St. Donatian's at Bruges, seems clearly intended; cf. Ep. 1271. 123. Laurentius may be an alternative form for his name, but more likely is a mere misprint.

Stephanum] I cannot identify.

4. longi subsellii] Cf. Cic. Fam. 3. 9. 2.

7. Regenti] Nevius; see Epp. 298, 1347 introdd.

8. παροιμιῶν] Cf. l. 37. Erasmus was perhaps already collecting for the new edition of the *Adagia*, Basle, Froben, Jan. 1523: which contains, however, only 39 more than the preceding one of Oct. 1520.

9. Ioannem] Perhaps Hovius; see Ep. 867. 177n.

12. non conualescerem] Cf. Vives' preface to Augustine, f. aa: 'Hinc

(after the death of Card. Croy, 6 Jan. 1521) ut nulla vnquam calamitas venit sola, in morbum incidi non simplicem. Ita ad curam valetudinis coactus sum me Brugas conferre ad meos Hispanos, inter quos more ac modo meo commodius aegrotus tractarer. Conualui mense Iunio'.

16. Regem] Charles v.

Morum] See Ep. 1210. 13n.

17. Reginea] It appears that Vives was already enjoying the bounty of Catharine of Aragon: no doubt as a fellow-countryman.

Moro scripsi] The letter is not extant.

18. quid velim] Evidently a project of settling in England, if he could find maintenance. For the resumption of the project next year see Vives' letter of 15 Aug. 1522 (Ep. 1306. 37-43).

consilium tuum propemodum noui, vt parem ocium ad vitam studio-<sup>20</sup> sam vndecunque queam. Quod, cum alia praestitero omnia, non est in manu mea praestare: quod si in eo solo sita est fortuna, non est suae quisque fortunae faber, vt dicebat Appius.

Habes quae hactenus egerim, quaeque sim breui acturus. Scio quae subeat animum tuum cogitatio: de Augustino quid? Sex<sup>25</sup> libros habeo paratos, hoc est recognitos; nam alii permulti sunt scripti: quos sex possem mittere, si qui exscriberet haberem. Caeterum si non mittantur hoc Augusto, mittentur ante hyemem, vt spero. Scit Deus quantum ea res me angat; sed vis me θεωμαχεῖν? Malui differre Augustinum quam vel immori labori, vel euadere inutilem<sup>30</sup> aliis laboribus, oppressum morbis et sine vllo instrumento vitae. Haec enim recuperare difficile possem semel amissa; illum dilatum facile erit in manus sumere, cum volam. Rogo te etiam atque etiam vt, si non vel tempori vel sorti vel fato imputandam hanc culpam censes, mihi saltem hanc facias huius errati gratiam, si qui-<sup>35</sup> dem per me erratum.

Πέμπω πρὸς σὲ καὶ παροιμίας ἄλλας, quae inter legendum occurrerunt. Fac vt per hunc eundem qui has ad te pertulit, rescribas nobis, si modo vacat: et si scripto aut non potes aut non vis, verbo certe effice vt de tua valetudine statuque rerum tuarum intelligam, quas<sup>40</sup> ego non minus charas habeo curoque quam meas. Vale, praeceptor (mortaliū) omnium chariss(ime). Brugis x. Iulii, 1521.

### 1223. TO CONRAD GOELENUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 638.

HN: Lond. xvii. 8: LB. 520.

Bruges.

12 August (1521).

[The gap of between five and six weeks in Erasmus' correspondence at this point is perhaps due to hard work (cf. Ep. 1218. 17-19), or to illness—of which, however, there is no trace—, or to the chance which governed the survival of his letters.

The year-date added here in H is again clearly wrong. 1521 is the only year possible between More's appointment as Treasurer (ll. 40-45) and the publication of F. The opening sentences, descanting on the delights of country life, were probably written at Anderlecht (cf. Ep. 1215. 3-7); but the letter was dated, and perhaps finished, at Bruges, whither Erasmus had moved in discharge of his duties as Imperial Councillor. Charles was at Bruges 7-26 Aug., to meet Wolsey; who had come over from England to Calais 2 Aug. (Brewer iii. 1458) on a diplomatic mission, to draw Spain more closely to England in a league against France. Wolsey arrived at Bruges 14 Aug. (ibid. 1503), and left about the same date as Charles (ibid. 1510, 1513), with his purpose effected; but he did not return to England till 28 Nov. (ibid. 1810).

To Erasmus this visit was full of enjoyment. He stayed with his old friend Marcus Laurinus, moving among the great and receiving special politeness from the King of Denmark (Ep. 1228. 30n); and some of his leisure was spent in examining the mss. of St. Donatian's (Ep. 373 introd.). Vives, too, was there, busy with his work upon Augustine; see Ep. 1306. 43 and his Aug. *Ciu. Dei*, f<sup>o</sup>. 22<sup>a</sup>. On 14 Aug.,

40. tuarum scripsi: tua mortaliū/rum α (rum α: tum Lond.), ubi mortaliū a fine huius versus ad finem sequentis, post praeceptor, dubio procul relegandum est: tuarum mortaliū β.

23. Appius] *op. Sall. de Rep. ord.* i. 1. invitation to settle in England; cf. ll.

32. Haec] His negotiations for an 17-21, 24.

when news came that Wolsey was approaching, Charles, followed by his suite and by the magistrates, rode out to meet him. Cranevelt delivered an address of welcome, to which Wolsey replied; and Erasmus, who was of the company, received greetings from the Cardinal and from English friends who were in his train—Tunstall, Mountjoy, More, and many others.

See Ep. 1233. 1-10; and a detailed narrative in Geldenhauer's *Collectanea*, ed. J. Prinsen, 1901, pp. 116-20. After the departure of Charles and Wolsey, Erasmus stayed on a few days at Bruges, but at the end of the month (Epp. 1231, 2) made his way back to Anderlecht, to be in attendance on Charles once more.

A detail of Wolsey's state and ceremony during this visit is preserved in the *Paraleipomena* added by Hedio (see Ep. 1459) to the *Chronicum* of Conrad of Liechtenaw, abbot of Ursberg, Strasburg, C. Mylius, March 1537, p. 480: 'Cardinali Anglo prandenti et coenanti flexis poplitibus (id quod inter Germanos inauditum) ministrabatur, astantibus multis Anglis nobilibus'.

An incident which may be mentioned at this point is that on 13 Aug. 1521 the Arts Faculty of the University of Heidelberg, wishing to promote the study of languages, proposed that the Elector Palatine should be asked to write to Charles v and request that he would send Erasmus to teach there: in the same hope as at Leipzig (cf. Ep. 1102. 10n), that his advent might arrest the rapid decline in the numbers of their students. The University vouchsafed no reply: see E. Winkelmann, *Urkundenbuch d. Univ. Heidelberg*, ii (1886), pp. 76, 7. There is nothing to show whether any hint of the invitation ever reached Erasmus; but with his invariable dislike of teaching, he would no doubt have declined.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS CONRADO GOELENIO SVO S. D.

EQVIDEM existimabam antehac voluptatis duntaxat gratia priscis tantopere laudatam vitam rusticanam. At me res ipsa docuit non perinde iucundam esse ac salubrem. Pene perierat Erasmus in vrbi-  
bus; adeo sine fine nauseabat stomachus. Iam non vno cum medico  
5 mihi res erat; praescriptae potiones, catapocia, clysteres, puluisculi,  
vnguenta, balnea, emplastra, quid non? Nec interim vacabat aegro-  
tare, ita negociis subito exortis aliunde vocabar alio. Itaque com-  
positis sarcinis conscendo equos. Famulus rogat quo me conferrem.  
'Vbicunque' inquam, 'arridebit coelum blandum ac salubre.' Vix  
10 hic biduum egeram, febris aufugerat in malam rem, stomachus vale-  
bat. Plane mihi visus sum hoc rure repubescere; adeo nihil non  
concoquit stomachus, pridem imbecillis. Nihil vnquam in vita feci,  
mi Goeleni, cuius me minus poenituerit.

Deamo te qui tam gnauiter te geras in professione linguae La-  
15 tinae, tuaque doctrina pariter et ingenio exornes Collegium Buslidia-  
num. Felix iuuentus nostra quae in hoc seculum inciderit. Prorsum  
inuiiderem, nisi toto pectore fauerem vtilitati publicae. Quo magis  
obstrepunt oī βάρπαι, hoc magis ac magis gliscit ardor iuuenum  
spreitis illiteratis literis ad meliora grassantium. Video quid mereatur  
20 istorum improbitas. Sed tu quod temporis eras perditurus, aut certe  
male collocaturus, rixando cum malis rabulis, hoc bonis studiis iu-  
uandis impende. Vis tibi commonstrem splendidum ac magnificum  
vindictae genus? Fac vt teipsum praebeas et inculpatis moribus

III. svo om. H. 6. vnguenta, balnea, emplastra add. H. 14. te ante geras  
F: rem H.

2. vitam rusticanam] Cf. Ep. 1208. 1.  
4. cum medico] Cf. Ep. 1215. 5.  
14. Deamo te] Erasmus' apprecia-  
tion was the more handsome, as he had

supported Ceratinus, (Epp. 622. 31n,  
1051 introd.) against Goelenius in the  
election of 1519: see P. Nannius' *Fune-  
bris Oratio* on Goelenius, 1542, f. B<sup>3</sup>.

virum, et sedulum ac diligentem optimarum literarum professorem. Nulla ratione possis istos citius ad suspendium adigere: quo sane 25 dignissimi sunt, qui publicis bonis tantopere discruciantur, non aliis modo verumetiam sibiipsis inuidentes. Excusatus enim inuidet γείτονι γείτων Εἰς ἄφρον σπείδοντι. At his in manu est iisdem frui commodis quibus alios iuuari macerantur. Illud imprimis mihi semper in vtroque vestrum placuit, quod vt mores absunt ab omni 30 turpitudine, ita casta est et professio, neque casta solum verumetiam modesta. Quid enim sensuri sunt cordati viri, quum audient Louanii poetices ac rhetorices professionem nec obscœnitatis habere quicquam nec maledicentiae; theologicas lectiones ac sacras etiam con- ciones mendacissimis conuiciis sic esse fermentatas vt execrentur et 35 idiotae?

Moro depinxeram tui imaginem, adeo nihil affingens de meo vt quaedam etiam praetermiserim. Malo enim vt hoc nomine mecum expostulet, vbi mutua consuetudine vterque alteri noti fueritis. Miro quodam desiderio tenetur videndi tui. Cum scribes ad eum, gratu- 40 laberis illi et dignitatis et fortunae accessionem. Nam quum antea Regi tantum esset a consiliis, nuper nec ambiens nec expetens vltroneo fauore Principis humanissimi et eques auratus factus est, et munus habet apud Britannos cum honorificum imprimis, tum etiam salarii non poenitendi, quod appellatur a thesauris. Bene vale. 45 Brugis prid. Id. August. [M.D.XX.]

## 1224. TO WILLIAM THALE.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 634.  
HN: Lond. xvii. 5: LB. 586.

Bruges.  
13 August 1521.

[The year-date may be accepted, because Erasmus is at Bruges.

Of Thale I can discover nothing beyond this letter and the mention of him in vol. i. He was with Pace at Ferrara when Erasmus passed through there in Dec. 1508; and he subsequently came into possession of some papers which Erasmus had left behind with Pace. When Erasmus hurried off to England without returning to Ferrara to reclaim these (cf. Ep. 30. 16n), Thale disposed of them (Ep. 244. 6-21); but one, the *De Ratione Studii* (Ep. 66), he retained and had printed in Paris in 1511, substituting his own name in the dedication. In spite of the friendly tone of this letter, it appears from I, p. 34. 10-11 that Erasmus still cherished resentment for Thale's action.

The person of this name mentioned in Epp. 1256. 90, 1303. 51, was perhaps a young kinsman.]

ERASMVS ROT. CLARISS. D. GVLIELMO TALEO SVO S. D.

QVANDO desines queri me tuum nomen e Gulielmorum catalogo submouisse? Quantumuis abest a catalogo Taleus, certe ab animo

1223. 46. Augusti N. M.D.XX add. H. 1224. TIT. CLARISS. D. om. H. SVO  
add. H. 2 Taleus add. H.

1223. 28. γείτον] Cf. Hes. Op. 23, 4.  
30. vtroque vestrum] With Goele-  
nius, Professor of Latin, Erasmus  
would probably couple in his mind  
Rescius (Ep. 546 introd.), Professor of

Greek.  
36. idiotae] See Ep. 1153. 171n.  
37. Moro] in Ep. 1220.  
44. munus] Cf. Ep. 1210. 10n.  
1224. 1. catalogo] Cf. Ep. 1003. 34n.

nunquam abfuit. Monumentum amoris in me tui, quoquo me confero, mecum circumfero. Et vtinam aliquando contingat ad veterem illam redire vitae consuetudinem, et quam Ferrariae primum sumus auspicati, mox apud Britannos renouauimus, feliciter consummemus! Vtinam casus aliquis, tuo quidem bono, in hanc nostram Brabantiam te propellat! Est Louanii coelum quod vel Italico quondam adamato praeferas; non amoenum modo verum-  
 10 etiam salubre. Nusquam studetur quietius, nec alibi felicius ingeniorum prouentus. Nusquam professorum maior aut paratior copia. Haec commoda si te huc non pelliciunt, certe tanti est pestem Britannicam effugere; quae, vt audio, isthic parcat nemini. Bene vale. Brugis Id. August. ANNO M.D.XXI.

## 1225. TO PETER BARBIRIUS.

Gouda MS. 1324, f. 26 v<sup>o</sup> (a).

Bruges.

F. f<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>3</sup> v<sup>o</sup>: HN: Lond. i. 2: LB. 587.

13 August 1521.

[As in Ep. 1206, I have given precedence to the Gouda MS. (see App. 9 in vol. i); though I do not feel sure that it was not copied from the printed text of F. Its spelling, however, I have discarded.]

The narrative of events in the first part of this letter closely follows that given in the *Apologia qua respondet*; for which see pp. 109, 110. Later on there are resemblances to Epp. 1195, 1218, 1219. The year-date needs no confirmation. Bruges offered facilities for communication with Spain; and the protracted waiting for the arrival of Wolsey (see pp. 551-2) gave leisure for correspondence.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS PETRO BARBIRIO SVO SA. DI.

AMANTISSIME tu quidem, mi Barbiri, subinde me prouocas ad amicitiam cum theologis Louaniensibus adglutinandam; sed plane currentem, quod aiunt, incitas. Nemo me viuitt amicitiae vel cupientior vel tenacior; sed nescio quis malus genius in causa sit vt cum  
 5 iis aut non coeat aut coeat infirma. Ego meapte natura simplici sum animo, et amicos diligo magis quam colo. Cuius rei tu potes esse optimus testis, qui videris quam indiligenter coluerim eximium

1224. 6. apud H: ad F.  
 1225. tit. svo om. H.

5. iis a: his F.

7. optimus esse F.

1224. 5. Ferrariae] When Erasmus was on his way to Siena and Rome, Dec. 1508-Jan. 1509; see de Nolhac pp. 59-61. Erasmus frequently refers to this visit and especially to his relations with Pace: see I, p. 34. 9-10, Epp. 283. 169, 412. 59-60, 556. 33n, 611. 23-8, 1110. 39, 1227. 36, 1490, 1576, 1587.

8. Louanii] Cf. Ep. 1111. 78n. This praise of the climate and of the University may have reached Nic. Daryngton and Blythe at St. John's College, Cambridge, and have encouraged them

to their visit to Louvain in 1522; see EHR. xxii (1907), pp. 746-50. For other young Englishmen at Louvain in 1522 see Epp. 1256. 90, 121-2, 1303. 50-1.

12. pestem] Cf. Brewer iii. 1516.

1225. 1. prouocas] Perhaps under the influence of Adrian of Utrecht: cf. Ep. 1114. 3n. For Adrian's relations with Louvain see Epp. 1153. 149n, 1166. 104-7; and, for work suggested by him to Erasmus through Barbirius, Ep. 1581. He had been Cardinal of Tortosa (ll. 35-6) since 1516-17.

illum virum Ioannem Syluagium, Caesaris cancellarium, tibi mecum communem Moecenatem. Nec aliter colui Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, Montioium, et Cardinales quos habebam Romae fauentis-<sup>10</sup> simos. Et tamen, si detur occasio quae requirat officium meum, nihil amicorum gratia sim recusaturus. Sed sunt in hoc numero quos longe difficilius sit coluisse quam monarcham aliquem praepotentem: atque hi sunt ea vitae professione quam summa decebat morum facilitas, comitas atque etiam candor, si mores pallio<sup>15</sup> responderent. Cum Ioanne Atensi cumque caeteris mihi facile conuenisset, si placari potuisset vnus aut alter Carmelitici Dominicalisque sodalitii theologus. Hi ad quamuis leuem suspicionem, aut quoduis dictum alicunde seu vere seu falso delatum, instaurant tragoediam. Et vt ingenue quod verum est fatear, sum natura pro-<sup>20</sup> pensior ad iocos quam fortasse deceat, et linguae liberioris quam nonnunquam expediat. Metior enim aliorum animos ex meo; nec toties falsus possum ab ingenio meo recedere. Quaeso, quid habebat aeditio Noui Testamenti, quur in hoc quidam sic atrociter vociferarentur, et Martinum Dorpium in me subornarent, qui stilo lacesseret<sup>25</sup> Erasmus?

Commigraui, vt scis, Louanium; sic enim tum visum est Caesari Ego vt omnibus esse cupiebam amicus, ita nullius ambiebam amicitiam. Atensis opera prouocatus sum a theologis ad amicitiam. Eam simpliciter amplexus sum, oblitus omnium quae prius in me<sup>30</sup> facta dictaue fuerant. Ita rebus aliquamdiu satis tranquillis ortum est Trilingue Collegium. Ea res male habebat quosdam, praesertim Nicolaum Carmelitam. Et omnino mea sententia subuersuri fuerant rem tanto ornamento futuram ditioni Principis, tanto vsui publicis studiis, ni conatus illorum cohibuisset reuerendissimus dominus Car-<sup>35</sup> dinalis Dertusensis: sic enim accipio. Huic ego negotio certe palam ac libere faui, nec ob aliud faui nisi quod fauerem publicae studiorum vtilitati. Alioqui nihil mihi istic metebatur, etiamsi seuissem aliquid.

Quoniam autem intellexeram illos potissimum offensos Nouo Testamento, multis mensibus in eo sudabam emendando. Et quia<sup>40</sup> videbam dominum Ioannem Atensem sic omnes praecellere iudicio doctrinaque, quemadmodum praeminebat autoritate, vt ex hoc vno caeteri possent aestimari, cum hoc egi, teste domino Nicolao Montensi, apud quem tum egeramus prandium, vt in eo negotio me sua

14. hi a: ii F. 25. et a: ac F. 33. Nicolaum add. H. 35. reuerendissimus dominus cardinalis a: R. D. Card. F: Adrianus Card. H. 38. istic mihi F. 40. Et quia a: Quoniam autem F: Tum quoniam H. 41. dominum om. F. 42. hoc add. F. 43. domino om. H.

8. Syluagium] See Epp. 410, 436.

10. Cardinales] See Epp. 333, 4.

15. pallio] Cf. Ep. 1144. 28n. The scribe of the Gouda MS. (Hand A) adds in the margin: 'Intellige dictum de Carmelitis'.

17. vnus aut alter] Hand A again interprets in the margin: 'Nicolaus et Vincentius'. See Epp. 878. 13n and 1196 introd.

25. Dorpium] See Epp. 304, 337, 347.

27. Commigraui] In July 1517; cf.

Epp. 596. 1, 597. 25.

Caesari] Cf. *Apol. qua respondet*, f<sup>o</sup>. A<sup>3</sup>: Jortin ii. 497.

29. Atensis] See Ep. 670 introd. prouocatus sum] Cf. Ep. 637. 10n.

30. prius] Cf. Epp. 474. 17n, 475. 18-19, 483. 26.

32. Collegium] See Ep. 691.

36. Dertusensis] Cf. l. 1n.

39. Nouo Testamento] See Ep. 864 introd.

43. Montensi] See Ep. 1162. 108n.

45 cura fideque adiutaret: professus me quidem hoc sedulo agere, vt  
opus exiret tale vt nullus eruditus ac pius merito posset offendi;  
studium quidem et affectum esse pium, caeterum vires esse impares  
tanto negotio: proinde illum me sibi deuincturum summo beneficio,  
si moneret quae iudicaret esse corrigenda. Id cum multis verbis  
50 agerem, respondit ille sibi iam emptum esse codicem, sed nondum  
esse perlectum; perlecturum tamen, nec secus acturum mecum  
quam cum proprio fratre: nam hisce verbis tum vsus est. Eaque  
verba semel atque iterum repetiit. Ac primo colloquio quod mihi  
fuit cum Nicolao Egmondano, rogavi hominem, libere moneret si  
55 quid offenderet in eo opere; initurum apud me summam gratiam.  
Nihil aliud ille respondit quam sibi librum nunquam esse lectum.  
Idem aliquoties egi cum Latomo, frequentius etiam cum Dorpio.

Tandem appetebat tempus vt ob secundam aeditionem peterem  
Basileam. Paulo ante Atensis ad coenam vocat. Aderat Egmondanus  
60 et Lodouicus Viues. A coena indico Atensi me intra paucos dies  
abiturum Basileam. Rogo, obsecro, obtestor, vt amanter admoneat  
si quid iudicaret esse mutandum: praesertim si quid officere posset  
bonis moribus aut fidei Catholicae. Ille respondit, sibi totum opus  
esse lectum, ac videri pium iuxta atque eruditum. Hic ego 'Malim'  
65 inquam, 'admoneri quam laudari. Admonitio proderit, laus ista  
nihil profuerit. Nunc integrum est corrigere, posthac non idem  
licebit'. Ad haec quum ille repetisset laudes ante tributas, 'Si  
isthaec' inquam, 'ex animo dicis, quur tam atrocibus clamoribus  
quidam insectati sunt hoc opus primum aeditum?' Tum ille 'Prius-  
70 quam' inquit, 'legissem opus, multa erant ad me delata; sed eo  
perlecto comperi rem secus habere. Quae scripsisti mihi magnopere  
placent; quae scripturus sis nescio'. Ad haec respondi me non  
dubitare quin, si primam aeditionem probaret, hanc esset multo  
magis probaturus. Hortatus est denique me vt meis sanctis labori-  
75 bus (sic enim aiebat) pergerem prouehere religionem Christianam.

Hac oratione tanti viri fretus, abii Basileam. Absoluo partem  
operis in qua plus erat periculi, nimirum Annotationes. Redeo.  
Accurrit Atensis, accurrit Dorpius, quum tamen chirurgi iudicas-  
sent me laborare peste. Haec erant argumenta constantis adhuc  
80 amicitiae. Trado Dorpio partem voluminis excusam, hac lege vt si  
quid offenderet, indicaret: adhuc enim integrum esse mutare, licet  
cum iactura pecuniae, donec opus intra typographi parietes pre-  
meretur.

Mox manauit ad me rumor de Leo, qui trecenta loca taxaret in  
85 Nouo Testamento, horrenda, periculosa. Euoco hominem ad collo-  
quium, offero praeter caeteras hanc conditionem, vt si quid haberet

- |                              |                                      |  |                        |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|------------------------|
| 45. professus <i>add. H.</i> | 46. possit <i>H.</i>                 | 47. impares esse <i>F.</i>                                   | 51.                    |
| mecum <i>add. F.</i>         | 53. verba <i>add. F.</i>             | 54. Egmondano <i>N.</i>                                      | 59. Egmun-             |
| danus <i>N.</i>              | 60. <i>F.</i> : Ludouicus <i>a.</i>  | 66. licebit idem <i>F.</i>                                   | 75. aiebat <i>a.</i> : |
| loquebatur <i>H.</i>         | 78. <i>F.</i> : chirurgici <i>a.</i> | 84. taxaret <i>a.</i> : taxat <i>F.</i> : taxasset <i>H.</i> |                        |

57. Latomo] See Ep. 934. 3n.

59. ad coenam] This episode, which occurred c. April 1518, is related in very much the same words in the *Apolo-  
logia qua respondet* (f<sup>o</sup>. B: Jortin ii.

500): where it is interpolated out of order in the narrative.

65. admoneri] Cf. Ep. 1076. 6n.

77. Redeo] 21 Sept. 1518.

78. Accurrit] Cf. Ep. 867. 255.



quod esset cum morum aut fidei periculo coniunctum, communicaret: me correcturum—nondum enim exisse librum in manus hominum—, idque cum honorifica mentione Leici nominis, qui monuisset. Recusavit ille. Res est acta cum Atensi. Ille tergiuersatus est, 90 suspicans, opinor, rem in tragoediam exituram.

Leo respondimus; successit Latomi libellus, haud scio quo consilio aeditus, strophis obliquis me petens. Respondi ciuilitate, atque etiam, vt quidam interpretati sunt, abiecte. Scis quam non quiuierim percelli vt cum Dorpio descenderem in certamen, cuius ingenium 95 vnice diligebam. Neque multo secus eram affectus erga Latomum, qui tum nec a Gratiis nec a Musis videbatur alienus. Sed nescio quis malus genius non passus est amicitiam nostram coalescere.

Interim in concionibus subinde perstringebar apud promiscuam multitudinem. Tandem Atensis in schola frequentissima talibus 100 conuiciis me lapidauit, vt plane spes esset Erasmum aut dolore moriturum aut aliquo sese abditurum. Itum est ad magnates, vt hos in odium mei pertraherent. Emissi sunt qui passim in me deblaterarent. Tantis odiis res acta est, vt quemlibet, etiam lenissimi ingenii, in rabiem posset agere. 105

Tandem malis auibus prodierunt aliquot libelli Lutheri. Hic totus renouatus est tumultus. Conuenit inter illos suspicio hos libros mea opera scriptos, ob vnā aut alteram praefationem paulo Latiniorem. Datum est negocium Baccalaureis vt colligerent errores meos. Ac mox errorum plena erant omnia; totos errorum modios 110 subito collegerunt. Nec vilius interim admoneor ego. In collegiorum conuiuuiis nullus erat sermo nisi de Erasmi erroribus. Dum finis nullus esset, extundo ab Atensi vt ipse cum vno aut altero docto notet aliquot locos quibus offenderentur. Notauit perpaucos Atensis, sed haud magni momenti; notauit aliquot Dorpius, minoris 115 etiam momenti. Atensis testatus se nihil addubitare quin optime sentirem, tantum petiit vt explicarem propter infirmos. Explicui, et libellum illi Dorpioque tradidi. Probauit Atensis omnia. Tantum cupiebat addi, confessionem hanc, vt nunc exercetur, a Christo

89. nominis Leici F. 90. acta est F. Ille a: Is H. 96. affectus eram F. 99. subinde add. F. F: apud a. 100. frequentissima schola F. 101. lapidauit me F. 107. est renouatus F. 110. modios errorum F. 112. erroribus Erasmi F. 119. addi cupiebat F.

92. successit] This appears to be inaccurate; for the controversy with Latomus (Ep. 934. 3nn) began and finished early in 1519, whereas that with Lee (pp. 108-11) dragged on far into 1520. But clearly Erasmus is here rehearsing his controversies in the order of their commencement.

94. non quiuierim] Cf. Epp. 475. 24-7, 477. 11-15, 483. 24-5.

100. Atensis] His attack upon Erasmus was about the *Encomium Matrimonii*; cf. Ep. 670 introd.

106. Lutheri] Cf. Ep. 904. 19n. This 'tumult' may be dated in the autumn of 1519.

108. paulo Latiniorem] Cf. Ep. 1167. 106n.

109. Baccalaureis] Cf. Ep. 1053. 34n.

119. confessionem] In his *Annot.* on Acts 19. 18 Erasmus had admitted in 1516 'fuisse et antiquitus nonnullam confessionem male actae vitae, sed apertam, vt opinor, et in genere, quam nec ipsam legimus exactam abs quoquam'. In 1518-19 he added, 'Caeterum quae nunc recepta est clancularia et in aurem fit, videtur ex consultationibus priuatis esse nata, quae solent apud episcopos fieri, si qui scrupulus vrgeret animum': but further than this he would not go in any subsequent

120 fuisse institutam. Eius dogmatis, quoniam mihi nondum constabat, autor esse nolui. Deinde quum Atensis recusaret fieri autor eius negotii, et iam murmur conquieuisset, visum est et ipsi vt res silentio transmitteretur.

Rursus quum incrudesciente indies tragoedia Lutherana, iam palam  
 125 esset illos aliquid magni mali moliri in me, expostulaui cum aliquot primoribus, quid esset monstri quod alerent. Solus Egmondanus, vt est liberior—nam hoc certe habet boni—, fassus est in causa fuisse suspicionem de libris Lutheri. Ego demiratus tales viros tali fundamento superstruere tragoediam tam odiosam, doceo id quod erat  
 130 res, illic ne syllabam quidem esse meam, aut me conscio aut volente scriptam. Interea prouolarunt vndique nugacissimi libelli, quibus mire sibi plaudunt Germani. Nihil prodibat quod non mihi tribuerent. Tandem Atensis—opinor, intellecto suspicionis errore—per eum qui tum erat gymnasiarcha, perque hospitem meum Ioannem  
 135 Neuium Hontiscotatum, agit de sarcienda concordia. Praebui me facillimum: tametsi tot modis laesus ne muscam quidem ipse laeseram. Coiit foedus in collegio Falconis, hac lege vt omnium prae-teritorum esset obliuio: illi sarcirent pro sua virili famam meam quam tot modis laesissent, ego cohiberem calamos amicorum erudi-  
 140 torum, quod quidem esset in me. Et ecce paulo post prodiit Farrago quaedam Epistolarum, quas e fasciculis aliquot electas aediderant Basileae quidam amici Germani: quorum et fidei saepenumero credidi magno meo malo, et studiis auidis verius quam prudentibus nimium sum obsequutus. In iis inerant versus aliquot quibus  
 145 offendeantur, praesertim Carmelita. Et ecce subito noua tempestas atrocior priore. Atqui volumen illud Epistolarum sex ferme menses excusum fuerat antequam de sarcienda concordia agi coepisset.

120. nondum a: non N. 121. autor fieri N. 126. Egmondanus N.  
 127. certe add. F. 128. demirans F. 129. tam odiosam tragoediam F.  
 130. aut ante volente a: seu H. 136. ne . . . laeseram a: quum ne . . .  
 laeserim H. 137. foedus add. H. 141. aediderant F: addiderant a.  
 143. magno meo malo credidi F. 144. iis a: his F. 147. coepisset agi F.

edition. The word *nonnullam* and the whole of the later passage were expunged by the *Index*. Later, in replying to Lee in 1520 (cf. Ep. 1153. 74n), he had definitely given his opinion that confession was not an institution of Christ; but declared his willingness to submit this to authority.

131. libelli] Cf. Ep. 1195. 4n.

132. Germani] Cf. Ep. 1168. 18n.

134. gymnasiarcha] The Rector of Louvain University, 31 Aug. 1519—29 Feb. 1520, was Jo. Calaber: see Ep. 1240. 20n.

135. Neuium] See Ep. 298 introd.

137. foedus] On 7 Oct. 1519: see Ep. 1016. 15n.

Falconis] See Ep. 1217. 121n. Nic. Coppin (l. 43) was Principal.

140. Farrago] E: dated Oct. 1519.

143. meo malo] Cf. Ep. 325 introd.

and ll. 360-1 *infra*: also Ep. 1244. 36n.

145. offendeantur] e.g. by the remarks about Dorp and the Carmelites: cf. Epp. 474. 17n, 483. 26, 948. 110 seq.

147. excusum fuerat] Here, as in Ep. 1175, Erasmus is obviously inaccurate. On p. 62 of E is a letter of 28 June 1519 (Ep. 991); and the latest letter in the volume (Ep. 1009, of 15 Aug.) is on p. 358, with 40 pages following it. Allowing for the time needed for copies of these letters—both written by Erasmus from Brabant—to reach Basle, the printing cannot have been far advanced by the middle of July, not three months before the *concordia* of 7 Oct.; and the book did not appear till Nov. (see Ep. 1040 introd.). Erasmus must have been thinking of the date when the publication of E was decided on, and the first part of the

Vides, optime Barbiri, me nequaquam spreuisse iudicium theologorum Louaniensium: tametsi non erat quur illos potius quam alios operis mei facerem censores. Vides per me non stetisse quo minus 150 inter nos constiterit amicitia Christiana. Deinde quum Lutherana tragoedia semper in peius glisceret, mire quidam conati sunt me illi admiscere. Ego vulgato etiam scripto ante biennium testatus sum nihil omnino rei mihi esse cum Luthero, nullam agnoscere factionem nisi Christianam, si tamen ea dicenda est factio. Atque 155 interim mira rabie lapidabar in publicis concionibus, in publicis professionibus, a Carmelita et Dominicalibus quibusdam, nonnunquam etiam nominatim. Haec perpeti iudicaui potius quam cum tanto examine colluctari.

Porro quod scribis isthic suspicionem extinctam me fauere Luthero, 160 non miror; sed miror vnquam ortam fuisse. Vtinam tam immunis essem ab omnibus viciis quam sum ab hoc alienus negotio! non dubitarem vel citra confessionem emori. Initio dici non potest quam multi qualesque viri Luthero fauerint. Ego e pauculis pagellis degustatis visus sum mihi subodorari rem in tumultum exituram. 165 Et mihi sane adeo est inuisa discordia vt etiam displiceat veritas seditiosa. Primus omnium admonui hominem literis vt rem Euangelicam Euangelica mansuetudine moderationeque tractaret. Et adeo illi non addidi animos, vt crebris epistolis et Lutherum ipsum et Lutheri amicos deterruerim ne pergerent qua coeperant via. 170 Atque hac in re tam fui diligens, vt quorundam literis admonitus sim, si mihi non placeret Lutheri negotium, certe dissimularem, ne tot nobilium atque eruditorum animos ac stilum in me concitarem. Si Lutherus Euangelico spiritu scripsit, quod adhuc affirmant plurimi, metus tamen meus non fuit impius, qui timuerim publicae 175 concordiae: sin secus, primus omnium obstiti pro viribus ne libri illius euulgarentur. Si tibi narrem a quibus et quibus modis sollicitatus sim vt adiungerer negotio Lutherano, quibus technis quidam conati sint me pellicere, quibus odiis quidam huc nisi sint me propellere, tum demum intelligeres quam mihi displiceant dissidia. 180 Videbam me iacturam facturum amicorum, quos et plurimos et non vulgariter eruditos habebam in Germania. Non ignorabam quam pertinacibus odiis me insectarentur quidam apud nostros, odio bonarum literarum. Perspiciebam esse tutius in alteram secedere factionem. At mihi stat semperque stabit sententia vel membra 185

150. censores facerem *F*. 157. et Dominicalibus  $\alpha$ : Dominicalibusque *N*.  
163. Initio *add. F*. 165. exituram in tumultum *F*. 166. veritas etiam  
displaceat *F*. 169. crebris *F*: crebro  $\alpha$ . 170. amicos Lutheri *F*. 175.  
meus tamen metus *F*. 179. nisi sint me  $\alpha$ : me conati sint *F*. 183. *F*:  
aput  $\alpha$ . nostros  $\alpha$ : nos *F*. 184. factionem secedere *F*.

'copy' sent off to Basle; and considering himself thereby exonerated from any charge of violating the *concordia*.

153. scripto] Ep. 1041.  
157. Carmelita] Egmondanus; see Ep. 878. 13n.

Dominicalibus] Vinc. Theodoric (p. 463) and Laur. Laurentii (Ep.

1166. 26n).

167. literis] Ep. 980. 38 seq.

170. amicos] Cf. Ep. 1143. 22n.

171. literis] Cf. Ep. 1135. 16 seq.

176. obstiti] Cf. Ep. 1033. 47n.

177. sollicitatus sim] Cf. Ep. 1217.

106n.

181. iacturam] Cf. ll. 279-82.

tim discerpi potius quam fouere discordiam; praesertim in negotio fidei.

Occinunt mihi qui fauent Luthero, illud Euangelicum, 'Non veni mittere pacem, sed gladium'. Equidem vt mihi videre videor esse  
 190 quaedam in Ecclesia recepta quae magno Christianae religionis bono mutarentur, ita nihil placet quod huiusmodi tumultibus geritur. Si communicato inter ipsos consilio docti libellis obsignatis vtriusque  
 195 ditionis procures admonuissent quae iudicassent ad Euangelicae doctrinae synceritatem attinere, fortassis et ipse fuisset vnus qui sedulo quod potuissem consuluissem. Nunc quid furiosius quam  
 rem tantam maledicis libellis et insanis clamoribus agi? Qua quidem in re primum vtrinque peccatum est, mea sententia, nimiumque  
 calidis consiliis hinc atque hinc res gesta est. Nuper exiit liber reuerendi domini cardinalis sancti Sixti, in totum abstinens a per-  
 200 sonis, a conuiciis omnibus temperans, nudis argumentis et autorum testimoniis rem agens, non minore cura quam ingenio. Huiusmodi volebam vel sexcentos scribi aduersus Lutherum: qui rem illustrent, non excitant tumultus. Nullus enim est qui non cupiat doceri. Quod si pars diuersa parum meminit modestiae, nostrum tamen erat  
 205 meminisse. Imo hoc erat non modestiae, sed prudentiae, cauere quod nostram causam laederet, aduersariorum adiuuaret. Id si fuisset initio factum, aut ego fallor, aut res non processisset huc tumultus. Nec aliud possunt imputare Erasmo, nisi quod primus improbavit clamoribus seditiosis impeti Lutherum, praesertim apud  
 210 populum: sed ita tamen improbabam, vt illis esset liberum quantum vellent vociferari. Cum eruditio aliquot qui nunc feruntur non omnino alieni a Luthero, iam mihi intercesserat studiorum nomine contracta necessitudo, priusquam orbis audisset Lutheri nomen.

Porro, quod dicitur hausisse quaedam e libris meis, mihi in manu  
 215 non erat praestare ne quis in posterum scriptis meis abuteretur, quando hoc nec Euangelistae nec Apostoli praestare potuerunt. Scripsi eo seculo quae tum videbantur ad bonos mores conducere: fortasse quaedam scripturus circumspectius, si praescissem exoriturum hoc seculum plusquam tragicum. Loci communes quibus fere  
 220 declamabam, faciunt aduersus eos qui neglectis fontibus sacrorum voluminum, inhaerent nimium quaestiunculis sophisticis verius quam theologis: qui neglectis his quae sunt verae pietatis, plus

188. mihi a: multi F. Luthero fauent F. 190. quaedam add. F.  
 191. tumultu F. 196. insanis om. F. Qua ... 197. re a: Quo ... negotio H.  
 197. nimiumque a: nimium F. 199. reuerendi domini cardinalis sancti  
 Sixti a: R. D. Card. S. Sixti F: Thomae Card. Caietani H. 203. tumultum F.  
 204. diuersa pars F. erat a F Corrig.: erit F. 208. imputare possunt F.  
 primum F. 209. seditiosis clamoribus F. 214. quaedam hausisse N.  
 215. scriptis meis in posterum F. 218. fortassis N. 221. nimium inhaerent  
 F. verius add. F. 222. his a: iis F.

188. Euangelicum] Matt. 10. 34.  
 192. obsignatis] sealed, and thus  
 private; cf. Epp. 435. 87, 810. 346,  
 1153. 162, 1167. 114-15, 1217. 21.  
 vtriusque] Church and State.  
 198. liber] *De diuina institutione ponti-*  
*ficatus Romani Pontificis super totam Eccle-*  
*siam a Christo in Petro, Rome, M. Silber,*

22 March 1521: see F. Lauchert, *Ital.*  
*Gegner Luthers*, pp. 142-55. For a very  
 different character of Caietano see Ep.  
 1188. 23-4.  
 211. eruditio] Such as Spalatinus  
 and Mutianus (Ep. 501 introd. and 8n).  
 214. hausisse] Cf. Ep. 1195. 62, and  
 ll. 337-41 *infra*.

aequo fiderent ceremoniis, et plus haberent Iudaismi quam Christianismi: qui praepostero iudicio ea plurimi facerent quae minimum habent momenti, minimi quae plurimum. Frequenter calamo belli- 225 gerabar aduersus bella, quibus multis iam seculis subinde mundus colliditur, non minore morum perniciie quam dedecore Christiani nominis. Et hactenus nemo compertus est qui ex meis libris factus sit pilo deterior. Multi agunt gratias quod ad gustum verae pietatis expergisci coeperint. Seditionem et obscenitatem in scriptis meis 230 semper diligentissime caui. Ab asseueratione tempero, monitor esse malens quam dogmatistes. In his articulis qui damnantur in Lutheri libris, nihil video quod illi mecum conueniat, nisi forte quod a me moderate suoque loco dictum est, ille dicit immodice. Quod genus est: si ego fortassis alicubi scripsi, minus fructus ex 235 Dionysio colligi quam ex Origene aut Chrysostomo, ille scribat Dionysium autorem esse ineptum ac pestilentem. Si hoc est congruere, congruet vinum aceto.

Sed dices, 'Hactenus non scripsisti quicquam aduersus Lutherum'. Id quo minus fecerim, duo praecipue in causa fuerunt, oei penuria 240 et imperitiae propriae conscientia. Distorquebar studiis meis, adeo ut saepenumero laboribus immodicis valetudo periclitaretur. Et videbam longe aliud esse hortari ad studium literarum bonarum, inuitare ad bonos mores, annotare aliquid in lectione sacrorum voluminum; et rem fidei in orbis totius theatro tractare. Videbam 245 vtrinque partes sic accensas studiis ut alteri nisi magnis vociferationibus satisfieri non posset; alteram sic instructam et copiis et dentatis libellis, ut malim Eluetiorum lanceis obici quam horum stilis confodi. Habent enim multos quorum literae videantur apud posteros victurae. Et tamen fateor in causa fidei vitam etiam 250 negligendam, si modo facultas respondisset animo. Certe non concedo Latomo ut illi magis displicuerit hoc orbis dissidium quam mihi: praesertim quum hoc fermento viciata sit vbique fere dulcedo studiorum. Ut insanum sit probare omnia quae scripsit aut scripturus sit Lutherus, ita non placet auctoris odio damnare quae vera 255 sunt, ea deprauare quae recta sunt. Si scribit aduersus Lutherum qui subinde vocat illum asinum, stipitem, bestiam, cacodaemonem, Antichristum, nihil erat facilius quam in illum scribere. Ego ex omnibus illius lucubrationibus vix duodecim legi pagellas: neque enim vacat, et si vacaret, malim hoc oei in vetustis autoribus 260 collocare. Et tamen vix quenquam adhuc repperi, qui se dicat poenitere legisse libros illius, etiamsi multa displiceant.

227. perniciie morum *F.* 229. gratias agunt *F.* 230. meis *om. F.* 231. asseueratione *F.* assentacione *a.* 233. quod *F.* quid *a.* 236. *F.* Dionysio *a.* scribit *F.* 237. *F.* Dionysium *a.* 240. fuerunt in causa *F.* 241. meis studiis *F.* 242. valetudo laboribus immodicis *F.* 243. bonarum literarum *F.* 245. et *a.* aliud *H.* 248. *F.* Heluetiorum *a.* 254. omnia probare *F.* 256. ea *add. F.*

223. ceremoniis] Cf. Ep. 858. 445 seq. 236. Dionysio] Cf. Ep. 1202. 224-6.  
226. aduersus bella] Cf. Ep. 1219. 248. Eluetiorum] Cf. Ep. 134. 3n.  
41n. 259. vix duodecim] Cf. Epp. 1167.  
232. damnantur] Cf. Ep. 1202. 220n. 124, 1236. 135-6.

Quid multis? Tale negotium est, vt difficillimum sit ita satisfacere hominibus vt nusquam prodas Euangelicam veritatem. Res  
 265 non solum absolutam eruditionem verumetiam singularem prudentiam desiderat; non sine autoritate. Et video non defuturos qui prouinciam hanc et possint et velint suscipere, episcopos, cardinales, reges denique. Quicquid incendio, quicquid diplomatis principum effici potest, abunde confectum est. Sed haec vtinam perinde  
 270 mutarent animos hominum, vt coercent linguas! Si pium est nocere causae Lutheri, fortasse magis illi nocui quam quisquam eorum qui odiosissime reclamarunt, quique hominem conuicisissimis libellis prosciderunt. Primum, violentum illum ac seditiosum scribendi modum constanter, et ab ipso statim initio, palam et apud  
 275 amicos et apud inimicos Lutheri improbaui. Non destiti et sermonibus et scriptis epistolis dehortari plurimos vt ab ea factione sese abstinerent. Nullis studiis adduci potui vt vel paululum ipse memet admiscerem. Haec, opinor, plus fregerunt vires eius factionis quam quorundam tumultus. Haec adeo non ignorat Germania, vt  
 280 toto hoc anno nullus eorum qui Luthero fauere creduntur, verbum ad me scripserit, nemo inuiserit, nemo saluere iusserit, quum antehac officiis huiusmodi propemodum occiderint. Quin, vt ex amicorum literis accipio, Lutherani in suis professionibus subinde me perstringunt, clamitant Pelagianum. Erat quod mihi succenserent,  
 285 si vnquam in illorum castris fuisset, si vnquam negotii huius hortator fuisset. Nunc praeter causam succensent, quum semper ab hac tumultuosa scriptione ad Euangelicam modestiam prouocarim.

Nec audio magnos alioqui viros, qui dicunt morbum fuisse grauiores rem quam vt leui pharmaco sanari possit: turbandum fuisse corpus  
 290 efficaci remedio, quo mox succederet sanitas. Hoc si verum est, ego per alios fieri malim quam per me. Si commerentur hoc corrupti mortalium mores, non deerit Deo Nabuchodonosor, per quem flagellet populum suum. Vt tale nihil video factum ab  
 295 Apostolicis viris, ita mihi non placet quicquam per tumultum geri. Christus eiecit vendentes et ementes in templo, sed suis idem nunquam mandauit: quibus docendi munus delegauit, non pugnandi. In summa, mihi vt semper placet concordia, ita hic quoque malim

271. fortassis *N*. 275. apud *add. F*. 285. castris illorum *F*. vnquam negotii huius *a*: huius negotii *F*. 293. *F*: Nabuchodonosor *N*: Nabugodonosor *a*. 296. in *a*: e *F*.

268. reges] Cf. Epp. 1227. 24n, 1233. 100n.

incendio] Cf. Epp. 1218. 41n, 1221. 43-4.

diplomatis] Cf. Epp. 1192. 66n, 1217. 144n.

276. epistolis] Cf. ll. 169-70.

281. inuiserit] As Eobanus (Ep. 874) in Oct. 1518, Jonas (Ep. 876) and Schalbe (Ep. 977) in May 1519, Draco (Ep. 871) in July 1520 (Ep. 1127).

283. literis] So too in Ep. 1241. 5-17, later.

284. Pelagianum] This charge (cf. Epp. 1259. 12-13, 1275. 27) was based on some passages in the *Enchiridion*: see a letter of Burer from Wittenberg, 30 June 1521 (BRE. 206), to Beatus Rhenanus; through whom no doubt the news had reached Erasmus. Melancthon's letters in Aug. and (Dec.) (ME. 126, 7) show no hostility to him. Luther's first communication with Erasmus had been an invitation to read Augustine against the Pelagians: see Ep. 501. 14, 53-6.

296. Christus] John 2. 14-16.

pacem aliquantulum iniquam quam bellum aequissimum. Atque  
vtinam sedatis animis vtrunque incumbatur in hoc, vt in Euangelica  
veritate consentiamus, priusquam ad propagandam religionem pro-  
peremus! Verum ea res non vulgo proditis libellis, sed obsignatis  
secretisque consiliis esset agenda. Exquirendum vnde hic affectus  
tam late occuparit animos hominum. Fortasse sic facilius tolle-  
retur hoc malum, si fontes vnde scatet tollerentur. Verum hoc  
a monarchis proficiscatur oportet. Ego perfectis iis quae proximis  
nundinis exhibunt, aggrediar aliquid non tam aduersus Lutherum, in  
quem abunde detonatum est conuiciis, si quid iis rebus proficeretur,  
sed magis ad compescendum hoc dissidium.

Iam scio dices, 'Sic itur ad bellum'. Vtinam, mi Barbiri, vere  
hoc posset in me dici! Sed vereor ne propemodum ante tempus  
adhuc venerim: adeo sese condensant, nec loco cedunt coniuratae  
phalanges. Nae ego praeclarum interim operae precium feram qui  
vtrunque lapidor! Apud nostros falsissimo titulo traducor Lutheranus,  
apud Germanos male audio vt Lutheranae factionis aduersarius.  
Sed vtinam vel vitae, non modo famae, iactura queam hanc pernicio-  
sissimam tempestatem vertere in tranquillitatem! Ego nullum  
exitum video, nisi Christus ipse velut ἀπὸ μηχανῆς felicem cata-  
strophen imponat infelici fabulae. Atque interim quum propemodum  
obsurduerim ad Lutherani vocabulum, nondum satis intelligo quid  
sit esse Lutheranum. Si Lutheranus est quisquis Lutheri libros  
legit, legit et Latomus. Sin Lutheranus non est qui legit vt refellat  
aut damnet, qui, queso, Lutheranus erit qui hoc animo legit, vt si  
quid insit quod faciat ad bonam mentem, excerptat, si quid erroris,  
detestetur ac reiiciat? Si Lutheranus est qui omnia illius et scripta  
et scribenda citra exceptionem tuetur ac probat, talis adhuc nemo  
mihi compertus est, nec arbitror quenquam esse tam insani cerebri.  
Ego sane nec Hieronymo nec Augustino sic addictus esse vellem;  
vix etiam ipsi Paulo, vt aliquid dicam ὑπερβολικῶς.

Caeterum ego qui nec lego libros illius nec defendo quicquam,  
quo pacto fingor Lutheranus? Si orthodoxus est quisquis maledicit  
Luthero, gratulandum est populo Christiano. Sed vereor, optime  
Barbiri, ne complures sint qui magnis conuiciis insectantur in  
Lutheranis leuia quaedam—quod genus sit, 'Quicquid agit iustus,  
peccatum esse'—, quum ipsi non credant id quod est totius nostrae  
fidei basis, videlicet animum superesse a morte corporis. Sed tamen  
video duas rationes quibus Lutheranus videri queam. Primum, si  
Lutheranus est e cuius libris hausit occasionem erroris (si tamen  
aliquid hausit ex meis), dici possim Lutheranus. Sed hac ratione  
Lutheranus erit et Apostolus Paulus, e cuius scriptis plura hausit  
quam ex meis. Vnde enim haeretici veteres hauserunt errorum  
suorum semina, nisi e sacris libris? Et tamen nullus hoc imputat  
horum autoribus. Ad haec, si Lutheranus est qui quocunque modo

306. iis a: his F. 308. iis a: his F. 309. F: discidium a. 311. posset  
hoc F. 313. feram a: fero H. 318. F: velit ἀπὸ Μίχανης a. 323. queso om. F.  
325. Si a: Sin F. 328. F: Hieronimo a. 329. vt... ὑπερβολικῶς add. H.  
335. fidei nostrae F. 337. Primum add. H. 339. dici possim Lutheranus  
om. F. 340. et Apostolus om. F.

299. pacem] Cf. Cic. Fam. 6. 6. 5.

335. peccatum esse] Cf. Ep. 1195. 64n.

fauet Luthero—et fauet haud dubie qui hortatur ad meliora, qui  
 345 correctum cupit—, hoc nomine plane Lutheranus fui quondam, et  
 sum adhuc, et esse puto quotquot sunt vere Christiani. Quis enim  
 non malit fratrem suum emendatum quam extinctum?

Sed vt sit tandem harum naeniarum finis, quando tu desines nos  
 torquere desiderio tui? quando reddes nobis tuum conspectum?  
 350 Vtinam te videam in tua Paria mitratum! Dispeream nisi malim  
 illic agere inter gentes ignotissimas quam hic inter rabiosas obtre-  
 ctationes: qui morbus olim monachorum latebris familiaris, nunc  
 in ipsas etiam regum aulas penetrauit. Nulla est compotatio in qua  
 non acribus studiis decertetur de Luthero. Mox ad Erasmum rixa  
 355 deflectit. Deum immortalem! quid ibi non dicitur ab his qui  
 tantum sapiunt in hoc negotio quantum de pictura camelus? Et  
 nulli clamant fortius. Hoc mali debeo Germanicis meis. Equidem  
 ex animo Germaniae faueo. Dici non potest quam indies efflorescat  
 ingeniis felicissimis; in me studiis propensioribus quam vel  
 360 merebar vel postulabam. Sed optarem quorundam amicitias mihi  
 aliquanto fuisse auspiciores quam fuerunt. Britannia vulgo male  
 audit, quoties de fide agitur. At illic tales amicos, tam fidos, tam  
 constantes, tam prudenter fauentes repperi, vt meliores ne optare  
 quidem potuissem.

365 Bene vale, mi Petre, et cura vt quam primum ad nos venias  
 Hispaniensibus ducatis onustus. Nam hic mira auri sitis: quando-  
 quidem video glebas illas aureas, quas nobis polliceri soles in Paria,  
 simillimas montibus aureis Persarum.

Brugis Idibus augustis: anno m<sup>o</sup>.v<sup>c</sup>.xxi<sup>o</sup>.

#### 1226. TO JEROME FROBEN.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 663.  
 HN: Lond. xvii. 21: LB. 588.

Bruges.  
 14 August 1521.

[From consideration of the movements of Jerome Froben (Ep. 903. 2n) the  
 years 1519–21 are possible. But in view of Erasmus' presence at Bruges and the  
 position of this letter near the end of F, 1521 may be accepted.]

350. Paria F: patria a.	353. etiam add. F: om. N.	355. his a: iis F.
357. meis a: amicis F.	358. faueo Germaniae F.	359. propensioribus
studiis F.	365. mi Petre om. F.	Paria F: patria a.
369. Idibus augustis a: Id. Augusti F.	367. nobis add. F.	m.d.xxi. F.

349. desiderio tui] Cf. Epp. 1114.  
 3n, 1216. 71–2.

350. Paria] See Ep. 913. 6n.

353. compotatio] Cf. Ep. 1033. 22n.

361. Britannia] It is interesting to  
 contrast this estimate of 'perfidie  
 Albion' (cf. Ep. 764. 10) with the high  
 reputation then enjoyed by Germany;  
 cf. 1, p. 13. 17–18, Epp. 111. 44n, 269.  
 38–9, 305. 39, 150, 307. 10–11, 317. 18,  
 334. 7–8, 1523 fin. It has value, even  
 though Erasmus was not an unpre-  
 judiced witness. In other points, too,  
 he criticizes England unfavourably:

see Epp. 77. 14n, 15, 123. 18 cr.n, 250.  
 14, 292. 6–7, 899. 14–15. But cf. Ep.  
 1074. 1–2.

vulgo] Thus Leo de Rozmítal,  
 the Bohemian, who visited England in  
 Feb. 1468, describes the English in his  
*Commentarius... Itineris*, first translated  
 into Latin and printed, Olmutz, F.  
 Millichtaler, 1577, f. 49 v<sup>o</sup>, as 'homines,  
 vt mihi videtur, infidi et astuti, vitae  
 hominum peregrinorum exitium mo-  
 lientes: qui licet submissee genu infle-  
 ctant, non tamen illis fidem habeas'.

362. amicos] Cf. Ep. 195. 4–10.



ERASMVS ROT. HIERONYMO FROBENIO SVO S. D.

MIHI gratias agis, mi Hieronyme, quod ex literis meis propensior in te factus sit patris animus. Sed in te situm est vt sit propensissimus. Id fiet si te vere filium esse declares et ex animo rem patris adiuues. Non mirum si quando cessant operae mercennariae. At tu dum patrem adiuuas, tuum ipsius agis negocium. Nunc aetas est laborum omnium patiens. Ea est rebus honestis exercenda. Quod datur vacui temporis, hoc impende honestis studiis et euoluendis bonis autoribus. Fuge consortia nepotum et ociosorum, abduc te a iuuenilibus voluptatibus, et veris dotibus temet instrue. Quod si facies, non deerit tibi neque gloria neque pecunia: sin secus, et ego te frustra commendauero patri, et ipse tibi parum bene consulueris. Sed absit vt hoc eueniat. Confido, mi Hieronyme, te talem futurum qualem optamus vtrique. Bene vale, et saluta Erasmium, puerum, vt audio, spei optimae.

Brugis prid. assumptae Virginis. An. M.D.XXI.

15

## 1227. TO RICHARD PACE.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 538.

Bruges.

HN: Lond. xiv. 8: LB. 589.

23 August 1521.

[The year-date is confirmed by Henry's book and Wolsey's embassy.]

ERAS. ROT. CLARISS. RICARDO PACAEIO, DECANO S. PAVLI  
LONDINI, S. D.

DE nostris commentariis nihil audio, mi Pacae: quae res grauius exerceat animum meum quam quum in litore Douariensi semel periret vniuersa res pecuniaria. Cui debeam hanc imputare iacturam nescio; certe tuo animo nec libet imputare nec possum.

Librum quem Regia maiestas conscripsit aduersus Lutherum, vidi tantum in manibus Marini, nuncii apostolici. Vehementer aueo

1226. TIT. SVO om. H. 10. facias Lond. 1227. TIT. CLARISS. om. H. DECANO  
S. PAVLI LONDINI om. H.

1226. 1. literis meis] Cf. Ep. 1209. 5n; and for a ground of difference between father and son see Ep. 1033. 47n.

13. Erasmium] See Ep. 635. 20n.

1227. 1. commentariis] Cf. Ep. 1210. 15-19.

2. Douariensi] Cf. Ep. 119. 7n.

5. Librum] *Assertio septem sacramentorum aduersus Martin. Lutherum*, London, Pynson, 12 July 1521. A later issue has three sheets prefixed, containing the oration delivered by the English envoy, Clerk (Ep. 999. 29on), on presenting the book to Leo (Sept. init.; cf. Brewer iii. 1574), and a Papal Bull of 11 Oct. 1521 commending the work and conferring the title of De-

fender of the Faith. See also Ep. 1290. 17n. On 16 Jan. 1522 Pynson printed a new edition with corrections. In two Strasburg editions, J. Grieninger, 9 Aug. and 7 Sept. 1522, Epp. 1219 and 1228 are appended; no doubt reprinted from F. For the question of Henry's authorship see Ep. 1228. 18n; and, for further developments, see Epp. 1307. 4-9, 1308. 9n.

vidi tantum] A copy, inscribed by the king with Erasmus' name, was sent to him in Aug., but did not reach him till Feb. 1522 at Basle; see Ep. 1342. 858-65, and cf. Ep. 1246. 18-27.

6. Marini] Caracciolo: see Ep. 865.

legere. Nec enim dubito quin dignus sit illo longe felicissimo ingenio, quod mire valet, vbiunque sese intenderit. Olim prodigiosae pietatis habebatur et diuorum dignum catalogo, si princeps  
 10 copius et armis depulisset hostes a ceruicibus Christianorum. At Henricus octauus ingenio calamoque propugnat pro Christi sponsa, satis declarans quid praestaturus sit, si res arma flagitarit. At interim quod nunc praestat, vt mea sententia multo difficilius est, ita  
 15 laudem solidiorem magisque propriam illi pariet. Nam bellicae rei laudem fortuna partitur in multos, saepenumero multo maximam partem sibi vindicans. Hic quoniam res omnis animi praesidiis geritur, quicquid laudis est vni proprie debetur Henrico. Quotquot colimus aut amamus bonas literas, ingratiissimi simus ni tale ingenium  
 20 veneremur atque exosculemur, quod miris modis ornat commendatque studia nostra. Porro confido fore vt hoc pulcherrimum planeque rarissimum exemplar multos principes prouocet ad aemulationem. An non pudebit posthac sacerdotes, monachos, episcopos, nihil scire rei theologiae, quum viderint Regem tantum, iuuenem, tot negociis  
 25 aeditis periclitanti Christianae religioni patrocinetur? Nec addubito quin id aliquanto felicius illi successerit quam nonnullis qui antehac in eodem stadio vires suas periclitati sunt.

Sed hac de re certiora scribam vbi librum deuoraro: cuius legendi me mira quaedam tenet auditas. Nam R. D. Eboracensis pollicitus  
 30 est se facturum mihi copiam. Vehementer erat molestum quod tu abesses ab hoc comitatu. Id tulissem moderatius, si vel epistola nos inuississet. Memento, mi Pacae, in cuius locum successeris, et quid nobis promiseris. Expecto enim vt efficias ne Coletum magnopere desiderem. Tu maius etiam quiddam es pollicitus. Abunde satis  
 35 feceris et meis votis et tuis promissis si per te licebit recipere nugas quas apud te deposuimus Ferrariae. Bene vale, vir ornatissime.

Brugis x. Cal. Septemb. Anno M.D.xxi.

Marcus Laurinus, decanus apud S. Donatianum, hospes meus, tui amantissimus, rogauit vt suis verbis tibi multam salutem ascriberem.

#### 1228. TO WILLIAM WARHAM.

Basle MS. Ki. Ar. 25. a. 97 (a).

F. p. 537: HN: Lond. xiv. 7: LB. 590.

Bruges.

23 August 1521.

[The manuscript is contemporary, but inaccurate: I cannot identify the hand. Against the heading, which obviously was not part of Erasmus' composition, another contemporary hand has written 'Ad Moguntinum puto' and later 'Ad Capitō', in vain conjecture as to the person addressed. The absence of heading, and presumably also of dates, in the original shows that this must have been a rough draft. But the copyist's blunder in the heading does not imply more than that that part of his original was not autograph: the rest may

15. H: saepenumero, F.

29. R. D. F: Cardinalis H.

67n. The meeting is described in detail in Ep. 1342. 848-57.

24. eo progressum] For Henry's attainments in the scholastic theology and philosophy cf. Epp. 964. 119-28,

966. 24-9, 976. 37-8, 1313. 72-6, and Lond. xxiii. 15, LB. 1038.

32. successeris] Cf. Ep. 1025. 3n.

36. Ferrariae] Cf. Epp. 1110. 39n, 1224. 5n.

have been in Erasmus' own hand. In the printed editions two passages are amplified, one very markedly; but it does not seem possible to determine whether these amplifications were made before the dispatch of the letter, or in the printing. In the main I have adopted the text of the manuscript; discarding its spelling, however, which is uncouth, and introducing into the text the passages added later.

Like Ep. 1219 this letter is reprinted from F in the Strasburg editions of Henry VIII's *Assertio* (l. 6), 9 Aug. and 7 Sept. 1522. For possible circulation of it in ms. or in an unauthorized print see Ep. 1263. 18n. The year-date needs no confirmation.]

ERAS. ROTE. R. P. GVLIELMO WARAMO, ARCHIEPISCOPO CANTVA.,  
TOTIVS ANGLIAE PRIMATI, S. D.

Vbi cognouissem reuerendissimum Cardinalem Brugis cum Caesare congressurum, eo me contuli; quo complures amicos illic et viderem et complecterer, quibus mihi nihil in vita neque charius neque dulcius. Bona quaedam spes habebat animum meum adfuturum et reuerendum dominum Roffensem; sed ea fefellit.

Librum quem Rex Angliae scripsit aduersus Lutherum, vidi, nondum tamen accepi; tametsi eum saepe promisit reuerendissimus dominus Eboracensis. Id suspicor eius negligentia factum cui datum erat hoc negocium. Quis non exosculetur huiusmodi Principis animum, qui sic et ornat nostra studia et religionem defendit? Olim summa pietas erat si reges armis tutati fuissent tranquillitatem Christianam. Hic ingenio calamoque propugnat, satis declarans quid praestiturus sit si res arma postulauerit. Confido fore in hoc pulcherrimum exemplum, vt et caeteri principes studeant aemulari. Ac tandem, opinor, pudebit sacerdotes et monachos nihil scire sacrarum literarum, posteaquam viderint tantum Principem in his studiis eo progressum esse, vt libris etiam aeditis Catholicae religioni patrocinetur. Ex proceribus, praecipue Montioio, certo persuasum habeo librum ipsius Marte, quod aiunt, confectum esse. Nec dubito quin illo felicissimo ingenio sit dignissimus, quod mire valet quocunque se intenderit. Qua de re plura scribam, vbi volumen perlegero.

TIT. F (R. P. om. H. TOTIVS ANGLIAE PRIMATI om. H): E. R. CVIDAM EX PRIMATIBVS a (CVIDAM scripsi: MIDAM a). 1. Reue<sup>m</sup> Cardinalem a: R. Card. F: Card. Ebor. H. 5. Reuerendum dominum a: R. D. F: episcopum H. 6. , nondum tamen a: tantum, nondum F. 7. eum a: iam F. Reuerendiss. dominus a: R. D. F: Card. H. 8. Id . . . 9. negocium add. H. 9. exosculetur F: expostularetur a. huiusmodi a: eiusmodi F. 10. ornet F. defendat F. 12. propugnat add. F. praestaturus F. 13. postulauerint F. in a: vt F. 14. vt om. F. 15. et a: ac F. 17. etiam post Catholicae a: om. F. 18. proceribus praecipue Montioio a (Montioio F: magnatibus a): procerum praecipue Montioii narratione H. certo F: certum a. 20. mire F: vnice a. se a: sese F.

1. Brugis] See p. 551.

5. Roffensem] Cf. Ep. 1263. 18.

6. Librum] See Ep. 1227. 5n.

18. Montioio] For his intimate knowledge of Henry's capacity and attainments see Ep. 1313. 67-83 and Lond. xxiii. 15, xxviii. 15, LB. 1038, 1160; and, for the value of his testimony in such a matter, Epp. 79, 204, 206 introdd. and

my *Age of Erasmus*, pp. 182-4. Further light is thrown on the question by Mr. E. G. Duff's discovery (*Westminster and London Printers*, 1906, p. 164) that the verses written by Henry with his own hand in the copy of the *Assertio* presented to the Pope, were chosen out of a collection supplied to him by Wolsey (Brewer iii. 1450).

Video tempestatem esse multo periculosissimam; in qua mihi video  
 cursum sic esse moderandum, vt nec Christi negocium deseram  
 hominibus adulando, nec me frustra in discrimen aliquod coniciam.  
 25 Lutherus veluti malum Eridis misit in mundum, cuius nullam  
 omnino partem non turbatam video. Nemo non fatetur vehementi  
 quadam medicina fuisse opus Ecclesiae nimium collapsis moribus;  
 sed video propemodum vsu venire vt pharmacum parum dextre  
 adhibitum morbi vim exacerbarit verius quam expulerit. Atque  
 30 vtinam verum esset quod inuictus Danorum rex Christiernus mihi  
 simile quiddam dicenti respondit—ludens, opinor—, leuibus pharmacis  
 nihil agi, sed illud esse remediorum efficacium, vt primum corpus  
 omne concutiant! Ego certe nullum exitum video bonum, nisi  
 Christus ipse nostram temeritatem bene vertat; quemadmodum  
 35 ferunt Mineruam Atheniensium *δυσβολίαν* bene fortunare solitam.  
 Mihi cui semper placuit tranquillitas, non potest hic orbis tumultus  
 non esse molestissimus. Accedit his, quod Lutheri negocium, tametsi  
 longe semotum est a bonis literis, tamen non mediocri inuidia grauat  
 nostra studia. Id casu quodam sic accidit, quod antequam Lutherus  
 40 exoriretur, iamdudum acerrimum bellum esset cum hoc hominum  
 genere qui nunc potissimum oppugnant Lutherum. Hi sunt monachi  
 quidam ac theologi ieiunae illi ac perturbatae doctrinae nimium  
 tribuentes. Ac nunc quidem certatim omnes impetunt Lutherum,  
 velut olim Hectorem iacentem Graeci. Sed haec Scylla nobis ita  
 45 vitanda est vt ne deferamur in Charybdim.

Vrgent quidam vt nonnihil scribam in Lutherum. Vbi me extri-  
 cauero ab his in quibus nunc mire dstringor—id autem fiet breui—,  
 accingar ad legendos omnes Lutheri libros, et eorum qui scripserunt  
 aduersus hunc. Neque enim temere res est tentanda. Hoc facto  
 50 conabor efficere vt nec Pontificis Romani dignitati nec Christianae

22. video a: sentio H. 23. nec Christi F: ne Christianum a. deseram F:  
 deferam a. 25. Lutherus . . . 44. Graeci F (36. tumultus F *Corrig.*: stultus F.  
 38. est om. N): Lutherus omnia fere scripsit sediciose, id nemo negat, multa preter  
 rem et absurde, quedam parum pie a. 46. extricare F. 47. mire F: iure a.  
 49. Neque F: nec a. 50. F: conabar a.

25. veluti malum Eridis] Murner  
 (see p. 542) mistranslates, 'als das bösz  
 Eridis'.

30. Danorum rex] Christiern II  
 (2 July 1481–25 Jan. 1559) succeeded  
 his father in 1513, and on 12 Aug. 1515  
 married Isabella, Charles' youngest  
 sister, then aged 13, to whom he was  
 speedily unfaithful. He had just com-  
 pleted the conquest of Sweden in 1520,  
 with shocking barbarity and perfidy;  
 and now, from June to Sept. 1521, was  
 visiting Charles in the Netherlands  
 (cf. Brewer iii. 1388). In 1523 he was  
 expelled from Denmark by his sub-  
 jects; and being defeated in an attempt  
 to return in 1531–2, he was captured  
 and imprisoned for the rest of his life.

It is surprising that while the blood  
 of the Stockholm massacres was still  
 fresh upon him, Erasmus, in contrast

to Ziegler (Ep. 1260), could write of  
 him with respect, and be proud of  
 being admitted to his society (cf. Epp.  
 1263. 21–2, 1342. 78–80, 1381. 25–8);  
 and *Spongia*, LB. x. 1635 c = HE. 333,  
 § 38). Dürer, too, took his portrait in  
 July 1521, and records the admiration  
 of the people of Antwerp, 'das er so  
 ein mannlich schön man war, vnd nur  
 selbtritt durch seiner feind land kom-  
 men' (*Tagebuch*, ed. F. Leitschuh, 1884,  
 p. 91. 19–20). For his intervention at  
 Wittenberg see Ep. 1241. 26n.

34. Christus] Cf. Ep. 1205. 22–4.

44. Scylla] Cf. Ep. 1205. 25–6.

46. Vrgent quidam] Cf. Ep. 1213. 42n.

47. dstringor] Cf. Ep. 1205. 16.

48. legendos omnes] Ep. 1225. 258–9.  
 shows how little he had yet read.

49. Neque . . . temere] Cf. Ep. 1236.  
 113–17.

religionis tranquillitati videar defuisse pro mea quidem virili. Nos hic magnis studiis apparamus bellum in Gallos. Pontifex totus in veteres amicos irritatus nobis sese adiunxit. Et interim Turca Hungariam populatur armis.

Precor vt Christus Opti. Max. seruet amplitudinem tuam nobis 55 incolumem. Reliqua cognosces ex reuerendo patre Thoma Halseio, episcopo Elphinensi, quem semper expertus sum ex animo mihi fauentem. Brugis. x. Calendas Septemb. Anno M.D. xxi.

## 1229. TO THOMAS LUPSET.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 534.

Bruges.

HN: Lond. xiv. 4: LB. 523.

23 August (1521).

[The year-date added in H has little or no value; cf. Epp. 1220, 1223, 1232, 1239. The mention of the life of Colet, and Erasmus' presence at Bruges (cf. Ep. 1230 introd.) clearly indicate 1521.]

ERASMVS ROTEROD. THOMAE LVPSETO SVO S. D.

Vt acerbus mihi fuit rumor de morbo tuo, mi Lupsete, ita vehementer gaudeo te nobis reuiuiscere. Coleti nostri vitam epistola complexus sum. Si parum graphice videbitur expressus, tibi partim imputabitur, qui me parum ad plenum instruxeris viri coloribus: quod quidem nemo te melius poterat. Porro quod ad eius viri 5 formam velutique praescriptum vitam instituis, non possum non vehementer probare, modo delectum adhibeas. Probum quidem exemplar tibi proponis. Sed in optimis praecipua sunt imitanda, nec ea tamen nisi accommoda: nec enim omnibus omnia congruunt. In illo praecipuum erat, quod synceram Christi philosophiam e purissimis Euangeliorum haustam fontibus gratis impartit populo: vt non 10 absque numine videatur illi contigisse gentile cognomen; siquidem Coheleth Hebraeis dicitur concionator, quem Graeci vocant ecclesiasten. Eam ad rem si te toto studio contuleris, aut ego plane fallor, aut Coletus non inferior euades. 15

Caeterum quod illius exemplo tibi coenis in totum interdici, equidem non approbo, nec in illo probabam. Quod si sentis corpori tuo pro vigore aetatis frenis opus esse, mea sententia felicius hoc

1228. 51. Nos . . . 55. Precor F: Interim precor a. 56. F: cognosce a. Reuerendo patre a: R. P. D. F: om. H. Halseio F: Halhagio a. 58. Brugis . . . M.D. xxi add. F. 1229. TIT. svo om. H. 13. LB: Coleheth F. 16. coenis F Corrig.: coaeuis F.

1228. 52. bellum in Gallos] Cf. Epp. 1236. 61-5, 1238. 45n, 1283. 11-13, 1284. 51-2, 1299 introd., 1306. 55-6; and for its progress see E. Armstrong, *Charles v*, ch. 7.

Pontifex] For Leo's alliance with Charles at this time against France see Creighton v. 159-61.

54. Hungariam] See Breweri. 1376.

56. Halseio] See Ep. 254 introd.

58. M.D. xxi] Murner (cf. l. 25n) gives 'Tausent fünf hundert zwei vñ zwen-tzig'; doubtless bringing the year-date into conformity with that of the book (cf. Ep. 1033 introd.). The year-date in Ep. 1219 he omits.

1229. 2. epistola] Ep. 1211.

4. parum . . . instruxeris] In response to Ep. 1026. 1-4.

16. coenis] Cf. Ep. 1211. 309n.

praestabit moderatus vsus cibi potusque quam multa perpetuaque  
 20 inedia. Bona continentiae pars est certo animo velle continere.  
 Huic si accesserit vehemens et assiduum studium sacrarum literarum,  
 non erit opus carnificina ieiuniorum; quae fortasse premunt luxu-  
 riem iuuentutis, sed ita premunt vt senectuti tradant valetudinem  
 inualidam, atque ita coercent corporis calorem vt laedant animi  
 25 vigorem.

Optimae matri tuae precor Mercurium dextrum ac propiciam, quae  
 cum tot monstris linguacissimis sola depugnat sua lingua. Quod si  
 mihi hic decem essent isti similes propugnatrices, liceret in vtramu-  
 dormire aurem. Profecto vnam arbitror dignam quae repubescat.  
 30 Optimo patri multam ex me salutem dicito. Cura vt quam optime  
 valeas, charissime Lupsete. Saluta Guilhelmos duos pari candore  
 praeditos, Gonellum et Dancastrum: praeterea D. Gerardum, quon-  
 dam Coleti oeconomum.

Brugis. x. Calen. Septemb. [Anno M.D.XX.]

# 1230. TO THOMAS LINACRE.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 534.

HN: Lond. xiv. 3: LB. 591.

Bruges.

24 August 1521.

[The year-date may be accepted; for there is no reason to suppose that Eras-  
 mus was at Bruges at this time in any other of the years possible before the  
 publication of F except 1521.]

ERASMVS ROT. THOMAE LINACRO, SERENISS. ANGLORVM REGIS

MEDICO PRIMARIO, S. D.

Non sine magno animi dolore audio ex amicis valetudinem tibi  
 factam incommodiorem: homini me hercle digno cum primis quem  
 nec senectus attingat vnquam nec morbus vllus. Sed quando hac  
 lege nascimur omnes, nec sunt vlllo pacto exorabiles Parcae, eniten-  
 5 dum est vt, qua licet, etiam a fati ipsi nobis simus superstites.  
 Porro vt aequioribus animis cedunt e rebus humanis parentes qui  
 viderint liberos suos ad aliquem vitae statum euectos; ita nonnihil  
 est aeditis vigiliis nostris, interim ceu praegustare quid posteritas de  
 nobis sit iudicatura. At tu, si mihi permittis vt libere tecum agam,  
 10 sine fine premis tuas omnium eruditissimas lucubrationes, vt pericu-

1229. 30. patri H: vitrico F. 32. D. om. H. 34. Anno M.D.XX add. H.  
 1230. TIT. SERENISS. . . PRIMARIO om. H.

1229. 26. matri] Alice Lupset, †1545;  
 buried with her son in St. Alphage's  
 church, London Wall. See *Gentleman's*  
*Magazine*, xlv (1856), p. 119. This  
 somewhat cryptic wish seems to imply  
 that she was now carrying on her hus-  
 band's business.

30. patri] Wm. Lupset, goldsmith  
 and citizen of London; †1522. The  
 correction made in H is noticeable.

32. Gonellum] See Ep. 274.

Dancastrum] See p. 89.

Gerardum] See Ep. 1027. 10n.

1230. 1. valetudinem] Cf. l. 10n.

5. a fati] sc. mortui.

10. premis] Erasmus brought the  
 same charge against Grocin and Wm.  
 Latimer (Ep. 540. 87-93): with only  
 too good reason.

lucubrationes] Besides his trans-  
 lations from Proclus (Ep. 118. 23n) and  
 Galen (Epp. 502. 15n, 785. 17n) Linacre  
 had as yet published nothing. But he  
 was now just completing another

lum sit, ne pro cauto modestoque crudelis habearis, qui studia huius seculi tam lenta torqueas expectatione tuorum laborum, ac tam diu fraudes desideratissimo fructu tuorum voluminum. Fortasse terret te nostrum exemplum. Sed etiam atque etiam vide (ne), dum studiosi vitas nostram culpam, in diuersam deflectas. De me quicquid tibi audes polliceri, scito semper fore promptissimum. Bene vale, vir optime idemque doctissime.

Brugis, Natali diui Bartholomei. Anno M D XXI.

### 1231. TO PETER WYCHMAN.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 665.

Bruges.

HN: Lond. xvii. 24: LB. 612.

(c. 29 August) 1521.

[Between 28 Aug. (l. 2) and Erasmus' return to Anderlecht (Ep. 1232). His host there (cf. Ep. 1208. 1), throughout his stay, was Peter Wychman († 18 Feb. 1535), canon and schoolmaster of St. Peter's church, who succeeded Jacobus of Bologna in these offices in 1507: see A. Sanderus, *Theatre sacré de Brabant*, i (1734), p. 297, quoted in EE. p. 460. Wychman was helpful to Erasmus in connexion with a ms. of the New Testament (Ep. 373 introd.). For their further relations see Ep. 1351. A writer in MSH., 1846, p. 289, describes the house in which he lived as 'une sorte de maison de campagne, qui s'appelait "de Zwane" (le Cygne), . . . tout près de la nouvelle maison communale'; and adds that the portion occupied by Erasmus had been pulled down two years before, as it had fallen into decay.]

ERASMVS ROT. HONORABILI D. PETRO WICHMANO, CANONICO

ANDERLACENS., HOSPITI SVO, S. D.

QVI deplorare solebas fidem misere labefactatam per Lutheranos, eidem gratulari debes feliciter reualescenti. In natali diui Augustini quidam hic concionatus est, vir *ἱεραρχικῆς* cultu spectabilis. Is inter multa quae diuinitus dixit, mire restituit dignitatem quatuor ordinum quos vulgo Mendicantium appellant, simulque confessionem; quorum vtrunque nonnihil videbatur opera Lutheranorum coepisse labascere.

Dignitatem ordinum sic restituit. 'Augustinus' inquit, 'fuit fons ille in Paradiso, vnde prodierunt quatuor amnes, hoc est quatuor ordines Mendicantium, sua doctrina sanctisque moribus irrigantes et foecundantes vniuersam superficiem terrae, hoc est vniuersam Ecclesiam.' Si Christum dixisset fontem, quatuor fluuios quatuor Euangelia, non omnino fuisset absurda allegoria. Nunc quid Augustino cum illis ordinibus? Porro quod addebat de irrigando

1230. 15. diuersum N.

1231. TIT. HONORABILI D. om. H.

translation from Galen, *De temperamentis*; which Siberch (Ep. 808. 26n) printed in 1521 (cf. Ep. 644 introd.). The preface, addressed to Leo x and reminding him of their studies together (under Politian and Chalcondylas at Florence: see Epp. 428. 34n, 520. 131-3), is dated 5 Sept. 1521; and speaks of Linacre's having in hand

'plura maioraque', to be dedicated to Leo 'vt primum per valetudinem et ministerii mei officia licebit'.

14. nostrum exemplum] Cf. Epp. 1182. 9n, 1234. 6-8.

1231. 5. Mendicantium] Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Austin Friars.

8. fons ille] Cf. Gen. 2. 10-14.

15 foecundandoque, complures boni viri optabant esse verum, risere permulti.

Confessionem ita restituit. 'Augustinus' inquit, 'scripsit multos libros De confessione, in quibus confitetur quaedam pene friuola, veluti quemadmodum aliquando contemplatus sit, non sine voluptate, 20 araneam venari muscam.' 'Hoc' inquit, 'arguit nihil esse tam minutum quin oporteat confiteri.' Primum Augustinus illic vtitur Confessionis vocabulo, vt est anceps, et ad gratiarum actionem et ad confessionem culpa. Atque in eo opere plus laudis sibi tribuit quam agnoscit culpa. Neque confitetur sacerdoti sed Deo. Et tamen ille 25 concionator haec dicens, vulgata voce est vsus, quae populo nihil aliud declarat quam eam confessionem quam sacramentalem vocant theologi. Huiusmodi quum multa dicant publicitus apud frequentem multitudinem, mirantur se non haberi pro diis.

Tertium fortassis ad me pertinebat, qui in Declamatione plus aequo 30 tribuere videor matrimonio. 'Quidam' inquit, 'damnant coelibatum. Imo nisi nos coelibes fuissetis, iam Christiana fides esset extincta.' Olim nemo fere dicebat pro concione, nisi dispositis notariis qui sermonem exciperent. Quod si fieret hodie, Deus bone, quae fabulae nascerentur! Qui talia dicunt in celeberrima ciuitate 35 Brugensi, quae tot habet eruditos, tot et sine literis felicia sanique iudicii ingenia, quid censes eos dicere in pagis, quid in conuiuiis? O columnas orthodoxae fidei!

Hoc te nescire nolui, ne dicas tibi nihil communicatum eorum quae hic geruntur; sed plura coram. Bene vale.

40 Brugis. Anno M.D.XXI.

#### 1232. TO NICHOLAS OF HERTOGENBOSCH.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 663.

HN: Lond. xvii. 22. LB. 525.

Anderlecht.

31 August (1521).

[Between the publication of Tertullian (l. 11) and the completion of F: so that the year-date supplied in H is again wrong. The letter is almost of the nature of a 'review' of Tertullian. For Nicholas' interest in that author cf. Ep. 1697. Conrad Pellican states (CPR. p. 78) that at Beatus' request he contributed the index to Tertullian, as he had done for Erasmus' Cyprian (see p. 23).]

ERASMVVS ROT. NICOLAO BVSCIDVCENSI, APVD INCLYTAM

ANTVVERPIAM LVDI LITERARII MODERATORI, S. D.

OMNES beatitates nostrum beent Beatum, qui nobis Tertullianum dederit, illum sic adamatum a Cypriano, sic laudatum ab Hieronymo.

1232. TIT. APVD . . . S. D. F: S. H.

1231. 20. araneam] Aug. Conf. 10.

35. 57.

26. sacramentalem] auricular, as opposed to public: cf. Ep. 1225. 119n.

29. Declamatione] See Ep. 604. 10n.

33. sermonem exciperent] The Worcester Cathedral Library has a xiv<sup>o</sup>

ms. (Q. 46) entitled: 'Reportationes Iohannis de Dombeltone, monachi Wygorn., de sermonibus Oxonie'. The printed text of Luther's Leipzig Disputation, 1519 (Ep. 1020. 62n), is described as 'a notariis excepta'.

1232. 1. Tertullianum] Beatus Rhena-



Sed vtinam integrum et emendatum dare potuisset! Plurimum tamen debemus illius industriae, qui quod licuit praestitit. Mihi hactenus degustare licuit verius quam legere. Habet ille quidem 5 suum quoddam orationis genus, quod haud scio an eo seculo plausibile fuerit apud Afros, tametsi nobis subdurnum videtur. Id quod non dissimulauit noster Hieronymus, qui tribuit illi densitatem in sententiis, sed adiungit difficultatem in eloquendo. Caeterum quis non admiretur pectus illud semper ardens, tam exactam Scripturarum 10 cognitionem tanque promptam memoriam, idque priscis illis temporibus, quum nulla adhuc esset solennis theologiae professio, nullae scholae, nullae diatribae, nulli fere sacrorum voluminum interpretes? Haec quum contemplor, mi Nicolae, disputet me nostrorum tem-  
porum.

Habet tamen hoc vicii quod in Origene damnat Hieronymus: nonnunquam vim facit Scripturis, idque impudentius etiam quam Origenes. Nam hic plerunque disputat et inquirat, Tertullianus asseuerat ac pugnat. Huius generis est illud, quod hunc Christi sermonem, 'Qui dimiserit uxorem et duxerit aliam, moechatur,' sic 20 interpretatur quasi non damnetur diuortium, nisi quum ideo repudiatur vxor vt ducatur alia quae magis adblandiatur. Porro quod egressus sit ab Ecclesia, quanquam excusari nec debet nec potest, tamen eleuat crimen Hieronymus: 'Hic,' inquit, 'quum vsque ad mediam aetatem presbyter Ecclesiae permansisset, inuidia postea et 25 contumeliis clericorum Romanae Ecclesiae in Montani dogma delapsus est.' Atque vt misericordia dignus est qui simpliciter errat, ita omnis haeresis execranda est piis mentibus, quae cum indocili per- uicacia coniuncta est. Sed tamen vt in venenis aliud alio letalius, ita in haeresibus alia pestilentior alia.

Propius autem abesse videntur a pietate, quae immodico quodam Euangelici vigoris studio plus exigunt quam oportet. Quales erant qui semel baptismo lotum adeo volebant abhorre ab omni turpitudine, vt relapsos in crimen aliquod insigne nunquam reciperent in contubernium Ecclesiae: quo seueritas haec ecclesiasticae censurae 35 caeteros deterreret a peccando. Nec enim hos, opinor, iudicabant excludendos a regno coelorum, quod submouerentur a foribus Ecclesiae; quas frequenter ingrediuntur ii quos Deus 'secludet a suo consortio. Sed poenitentiae remedium, quod alii leniores temporarium esse patiebantur, illi volebant esse perpetuum, idque putabant con- 40 ducere ad continendum in officio reliquum gregem. A quorum opinione quam minimum abfuit diuus Augustinus, qui semel lapso post satisfactionem aperit Ecclesiae ianuam, relapso non aperit, ne dilutus fieret Ecclesiae disciplina. Sic veteres illi commoti exemplo verbisque Christi et Apostolorum pudicitiam vbique laudibus vehen- 45

nus had just edited his *Opera* . . . *sine quorum lectione nullum diem intermittebat olim diuus Cyprianus* . . . (cf. Hier. *Vir. ill.* 53), Basle, J. Froben, July 1521: the 'editio princeps'.

3. emendatum] Beatus' preface, addressed to Stanislaus Turzo (p. 599), describes the 'prodigiosa codicum deprauatio' with which he had to con-

tend (BRE. 207). His mss. came from the monasteries of Payerne, s. of the Lake of Neuchatel, and Hirsau (see Ep. 391 introd.).

8. Hieronymus] Ep. 58. 10.

16. Hieronymus] *adu. Ruf.* 3. 27.

20. Qui dimiserit] Matt. 19. 9, Mark

10. 11, Luke 16. 18.

24. Hieronymus] *Vir. ill.* 53.

tium, digamiam improbant, virginitatem exigebant: quum Paulus eum recipi iusserit in Ecclesiae societatem, qui patris uxorem habuerat; et Christus non exigit a suis coelibatum, sed dicat, 'Qui potest capere, capiat'.

50 His annuero eos qui considerantes quam res sit impia quamque immanis bellum, simul videntes pacem et concordiam in sacris literis vbique sic praedicatam, pronunciarunt nullum esse bellum licitum inter Christianos. Atque excessus huiusmodi propemodum excusatur etiam in orthodoxis, quoties aut deterrent a diuersis viciis  
55 aut adhortantur ad ea quae procul absunt ab iis quae vitari cupiunt. Quod facere solent ii qui virgam incuruam, non inflectunt in rectum statum, sed in diuersam partem incuruant, vt redeat in rectitudinem. Atque huius formae mihi videntur plerique errores Tertulliani.

Quorundam errores adeo fuere prodigiosi vt ipsos etiam puderet  
60 qui profitebantur. Qualis fuit insania verius quam error Simonis et Menandri, qui se praedicabant summam Dei virtutem. Tum Basilidis cum suo portentoso Abraxa; praeterea Nicolaitarum, quibus placebant vxores omnium communes. Addantur his Ophitae, cultores serpentis qui decepit Euam; Iudaitae, qui Iudae proditori Iesu  
65 salutem humani generis ferunt acceptam. Mox euauerunt Cerinthi et Valentini somnia. Euauerunt deliramenta Manichaei. Euauit Montanus cum suo Paraclete. Artotyritarum vix nomen quisquam nouit.

Extiterunt autem haereses pestilentissimae, sed quae non potue-  
70 runt altas radices agere, quod palam pugnarent cum fide Scripturarum; quarum inconuulsam auctoritatem magno consensu semper Ecclesiae toto terrarum orbe receperunt. Qualis est eorum qui negabant Christo fuisse corpus humanum; rursum qui detrahebant animam humanam; qui negabant esse vere passum; qui negabant  
75 eum natum ex virgine; qui dicebant resurrectionem esse peractam resurgente Christo, nec expectandam aliam mortuorum resurrectionem. Sed nulla maiores excitauit in orbe tumultus quam Arrianorum, quod ea nec portenta palam absurda proferret et, vt erant docti, Scripturarum testimoniis niti videretur. Pelagianorum, quod ad  
80 liberum attinet arbitrium, etiam hodie licet vestigia quaedam deprehendere. Sed bona pars omnium haereseon e philosophorum placitis orta videtur. Quo magis mirandum est quod nunc negant haereticos reuinci posse sine praesidiis Aristotelicae philosophiae. Nimirum

53. inter *F* *Corrig.*: in *F*. 57. incuruant *F*: detorquent *H*. 73. detrahebant *add. H*. 77. *FN*<sup>2</sup>: Arianorum *HN*<sup>3</sup>.

46. Paulus] 1 Cor. 5. 1, 13, 2 Cor. 2. 5-8.

48. Qui potest] Matt. 19. 12.

52. nullum . . . bellum] Cf. Ep. 1211. 606-7.

61. Basilidis] Basilides (ii<sup>o</sup> A. D.) was the founder of one of the Gnostic sects: the 'first principle' in whose theory of the universe was named Abrasax or Abraxas.

62. Nicolaitarum] Cf. Ep. 1021. 97n.

65. Cerinthi] An Egyptian, i<sup>o</sup>: one

of the traditional opponents of the teaching of St. John. His followers are often classed with the Ebionites.

66. Valentini] The founder of one of the leading Gnostic sects, c. A. D. 130.

67. Artotyritarum] A sect of the Montanists, who used bread and cheese in celebrating the Eucharist.

79. Pelagianorum] Erasmus himself was being accused of Pelagianism just at this time at Wittenberg: cf. Ep. 1225. 284n.

aut ea philosophia multum habet sanctimoniae, aut praeclari sunt artifices qui illa sic norunt vti. Sunt et nunc haereses quaedam<sup>85</sup> scholasticae, de quibus fortasse praestaret non ita pertinaciter contendere vt orbis tumultu misceatur: praesertim quum nec magnopere conducant ad bonam vitam, nec officiant gloriae Christi.

Sed est haeresis quaedam, quae quanquam haeresis vocabulum non mereatur, tamen maximam perniciem adfert vitae mortalium ac<sup>90</sup> plurimum officit Euangelicae auctoritati; quum ii qui profitentur philosophiam Christi, qui se gerunt pro summis ducibus ac proceribus totius populi Christiani, palam tota vita, totis studiis, totis conatibus, nihil aliud doceant quam ambitionem plusquam theatricam, auariciam insatiabilem, voluptatum audiditatem inexplabilem, bellorum furias,<sup>95</sup> caeteraque quae sacrae literae detestantur, quae ab ethnicis etiam philosophis improbantur. Non ista loquuntur quidem, sed efficacius est ista vivere quam loqui.

Quod nuper in colloquio significabas te cogitare de deponenda tyrannide tua, non probo tuum consilium. Posteaquam productus<sup>100</sup> es in proscenium, peragenda est fabulae pars quam tibi choragus iniunxit. Si vir bonus es, vt mihi persuasum est esse te, non tibi displicebit tua conditio quod videatur humilior, sed hoc nomine placebit, quod in ea liceat plurimum prodesse reip(ublicae). Offendunt te temporum horum tumultus. Sed interim quod boni<sup>105</sup> naucleri solent, ventis obsequundandum est donec redierit serenitas; neque enim haec tempestas erit diuturna, vti spero. Bene vale, Nicolae charissime. Ex Anderlaco. prid. Cal. Septembr. [Anno millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo.]

### 1233. TO WILLIAM BUDAEUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 651.

HN: Lond. xvii. 16: LB. 605.

Anderlecht.

<c. September> 1521.

[I cannot assign a more precise date to this letter than that it must fall between Erasmus' return from Bruges at the end of August (p. 552) and his departure to Basle about the end of October (p. 598).

For details of More's family see Ep. 999.]

ERASMVS ROT. GVLIELMO BVDAEO SVO S. D.

CVM proxime Brugis essem in celeberrimo Caesaris comitatu, in vno saltu multos cepi lepores, vt habet prouerbum, hoc est complures amicos eadem opera salutaui; sed imprimis non minus humanum quam magnum, hoc est non minus amandum quam

1232. 101. est H: est tibi F. 108. Anno . . . 109. vigesimo add. H. 1233. tit. svo om. H.

1232. 99. deponenda] Nicholas' proposal to resign his schoolmastership may have been connected with his subsequent difficulties about Lutheranism; cf. Ep. 616. 14n.

103. humilior] This view is combated by Erasmus in Ep. 237. 71-81 also. For encouragement to another schoolmaster just at this time see Ep. 1234. 1233. 2. prouerbum] Cf *Adag.* 2563.

5 R. Card. Eboracensem, quem Regis sui nomine legatione fungentem  
 Carolus noster plane regia quadam munificentia excepit. Aderant  
 Cutbertus Tonstallus, Thomas Morus ac Gulielmus Montioius, praeter  
 alios innumeros; quos ideo non commemoro, quod sciam eos tibi  
 adhuc incognitos. Thomas Morus magnam spem animo conceperat  
 10 vt Caleti in Gallica legatione te complecteretur. Cardinalis aduentus  
 hoc nomine mihi fuit iucundior, quod sperabam fore vt tumultus hui  
 qui inter summates orbis principes magno generis humani periculo  
 vertuntur, huius prudentia atque autoritate componerentur. Verum  
 vt nunc res habent, non video quid sperem, nisi *θεός τις ἀπὸ μηχανῆς*  
 15 *φασὶ* nostra consilia vertat in melius. Sed hi regum motus non  
 dirimunt Musarum foedera.

Sunt quorum rationibus conducit non optime conuenire Caesari et  
 Galliarum Regi. Hii dissidii seminarium subiiciunt arte nimirum  
 tyrannica, vt dum nos mutuis dissensionibus opes nostras attenua-  
 20 mus, ipsi suam stabiliant tyrannidem. Diuinas, opinor, quos sen-  
 tiam. Vtinam hoc provideant vtrique principes, ne post emittant  
 vocem illam serae prudentiae nimioque emptae, 'Non putaram'!

Est quod Moro gratuleris. Nam Rex hunc nec ambientem nec  
 flagitantem munere magnifico honestauit, addito salario nequa-  
 25 quam poenitendo. Est enim Principi suo a thesauris. Ea functio  
 apud Britannos, vt est splendida cum primis atque honorifica, ita  
 non admodum est obnoxia nec inuidiae nec molestis negociis.  
 Erat competitor, homo sat gratus, qui sic ambiebat hoc muneris  
 vt non grauaretur suo victu ciboque gerere. At Rex optimus  
 30 hic certissimum in Morum fauoris argumentum dedit, qui non  
 ambienti salarium etiam addere maluerit quam gratuitum magistra-  
 tum admittere. Nec hoc contentus Princeps benignissimus equitis  
 aurati dignitatem adiecit. Neque dubitandum est quin illum sit  
 amplioribus ornamentis aliquando cumulaturus, quum sese offeret  
 35 occasio: siquidem coelibes euehere longe procluius est principibus.  
 At Morus sic est admixtus ordini coniugum vt nec vxoris obitu sit  
 emancipandus. Priorem enim quam virginem duxerat extulit, et  
 hanc viduus viduam duxit.

Sed hunc Principis animum hoc magis gratulor Moro, quod quic-  
 40 quid huic accesserit vel autoritatis vel gratiae, id existimem bonis  
 studiis accedere: quibus ille sic fauet vt, si pares essent animo facul-  
 tates, non deesset apud Britannos felicibus ingeniis candidus ac  
 benignus Moecenas. Solent aulae principum idem facere quod

5. R. F: reuerendum H. 11. hii F Lond.: hi N<sup>3</sup>: ii LB. 18. Hii FN<sup>2</sup>: Hi HN<sup>3</sup>.  
 19. H: dissentionibus F.

7. Morus] In writing to the Signoria from Bruges, 19 Aug. 1521, Gasparo Contarini mentions that he had invited to dine with him 'vno caualier Englese molto litterato, che se chiama messer Thoma Moro' (Brown iii. 302). Vives, too, met More at Bruges on this visit: see his preface to the *Declamatio qua Quintiliano respondet*, in his *Opera*, Basle, 1555, i. 252.

10. Caleti] As they had met at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in June

1520 (Ep. 1106. 93n): see T. Stapleton, *Tres Thomae*, 1588, Vita Mori, pp. 67, 207.

Gallica legatione] It entered Calais on Sunday, 4 Aug. 1521: see Brewer iii. 1462, 1467. But Budaeus was not a member of it.

18. Hii] Evidently the friars: cf. Epp. 998. 59n, 1215. 8.

22. Non putaram] Cf. Ep. 1161. 14n.

25. a thesauris] Cf. Ep. 1210. 10n.

28. competitor] I have no clue.

medici, qui corpus sibi traditum primum inaniunt, mox implent ac vegetant: nec dubito quin Moro nostro simile quippiam acciderit 45 hactenus. Quid tibi venerit vsu, tute melius nosti. Et tamen illius benignitatem senserunt ingenia, quum adeo non abundaret illi quod largiretur, vt aere grauaretur alieno.

Nec hac parte solum ornat studia, quod ipse doctissimus candide fauet doctis omnibus, verumetiam quod vniuersam familiam hone- 50 stissimis literarum studiis excolendam curat, nouo quidem hactenus exemplo, sed quod breui plures, nisi fallor, sint imitaturi: adeo feliciter succedit. Habet filias treis, quarum maxima natu, Margareta, iam nupta est iuueni, primum beato, deinde moribus integerimis ac modestissimis, postremo non alieno a nostris studiis. Omnes 55 a teneris annis curauit imbuendas primum castis ac sanctis moribus, deinde politioribus literis. Filiabus tribus quartam adiunxit puellam, quam benignitatis gratia alit, vt illis sit sodalis. Habet priuignam mira forma raroque ingenio puellam, annos iam aliquot nuptam iuueni non indocto, sed cuius moribus nihil sit magis aureum. Habet 60 filium ex vxore priore, natum annos plus minus tredecim, ex liberis natu minimum.

Ante annum visum est Moro mihi specimen aliquod exhibere, quantum in literis profecissent. Iussit vt omnes ad me scriberent, et quidem suo quisque Marte. Nec argumentum est suppeditatum, 65 nec in sermone quicquam est correctum. Etenim cum illi schedas obtulissent patri castigandas, ille velut offensus incommoda scriptura iussit vt eadem accuratius ac purius describerent. Id vbi factum est, ne syllaba quidem mutata literas obsignatas ad me misit. Crede mihi, Budaeae, nihil aequae sum admiratus. In sensibus nihil erat 70 ineptum aut puellare; sermo talis vt sentires esse quotidie proficiendum. Hunc chorum amabilem vna cum sponsis duobus domi habet. Nullam illic videbis ociosam, nullam ineptis muliebribus occupatam. Illis T. Liuius est in manibus. Nam eo progressae sunt vt autores huiusmodi legant et intelligant citra interpretem, nisi si quod incidat 75 verbum quod me quoque fortassis aut mei similem fuerat remoraturum.

Vxor ingenio magis ac rerum vsu quam eruditione valens, mira dexteritate moderatur omne collegium, ἐργαδιώκτου cuiuspiam vicibus fungens, pensum cuique praescribens atque exigens, neque sinens 80 cessare quenquam nec friuolis occupari.

Soles in literis tuis subinde queri quod tua causa male audiret philologia, quae tibi duo mala conciliasset, valetudinis ac rei fami-

57. puellam] Margaret Giggs; see Ep. 999. 174n.

58. priuignam] Alice, married to Sir Gyles Alington; see her letter to Margaret Roper, 17 Aug. 1534, printed in More's *English Works*, 1557, p. 1433.

61. tredecim] On this calculation John More was born c. 1508. But Erasmus' memory for figures was weak; cf. Ep. 1098 introd.

72. sponsis] Apparently Wm. Roper and either Wm. Daunce or Giles Heron; cf. Ep. 999. 174n, 175nn, 187n.

74. Liuius] For a recent edition, a copy of which Erasmus might have given to More, see Ep. 919.

79. ἐργαδιώκτου] The Septuagint word; translated 'overseer' or 'taskmaster'. But Erasmus took the word from Origen who uses it of Ambrose (pref. to vol. v of John Evang.: Migne iv. col. 185); see Erasmus' note on Jerome, Ep. 60. 1 (vol. i, p. 28, in his edition of 1524: not in 1516).

82. in literis] Cf. Epp. 435. 57-8, 100-133, 583. 95-115.

liaris dispendium. At Morus hoc agit vt omnibus nominibus et apud  
 85 omnes bene audiat, hoc literis debere se praedicans, quod prosperiore  
 sit valetudine, quod optimo Principi, quod suis et exteris charus et  
 gratus, quod re lautiore, quod sibi, quod amicis iucundior, quod  
 patriae, quod cognatis et affinis vtilior, quod ad aulae commercium,  
 quod ad procerum conuictum, quod ad omnem vitae consuetudinem  
 90 accommodatior, denique quod superis gratior. Primum male audiebant  
 studia, quod sensum communem adimerent addicto cultori. Nulla est  
 profectio, nulla negocia tam multa, tam ardua, quae libellos  
 Moro de manibus excutiant; et tamen vix alium reperies qui magis  
 sit omnibus omnium horarum homo, qui ad obsequium facilius, ad  
 95 congressus magis obuius, in colloquio magis alacer, quique tantum  
 verae prudentiae cum tanta morum suauitate coniunxerit. Quibus  
 rebus factum est vt quum ante paucos dies literarum amor ad omne  
 vitae vel praesidium vel ornamentum haberetur inutilis, nunc nemo  
 pene sit magnatum qui liberos vt maiorum imaginibus dignos  
 100 agnoscat, nisi bonis literis eruditos. Quin et monarchis ipsis bona  
 regaliū decorum pars abesse videtur, in quibus literarum peritia  
 desideretur.

Iam neminem fere mortalium non habebat haec persuasio, sexui  
 foeminino literas et ad castitatem et ad famam esse inutiles. Nec  
 105 ipse quondam prorsus ab hac abhorruī sententia: verum hanc mihi  
 Morus penitus excussit animo. Etenim quum duabus rebus potissimum  
 periclitetur puellarum castitas, ocio ac lasciuīs lusibus, ab  
 horum vtroque literarum arcet amor. Nec alia res melius tuetur  
 famam integram quam mores incontaminati; nec vllae firmitus castae  
 110 sunt quam quae iudicio castae sunt. Neque vero improbo consilium  
 eorum qui manuāriis operis prospiciunt pudicitiae filiarum. Verum  
 nulla res sic totum puellae pectus occupat vt studium. Atque hinc  
 praeter hoc fructus quod animus ab ocio pernicioso prohibetur,  
 hauriuntur optima praecepta, quae mentem ad virtutem et instituant  
 115 et inflamment. Multis simplicitas et rerum inscitia pudicitiae iacturam  
 attulit, priusquam scirent quibus rebus tantus thesaurus periclitaretur.  
 Neque video cur maritis sit metuendum ne minus habeant morigeras,  
 si doctas habeant; nisi si qui tales sint vt ea velint exigere ab vxoribus  
 quae non sint exigenda a probis matronis.  
 120 Imo mea sententia nihil est intractabilius inscitia. Certe hoc praestat  
 animus cultura studiorum exercitatus, vt intelligat aequas probasque  
 rationes, videatque quid deceat, quid expediat. Atqui prope-  
 modum persuasit qui rem docuit. Ad haec quum iucunditas firmitasque  
 coniugii magis ab animorum beneuolentia quam corporum

112. hinc H: hic F.

119. sint F: sunt H.

99. magnatum] Cf. Ep. 1220. 44-8. A very different account of the attitude of the 'generosi' in England is given by Pace in the preface to his *De Fructu*, pp. 15-16: 'studia literarum rusticorum filiis sunt relinquenda'.

100. monarchis] Such as Maximilian with his excursions into literature; or Henry VIII with his *Assertio* (Ep. 1227. 5n), which had just appeared. Cf.

Ep. 1225. 266-8.

103. sexui foeminino] With this commendation of the education of women may be compared the Colloquy, *Abbatissae et eruditae*, first published in the Froben edition of March 1524. More's daughters and Pirkheimer's sisters and Margaret Blaurer are there selected for praise. See also my *Age of Erasmus*, 1914, pp. 196-9.

amore proficiscatur, multo tenacioribus vinculis iunguntur, quos 125 ingeniorum quoque charitas copulat. Magisque veretur maritum vxor quem agnoscit et praeceptorem. Nec ideo minus habebit pietatis, quia minus habet superstitionis. Equidem malo talentum auri puri quam tria talenta multo plumbo scoriaque viciata.

Audimus passim alias mulierculas sic a concione redeuntes, vt 130 praedicent mirifice fuisse concionatum qui dixit; ac vultum hominis graphice depingunt. Caeterum neque quid dixerit neque quale sit quod dixit recensere possunt. Hae tibi totam pene concionem ordine referunt, non sine delectu: si quid stulte, si quid impie, si quid extra rem effutiit ecclesiastes—quemadmodum hodie non raro fieri videmus—, 135 id norunt vel ridere vel negligere vel detestari. Atque hoc demum est audire sacras conciones. Cum huiusmodi demum vere iucundum est conuiuere. Plurimum enim ab istis dissentio qui coniuges non in alium vsuum habent quam ad obsequium voluptatis, quam ad rem magis appositae sunt semifatuae. Pectus habeat oportet, quae fami- 140 liam contineat in officio, quae liberorum mores fingat ac formet, quae marito per omnia satisfaciat. Caeterum cum proximo colloquio illud obiecissem Moro, [quod] si quid humanitus accideret, fore vt grauius disruciaretur earum desiderio, in quibus instituendis tantum insumpsisset operae; respondit incontanter, 'Si quid acciderit quod 145 vitari non potest, malim eas mori doctas quam indoctas'. Moxque mihi venit in mentem Phocyonis, ni fallor, apophthegma, cui bibituro cicutam cum vxor acclamaret, 'Mi vir, innocens morieris': 'Quid' inquit, 'ais, vxor? An me malles nocentem mori?'

Interim illa cogitatio subiit animum meum, vt vos duos ceu duces 150 quosdam eximios in hoc laudis genere componam, veluti si quis Camillum committat cum Scipione Africano. Tu et pluribus annis et iniquiore seculo cum literarum hostibus es conflictatus, hoc certe calculo Moro superior. Caeterum quod tu in filiis tantum ac fratribus ausus es moliri, hoc ille non dubitat et in vxoribus et in filiabus 155 facere, fortiter contempta noui exempli inuidia. Quo nomine vicissim ille te praecellit. Tu rursus libris aeditis vtriusque literaturae prouentum magis auxisti quam ille; copiosius etiam, vti nobis pollicemur, in posterum aucturus, si modo coeperis opes tuas e scriniis depromptas in populum elargiri. Quanquam et a Moro magnum 160 aliquid expectat iuuentus, quod ille multum adhuc absit a senectute, et patrem habet non minorem, arbitror, annis octoginta, mire virenti senectute, vt vix alium reperias qui bellius gestet aetatem. Vnde licet et Moro longaeuitatem ominari. Video qua in re plurimum adiumenti possis adferre Graecanicis studiis, nimirum si copiosissimo 165 Lexico nobis non tantum recenseas vocabula, verumetiam idiomata et

140. magis F Corrig. : nugis F.

149. ais H : agis F.

133. Hae] More's daughters.

162. octoginta] But cf. Ep. 999. 61n; and, for a like estimate, Ep. 1211. 538-9.

166. Lexico] For the demand for Greek lexicons at this time see the preface contributed by Erasmus (Ep. 1460) for Froben's. Despite the immensity of the task (cf. Ep. 1325. 46-53)

Budaëus did not overlook this suggestion. Besides the assistance which he gave to Dumaine (Ep. 1460 n), he himself produced *Commentarii linguae Graecae*, Paris, Badius, Sept. 1529. These, which served as the model for Dolet's similar work in Latin, Lyons, S. Gryphius, 1536-8, consist of interpretations of

Graeci sermonis tropos non quibuslibet notos et obuios explices. Est quidem, fateor, hoc argumentum humiliter et infra tuam dignitatem; sed arbitror esse boni viri publicae utilitatis gratia semet aliquo  
170 vsque demittere; quod a sapiente suo exigit Plato.

Aleander iam diu apud nos est, sed huius hactenus nobis maligna fuit copia, quod saterit in hoc Lutherano negotio: in quo sane fortem ac strenuum virum se praebuit. Hoc vbi defunctus erit, imo quia iam prope defunctus est, licebit aliquoties hominis consue-  
175 tudine frui, non minus amoena quam erudita. Viues in stadio literario non minus feliciter quam gnauiter decertat; et, si satis ingenium hominis noui, non conquiescet donec omnes a tergo reliquerit. Amo vos omnes quod Brixium vestro consilio viceritis, et illum amo quod se amicorum iudiciis permiserit. Morus adeo nihil molietur hostile,  
180 vt ne meminerit quidem superioris conflictatiunculae. Valde mihi placuit quod ad exemplum tuum sese bilinguibus epistolis exercet; nec dubito quin illi sit successurum quod tu sane iuueniliter sed felicissime primus es ausus, et apud Gallos et hoc seculo. Eius literis non minus humanis quam eruditis respondebo, si quid dabitur oculi.  
185 Haec scripsimus ex rure Anderlacensi, quando tuo exemplo prouocati coepimus et ipsi rusticari; sed vtinam liceat et tuo exemplo aedificare! Vtunque habet, sic mihi successit haec rusticatio vt posthac singulis annis eam sim repetiturus. Bene vale.

Anno M.D.XXI.

#### 1234. TO JOHN SCHUDELINUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 536.

HN: Lond. xiv. 6: LB. 592.

Anderlecht.

4 September 1521.

[The year-date may be taken as confirmed by Erasmus' residence at Ander-

170. sapienti H. 174. est add. H. 176. et F: at H. 189. Anno add. N.  
M.D.XXI add. H.

words, with examples, and are arranged partly by subjects and partly by roots, though with an alphabetical index. But at the end of his life († 1540) he was collecting materials for a Greek dictionary, of words and phrases. These seem to have passed through the hands of his pupil, J. Tusanus († 1547: Ep. 8ro. 450n); whose pupil published posthumously an alphabetical *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, Paris, C. Guillard, 1552, under Tusanus' name. Before long an almost identical *Lexicon* appeared at Geneva, J. Crispinus, 1554, with Budaeus' name on the title-page. The editor, Claudius Baduellus, late Rector of the College of Arts at Nîmes (1491-1561: see a life by M. J. Gaufres, 1880), states in his preface that he had received Budaeus' notes from his son, John. But the additions seem to be few; so that the book is little more than a reprint of the Paris volume.  
170. Plato] Rep. 7. 519.

171. Aleander] He had been in Brussels since 11 July, except for a visit to Bruges (cf. p. 551), from which he returned on 2 Sept.: see Balan, pp. 273, 283, 285. For Erasmus' attitude towards him at this time cf. Ep. 1195. 47n.

174. licebit] This implies that the interview at Brussels on 6 Oct. (see p. 591) had not yet taken place.

175. Viues] He was now engaged with Augustine, *Ciu. Dei*; for which Erasmus wrote a preface (Ep. 1309).

178. viceritis] in persuading him not to carry the quarrel with More further: see Epp. 1045, 1087, 1093, 1096, 1117.

181. exercet] sc. Brixius.

183. literis] Not extant.

186. rusticari] Cf. Ep. 1208. 1n.

187. aedificare] See Ep. 435. 136n.

188. repetiturus] Perhaps another indication of Erasmus' intention of returning to Brabant after his visit to Basle: see Ep. 1209. 4n.



lecht. Of Schudelinus I have not succeeded in discovering anything. By April 1525 the 'Lateinischer Schuolmaister' or 'ludi moderator' of Memmingen was a 'magister Paulus', who was executed for complicity in the Peasants' Revolt: see F. L. Baumann, *Quellen zur Gesch. d. Bauernkriege in Oberschwaben*, 1876, pp. 100, 370-1, 693-4.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS IOANNI SCHVDELINO, LITERATORI  
MEMINGIENSI, S. D.

GABRIEL STENDELINVS, homo mihi multis nominibus charus, facile effecit vt boni consulerem quod ignotus me tuis literis interpellaris. Plus ille potuit apud Erasmum, nimirum vt, occupatissimus licet, si non rescriberet, certe resalutaret eum a quo sic esset ad amicitiam prouocatus. Quod isthic, vt ais, tantum tribuitur meis lucubrationi-<sup>5</sup> bus, si vera praedicas, gaudeo meas vigilias bonis aliquot addere calcar ad studium vitae melioris, posteaquam adeo multos ad odium mei prouocarunt. Tu fac, mi Ioannes, vt gnauiter incumbas in prouinciam quam hactenus magna cum laude diceris obire. Neque perinde studio tibi sit digladiari cum veteris inscitiae hyperaspistis,<sup>10</sup> atque vt rudi docilique aetati melioris eruditionis ingenuaeque pietatis seminarium infundas. Si principes non admittunt sana consilia, si Ecclesiae proceres auctoramenta mundi praeferunt Christi praemiis, si theologi monachique iam diu nimis adamatam synagogam non possunt relinquere, si populus a consuetis non potest auelli, superest tamen<sup>15</sup> haec vna via, quae spem bonam faciat fore vt mundus aliquando sese referat ad frugem meliorem, si vinum nouum in vtres novos indatur. Emerget olim haec seges, ac vel citra certamen opprimet hos non minus indoctos quam indociles. Recte instituendis pueris et in lucem aedendis veterum scriptis, paulatim euanescent istorum irreligi-<sup>20</sup> osa religio et illiteratae literae. Hac igitur grassare ac bene vale. Anderlaci prid. Non. Septemb. Anno M.D.xxi.

1235<sup>1245</sup> TO PETER BARBIRIUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 665.

HN: Lond. xvii. 23: LB. 593.

Anderlecht.

23 September 1521.

[As in Epp. 1216, 1225, Erasmus again communicates to Barbirius the substance of one of his *Apologiae*: that *de loco* 'Omnes quidem resurgemus' (1 Cor. 15. 51), which is an amplification of his note on that verse in the 1519 edition of the New Testament. The *Apologia* appeared first in the Basle volume of Feb. 1522 (p. 622), with the description on the title-page, 'quae recens ab autore profecta nunc primum omnium in lucem prodiit'. To this self-justification Erasmus seems to have been moved by advice from Barbirius which he found not altogether welcome: cf. Ep. 1245. 54-6.

The year-date of this letter is sufficiently corroborated by the mention of the printing of the reply to Stunica and of the third edition of the New Testament, which was completed in Feb. 1522.]

1. Stendelinus] A letter to Corn. Agrippa from Aldenburg (Ep. 711. 18n), 11 Feb. 1531, describes him as 'compater' to Agrippa and a close

friend of the writer: Agr. E., p. 969.

14. synagogam] sc. computationem;

cf. Epp. 1033. 21-2, 1225. 350-5.

19. instituendis] Cf. Ep. 1232. 103n.

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS PETRO BARBIRIO S. D.

AVRVL quaedam bonae spei nobis hic affulsit, fore vt aliquando te ad nos recipias: quae vtinam nos non fallat! De pensione vtinam tam feliciter peragas negocium quam agis lente! Ioannes Canius sui similis esse perseuerat.

- 5 Ille noster—cui vtinam non esset tam niger animus quam est candidum pallium!—seipsum quotidie superat; iamque homo tam furit palam vt nulli sit tolerandus. Vt enim omittam alia permulta, nuper in professione publica, quum ventum esset ad eum locum, Omnes quidem dormiemus, sed non omnes immutabimur; 'Hic' inquit,  
 10 'Erasmus adfert haeresim; ponit enim contradictoriam eius quod seruat Ecclesia'. Primum, vt demus, id quod est secus, haeticam esse lectionem quam habent omnes libri Graeci, hic adeo consentientes vt nusquam magis: non ego adfero haeresim qui verto tantum, nihilo profecto magis quam adferebat Hieronymus, quum verteret  
 15 libros *περὶ ἀρχῶν* Origenis. Nunc cum in Annotationibus doceam et olim duplicem fuisse lectionem, quod declarat et Hieronymus et is cuius extant commentarioli in omnes epistolas Pauli, cum Thomas vtranque lectionem recensens scribat in ea lectione quam Graeci sequuntur non esse sensum haeticum, non puduit senem illum  
 20 theologum et Carmelitam tam rabiosam vocem emittere in ordinaria lectione et theologica, perinde quasi stipitibus loqueretur, non hominibus. Non dignatur legere quod scripsimus, et tamen non pudet pronunciare de re incognita. Tantum audierat fortassis inter pocula quid ego vertissem. Et hic se credit videri dialecticum, quod memi-  
 25 nerit contradictoriae. Atqui dispicere debebat non quid verba prima fronte sonarent, sed quomodo essent accipienda et ad quas personas accommodanda. Postremo, vt anceps sit lectio, non periclitatur tamen Ecclesia, etiam si quid ignoret de modo resurrectionis: veluti an omnes sint morituri, quum de temporis modo noluerit nos scire  
 30 Christus. Qualis est in lectione, talis est in scholis, adeo vt multos alienet a studio sacrae theologiae suis morosis moribus. Vtinam rediret R. D. Dertusensis et huius impotentiae modum imponeret!

Stunicae respondimus; liber nunc excuditur Louanii. Scriptio illius etiam Aleandro displicuit, cum in initio nonnihil arrisisset.

28. velut H.

32. R. D. F: Card. H.

2. recipias] Cf. Ep. 1114. 3n.  
 pensione] See Ep. 436. 5n; and, for the arrangements now in progress, Epp. 1094, 1245.

3. Canius] de Hondt; see Epp. 751, 913. It appears that he was again behindhand with his payments.

5. Ille noster] Egmondanus; see Ep. 878. 13n, and cf. Epp. 1196. 115, 554, 1225. 157n.

candidum pallium] Cf. Ep. 1144. 28n.

15. in Annotationibus] The double reading is indicated in the 1516 edition of the New Testament; but in 1519 the note is enlarged with further

points, some of which are reproduced in this letter.

16. is cuius] Since Marianus Victorius, who edited Jerome 1564-72, the author of these commentaries has been recognized as some unknown Pelagian. Erasmus regarded them as orthodox, but not by Jerome; cf. vol. i, f. 7<sup>v</sup>, of his 1516 edition. In consequence they are only printed there towards the end of vol. ix, ff. 131-90. See F. Klasen in *Theol. Quartalschrift*, lxxvii (1885), pp. 249, 50.

32. Dertusensis] See Ep. 1153. 149n.

33. Stunicae] See App. 15; and cf. Ep. 1277. 2n.

Nos eius operae, ne dolo dicam, poenitet. Nouum Testamentum a 35  
me non credendis laboribus castigatum et auctum tertio excuditur  
Basileae. Sed quando finis harum tragoediarum? Vt nihil aliud,  
certe interim perit illa serenitas Christianae mentis; et vulgus studio-  
sorum alienatur a sacris literis. Tu cura vt recte valeas: alioqui  
mortuum, quod Deus auertat, iniuriae reum peragam; quando non 40  
nisi magno meo damno mori potes.

Ex Anderlaco nono Calend. Octobr. Anno M.D.XXI.

1213 1236. TO PAUL BOMBASIVS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 647.

Anderlecht.

HN: Lond. xvii. 14: LB. 594.

23 September 1521.

[The year-date is amply confirmed by the contents. This letter is referred to  
in Ep. 1260. 196-9.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS ERVDITISSIMO PAVLO BOMBASIO S. D.

QVID ego audio, mi Bombasi? Leo Pont. Max., maximus ille Leo,  
legit eas literas quas ad te sic neglectim ac familiariter scripseram?  
Quid illi venit in mentem vt talibus nugis mentem et oculos admoueat?  
Nec legit modo verumetiam repetitas viris eruditissimis ostendit? Nec  
istas tantum legit quas tibi scripseram, verumetiam quas aliis ami- 5  
culis? Ego vero in talium amicorum sinum omnia libere secureque  
soleo deponere, quicquid fuerit vel curarum vel nugarum. Occidi si  
vera praedicas, praesertim quum ipse nesciam quid in huiusmodi  
literis garrierim. Quod tibi visus sum in eis plus satis verborum  
fecisse de N., non putabam mihi dispiciendum quid tali scriberem 10  
amico. Certe in literis quas ipsi Pontifici scripseram, ne verbo qui-  
dem illius facta est mentio. Alioqui si rem vt habet nosse, diceret  
me satis parce de illo questum esse. Sed tamen hic quicquid est  
mali, κακογλώσσοις quibusdam imputo, qui miris technis studuerant  
vtriusque animum ab altero alienare. Nec me fefellit conatus scelera- 15  
tissimus; sed sero sensimus vtrique.

Quod tantas opes tibi pararis Romae, easque liberas, nec sacris  
obnoxias, nec alii cuiquam quam tuae industriae acceptas ferendas,  
tametsi tua virtus longe maiora promerebatur, tamen vt nunc sunt  
tempora, gratulor tibi felicitatem istam, qui grauissimum illud onus 20  
paupertatem excusseris. Nunc video te circumspectare vitae genus  
liberum ac tranquillum, ad quod te velut in portum aliquem tutum  
et quietum recipias. Atqui nonnihil vereor ne tibi veniat vsu quod  
de mustela narrat Horatius, cui non licuit exire pastam, cum macra  
repsisset in cameram frumentariam; et tamen adnitendum censeo. 25  
Sed vbi potius id speres quam Romae? Nam Bononiam omnibus

1235. 35. operae *F* Corrig.: opere *F*.

1236. r. mi om. *H*.

1235. 35. Nouum Testamentum] See  
Ep. 1174. 15<sup>n</sup>.

1236. 10. N.] Aleander.

11. literis] Ep. 1143; or cf. Ep. 1213.  
27<sup>n</sup>.

24. Horatius] Cf. *Epp.* 1. 7. 29-33.

modis tibi fugiendam censeo, vel ob spartum arrosuros. Quanquam scis Scipioni Carteromacho nostro ne Romae quidem contigisse libertatem, quam vir ille sic adamabat vt nemo magis.

- 30 Nos quanquam infra censum tuum sumus, tamen desiimus de Mercurio queri. Est vnde suppetat mundus victus. Est vnde nonnunquam et aureolus decidi possit egenti amico: tantum abest vt cuiquam cogar esse grauis. Honores non ambio, praesertim tanti venales. Si gratis aut certe non magno impendio contigissent, et si  
35 contigissent in tempore, non censuerim omnino reiiciendos, vel ob hoc ipsum quod, vt nihil aliud, certe illud praestant, ne quorumlibet improborum contemptui simus obnoxii. Qua quidem in re, sicut in caeteris omnibus, plus vidit Morus quam ego. Nam is eques auratus Regi optimo et a consiliis est et a thesauris; quorum vtrunque et  
40 liberum est satis et honorificum imprimis, vt iam et bonis factus sit amabilior et improbis formidabilior. Nam ea sunt tempora vt ne tam insignis quidem naturae bonitas, tam inaudita morum suauitas, possit omnem effugere inuidiam.

- Epistolam quam Basileam miseras recepi. Cornelius quem tibi et  
45 Aleandro, ni fallor, commendaram, Alexandriae a Gallorum praesidiis spoliatus est et literis et pecuniis et vestibibus. Mox nudus coniectus in carcerem. Tandem data optio vtrum vellet abire nudus an pendere. Sic ille lineo duntaxat indusio tectus Basileam peruenit. Illic dies aliquot refocillatus, tectus est veste Germanica, additus  
50 aureolus ad viaticum. Hoc ornatu ad nos venit, rursus instruendus viatico. Aiebat te simul et R. D. Card. Campegium scripsisse. Si quid erat seriae rei, non grauaberis eadem de re denuo scribere.

- Hispanus ille de quo scribis, Iacobus Stunica est, qui in primam Noui Testamenti aeditionem gloriosissimo libello debacchatus est. Prima  
55 facie miris fumis sese ostentat. Vbi propius contemplatus sis, nebulas meras esse dixeris. Ei respondimus Apologia laconica. Cuius operae sane nos iam poenitet; nam opus est eius generis vt et Aleandro displiceat, nec meae famae fuerit effecturum, duntaxat apud aequos et eruditos. Et tamen respondimus non solum breuiter sed  
60 etiam ciuilliter: non quod ille mereretur, sed quod nos hactenus defensam moderationis laudem noluerimus amittere.

Neque nescio, neque non memini, mi Bombasi, quantum debeam Leonis in me animo, iam argumentis compluribus mihi comperto. Nec in huius causa tam silui quam tu credis. Primum adnissus sum

28. *F Lond.*: Cateromacho N<sup>3</sup>.

51. *R. D. om. H.*

27. spartum] Cf. Plin. *N. H.* 35. 11. 137, with the story of a man weaving a rope of hay and an ass eating it up as fast as woven: discussed in *Adag.* 382,3. Erasmus' meaning here clearly is that at Bologna Bombasius would be amongst relatives and dependants who would make claims upon him.

28. Carteromacho] See Ep. 217. 2n.

39. a thesauris] See Ep. 1210. 1on.

42. suauitas] Cf. Ep. 999. 2on.

44. Cornelius] Evidently some needy person, possibly C. Batt (cf. Epp. 573, 839, 840): for whom Erasmus

doubtless considered himself responsible, and whom he may have sent to try his fortune at Rome.

45. Gallorum] As part of the Milanese, Alessandria had been in French hands again since Marignano in 1515. It was recaptured from them at the end of Jan. 1522; see Brewer iii. 2017, 2035.

51. Campegium] See Ep. 961 introd. Neither letter survives.

56. respondimus] Cf. Ep. 1235. 33.

57. opus] Stunica's *Annotationes*, 1520; see Ep. 1128. 3n and App. 15.

ne oriretur hic tumultus, mox vt ortus consopiretur. Postremo vt 65  
iam late vagatum incendium quam minimo publicae tranquillitatis  
incommodo compensaretur. Id enim existimabam maxime referre et  
ad Romani Pont. dignitatem, et ad hanc tragoediam ita finiendam vt  
non iterum erumperet semel coercitum malum. Vbi nec hoc satis  
succederet, quorundam opera sibi potius priuatim quam publico 70  
bono consulendum, multos partim literis meis partim oratione reuo-  
caui, ne se huic fabulae admiscerent.

Caeterum quo minus hactenus libris aeditis cum Luthero pugna-  
rim, plurimae sunt causae. Quas hic non est necesse percensere;  
sed illa praecipua fuit, quod mihi prorsus defuit ocium legendi quae 75  
scripsit Lutherus: adeo meis recognoscendis sum intentus. Et vides  
quam ille sit πολυγράφος. Nec solus est; centum habet manus. Nec  
erat satis illius libros semel euoluere, iterum atque iterum erant  
reuoluendi. Ne id quidem satis. Multi passim aduersus illum  
aedunt volumina, quorum nihil non inspiciendum mihi, si cupiam 80  
suscepto negotio satisfacere. Vt ne commemorem interim, dum ad  
haec vocor, non satis habere loci prouerbum illud, τὸν ἵππον εἰς πεδίον.  
Res est periculi plena, et in alio studiorum campo magis sum exerci-  
tatus. Ad haec iam par erat mihi tot libris aeditis defuncto dari  
missionem, quo liceret per ocium posthac studiis frui. Flagitabat 85  
hoc aetas ingrauescens, promerebantur hactenus iuuandis publicis  
studiis exhausti labores. Hoc negotium tale est vt ei, si semel  
ingrediar, sit per omnem vsque vitam seruiendum.

O mi Bombasi, proclive dictu est 'Scribe aduersus Lutherum'.  
Sed ad hoc pluribus rebus est opus quam ad plaustrum fabricandum, 90  
vt inquit Hesiodus. Video quam varia, quam morosa sint hominum  
iudicia, praesertim hoc seculo, quo vix aliud χαλεπώτερον. In multis  
articulis Cisalpinae scholae dissentiunt a Transalpinis. Atque adeo  
eiusdem scholae theologi aliud sentiunt in diatribis publicis ac libris,  
aliud in veris colloquiis. Ad haec perdifficile est sic temperare stilum, 95  
vt ita tuearis hominum dignitatem, vt non alicubi laedas gloriam  
Christi; ita placeas principibus ἀνθρώποις, vt non alicubi displiceas  
Principi Christo. Quod si malum hoc libellis obrui potest, indies  
emergunt librorum examina, vt Erasmo nihil sit opus: si clamoribus,  
non desunt Stentores. Incendiorum vbique fuit affatim. In edictis 100  
nihil terriculamentorum est omissum. At vereor ne his rationibus  
in alium ad tempus prematur potius quam extinguatur, mox eruptu-  
rum maiore cum periculo. Quod ego sane abominor, et vehementer  
opto ne fiat. Nulla regio magis ex animo fauet Pontificiae dignitati  
quam haec nostra. Sed huic vehementer offecit inuisum quorundam 105  
patrocinium. Nisi sic insanissent illi, res huc progressa non fuisset.  
Imo si nunc quoque tacerent treis modo menses, totus cum suis  
libellis frigeret Lutherus, ac ne tantulum quidem ob illum mutaretur  
in rebus humanis.

82. εἰς F: ἐς H.

71. reuocaui] Cf. Ep. 1143. 22n.  
75. legendi] For the extent of his  
reading as yet see Epp. 1167. 124, 1225.  
259-60; and cf. ll. 135-6 *infra*.  
77. πολυγράφος] Cf. Epp. 221. 36n,  
1173. 87-8.

82. prouerbum] *Adag.* 782: 'Quo-  
ties quis ad id prouocatur in quo pluri-  
mum valet, quoque vel maxime gaudet'.  
91. Hesiodus] *Op.* 453-6: quoted in  
*Adag.* 3288.  
100. Incendiorum] Cf. Ep. 1218. 41n.

- 110 Sum totus in recognoscendo Nouo Testamento aliisque nonnullis meis lucubrationibus, vrsorum exemplo paulatim lambendo formans rudes ingenii mei foetus. Sed breui, spero, continget oeci plusculum. Egi diligenter cum Hieronymo Aleandro, daret mihi facultatem legendi quae scripsit Lutherus. Nam hodie sycophantarum et corycaeorum  
115 plena sunt omnia. Pernegauit se id posse, nisi nominatim impetraret a summo Pontifice. Primum igitur hoc mihi velim impetres breui quopiam. Nolim enim dari ansam τοῖς πονηροῖς, οὐδενὸς ἄλλου δεομένοις. Publicae tranquillitati sic semper ex animo faui vt perpauci magis. Euangelicae veritati confirmandae vel animam libens impendero.  
120 Nec ignoro quantum priuatim etiam debeam inauditae Pontificis in me benignitati. Quod si mihi continget adhuc tres aut quatuor annos viuere, aut immoriar conatibus, aut efficiam vt ille dicat me fuisse hominem non omnino ingratum. Meretur hoc illius eximia bonitas, vt omnium eruditorum literis celebretur. Id alii credo  
125 facient felicius, nemo certe quam ego studiosius. Et si natura negabit eloquentiam, pectus et ardor animi suppedabit. Sunt qui pulchre putent consultum illius rebus, si illum reddiderint quam maxime formidabilem; ego magis adnitar vt orbis Leonem amet potius quam metuat.
- Verum huic officio nisi me seruet ipse, non video qui possim esse  
130 incolumis: adeo deuotis animis in nos conspirant κατάρτοι quidam. Blaterant nominatim in me, in publicis lectionibus sacrisque concionibus traducunt apud populum, deferunt apud principes. Subornant qui libellis famosis aeditis proscindant nomen meum; imo sicas et venena minitantur. Neque cuiquam obscurum est quid ausint isti.  
135 Non dubitem omnes diras imprecari capiti meo, si quisquam est Lutheri tam exiguus libellus quem totum perlegerim: si in omnibus quae illi tribuuntur aut in illius patrocinium circumferuntur, vlla syllaba mea est aut me volente scripta: si vllum vnquam illius dogma conatus sum defendere. Et quorundam tanta est peruersitas,  
140 vt ea quoque mihi tribuant quae Lutherus in conuentu Caesaris agnouit pro suis.

Nuper in frequenti conuiuio quidam rogauit me quod esset initium Captiuitatis Babylonicae. Ad id respondere mihi sane perquam difficile fuit. De nulla re minus cogitaram. Post roganti cur id  
145 quaereret, fassus est quosdam fuisse suspicatos hoc opus esse meum, quod initium esset 'Velim nolim', non admodum abhorrens ab exordio Panegyrici mei, quo Philippo ex Hispaniis reuerso gratulor, qui sic incipit, 'Velis nolis'. Bella coniectura. Aleander indicauit mihi tribui duos libellos, quorum alteri titulus est Eubulus, alteri

125. Et si N<sup>2</sup>LB: Etsi FN<sup>2</sup>.127. illum FN<sup>2</sup>LB: illud H Lond.

110. Nouo Testamento] See Ep. 1174. 15n.

113. Aleandro] Cf. Ep. 1195. 47n.

114. corycaeorum] Spies; cf. Cic. Att. 10, 18, quoted in Adag. 144. At Corycus, a promontory of Cilicia, 'the inhabitants were infamous for spying out the destination and value of ships' cargoes and then piratically seizing them': Liddell and Scott.

136. totum] Cf. l. 75n.

137. vlla syllaba] Cf. Epp. 1217. 60, 1218. 20, 1219. 25.

141. agnouit] Cf. Epp. 1218. 15, 1219. 88.

143. Captiuitatis] See Ep. 1217. 38n.

147. Panegyrici] See Epp. 179, 180.

149. libellos] Cf. Ep. 1218. 13-15.

Eubulus] Oratio Constantii Eubuli Mouentini de virtute clauium et bulla condemnationis Leonis decimi contra Martinum Lutherum, s. l. et a.: addressed to

Lamentationes Petri. Emoriar si vnquam mihi fuerat auditus 150  
titulus antequam ille protulisset. Priorem necdum quiui nancisci.  
In altero sic tractor vt, si sciam autorem, sim illi gratiam non  
optimam habiturus. Et tamen in huiusmodi libellis vituperari malo  
quam praedicari.

Conantur hoc quidam persuadere, Lutheranam pestem ex hisce re- 155  
gionibus esse natam: quo scio nihil esse falsius. Iam quidam male  
feriati decerpserunt e libris meis, vnde Lutherus videatur hausisse  
suorum errorum occasionem. Quin potius ea colligunt ex Euangeliiis  
et Epistolis Apostolorum, ex Augustino, Bernardo, atque adeo ex  
ipso Thoma? Vnde veteres haeretici plerique collegerunt occasionem 160  
erroris? nonne e sacris voluminibus perperam intellectis? Non  
verebor vniuersam prouocare Germaniam, et si qui sunt alibi qui  
Luthero fauent, si docere possint Lutherum vno verbo per nos fuisse  
adiutum in omnibus libris quos hactenus aedidit, imo si proferant  
epistolas quas his de rebus scripsi etiam tum, quum adhuc spes esset 165  
Lutheri ingenium et calamum seruiturum gloriae Christi. Hae  
declarabunt me modis omnibus obnixum fuisse ne nasceretur haec  
tragoedia. Tametsi mihi non probabatur omnino quod instituerant  
aduersarii, et multa videbam recipi quae praestabat mutari. Amici-  
tiam quae mihi cum Aleandro iam non noua fuerat, linguae vene- 170  
natae pene diremerant: nam ad has artes ingenium ac mentem  
habent. Nunc re deprehensa mutauit animum Aleander; sed voces  
missas magis optat quam potest reuocare. Proinde, doctissime  
Bombasi, si S. D. N. non desit innocentiae meae aduersus hos sycoph-  
antas impudentissimos, ego pro virili non deero neque synceritati 175  
religionis Christianae neque ipsius dignitati.

Adhuc anceps animi sum an Basileam sim aditurus. Iam annos  
totos illuc eo, sed semper exoritur quod hic me remoretur. Nunc  
plane decreueram iter capescere, vt Basileae peractis quae vellem,  
Romam totus commigrarem, illic quod reliquum est aevi inter 180  
eruditissimos homines, inter locupletissimas bibliothecas transactu-  
rus. Iamque iter ingredi coeperam—nam haec rusticatio aestiua me  
reddidit aliquanto firmiorem; sed bellum atrox vndique gliscens  
indies deterruit. Et tamen adhuc gestit animus, et fortassis audebo  
iacere aleam, praesertim huc vocante Aleandro: cuius consilio in 185  
rebus gerendis non minus tribuo quam iudicio in literis. Interim  
fruere tuis opibus, ac me sodalem expecta, si modo tumultus hi  
principum conquiescant. R. D. Card. Campegio, et tuo patrono,

174. S. D. N. F: Leo decimus H.  
HN<sup>3</sup>. 188. R. D. om. H.

179. capessere N.

187. hi FN<sup>2</sup>: hic

Charles v (*Hutteni Opp.*, ed. Böcking, v. 350-62). It is commonly ascribed to Crotus Rubianus: but Spiegel told Aleander that Phrygio (Ep. 1285. 15n) was the author. See Aleander's dispatch of 6 Feb. 1521 (*Balan* p. 49) and Geiger's *Vierteljahrsschrift*, i (1886), 396-7.

150. Lamentationes] *Lamentationes Petri, autore Esdra scriba olim, modo publico sanctorum pronotario, cum annota-*

*tionibus seu additionibus Iohannis Andraee*, s. l. et a. There is a copy in the Bibl. Nationale at Paris (*Rés. D.* 5648. 9). It appears to have emanated from Friesland; cf. p. 483.

157. hausisse] Cf. Ep. 1195. 62n.

165. epistolas] Cf. Ep. 1041. 46n.

169. Amicitiam] Cf. Ep. 1195. 50n.

180. Romam] Cf. Ep. 1143. 79n.

182. rusticatio] Cf. Ep. 1208. 1n.

183. bellum] Cf. Ep. 1228. 52.

Card. S. quatuor, me diligenter commendabis. Bene vale, patrono-  
 190 rum fidissime et amicorum integerrime. Saluta mihi D. Franciscum  
 Chiregatum. Ex rure.  
 Nono Cal. Octobr. AN. M.D.XXI.

## 1237. TO BERNARD BUCHO.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 645.

HN: Lond. xvii. 12: LB. 595.

Anderlecht.

24 September 1521.

[The year-date is sufficiently confirmed by Erasmus' rustication at Anderlecht. Bernard Bucho (c. 1466—3 Dec. 1528) of Zuichem, near Leeuwarden in Friesland, was first in the promotion of the Arts Faculty at Louvain, 1487, from the Collège du Faucon (Ep. 1217. 121n). He took orders, and after holding Zuichem and several other village pastorates, succeeded to the great church at Leeuwarden. In 1499 he was appointed by Duke Albert of Saxony, governor of Friesland (see Ep. 1122. 3n), to be a member of the senate of Friesland: being by that time Licentiate in Law. In 1504 Duke George of Saxony (cf. Ep. 586. 266) appointed him to the executive Council of Friesland, and in 1515 Charles made him Regent of the province; in which capacity he rendered good service; by retaining the province in loyalty. He was also sent on embassies to France and England. In reward Charles gave him in 1519 the Deanery of the Hague and a seat in the Council of Holland; both of which he held until his death. This is the only letter surviving that passed between him and Erasmus, unless Ep. 1166 is addressed to him; but Lond. xx. 80, LB. 1013 indicates warmth of feeling.

One of Bucho's nephews was Viglius Zuichem, born 19 Oct. 1507; who records in his autobiography continual benefits received from this uncle, who was 'like a father' to him. Bucho sent him to school at Deventer 1519-20, had him and his brother taught at Leiden with other boys of good family 1520-1; and at the end of 1521 recalled them to the Hague to work with a private tutor, with whom he sent them to Louvain in Oct. 1522. It is therefore not unlikely that these may have been the boys about whom Bucho had consulted Erasmus at this time: even though in l. 48 they are described as 'amici tui pueros'. At his death he left Viglius a considerable sum of money and a good library.

VZE. 1 and 2, 1525 and 1528, testify Viglius' gratitude; which he records also in editing Theophilus Antecessor's *Inst. iuris civilis*, Basle, Froben, March 1534, and in his own *Comment. in Inst. iur. civil.*, *ibid.*, 1534. The former (f<sup>o</sup>. a<sup>4</sup> v<sup>o</sup>) speaks of patronage received by Bucho from Maximilian, Margaret of Austria, and Charles v.

See C. P. Hoyne van Papendrecht, *Analecta Belgica*, i (1743), pp. 4-8, 55-63, 258-60: also NNBW. iii. 47-8.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS ORNATISS. D. BERNARDO BVCHONI

PHRYSIO, DECANO IN HAGA COMITIS, S. D.

VIR optime. Quum Louanii diu languissem, ac valetudinis recreandae gratia rus migraturus, sarcinas chartaceas componerem, nihil erat schedarum quod non excusserim, nec tamen occurrit libellus mihi creditus: quem tamen scio me studio seposuisse, vt esset in tuto.  
 5 Nec dubito quin sit; sed in promptu non esse doleo. Quod quidem non raro nobis solet accidere, vt ea maxime pereant quae diligentis-

1236. 190. D. om. H.

1257. TIT. ORNATISS. D. om. H.

1236. 189. Card. S. quatuor] L. Pucci;  
 see Ep. 860 introd.

191. Chiregatum] See Ep. 639 introd.

1237. 1. Vir optime] For this detached  
 opening cf. Epp. 1133. 1, 1267. 1n.  
 2. rus] Cf. Ep. 1208. 1n.



sime cauimus ne perirent. Breui, opinor, rursus e rustico fiam vrbanus, ac rursus excutiam opes meas. Certe dolerem tibi perire quod amas, quum mihi nulli sit vsui futurum.

Quod Phrysiorum natio bonas literas amplectitur, sane nouum non 10 est, vt quae nobis iam pridem Rodolphum Agricola, Langium, et Canterios dederit. Quod homines opibus ac stemmatis clari non existimant liberos suos dignos successione rerum ac nominis, ni studiis honestis excoluerint animum, vt nouum est, ita vehementer gratulandum est horum temporum felicitati. Louanii coelum est 15 perquam amoenum, nec vsquam studetur quietius. Iuuentus nusquam magis ardet in bonas literas; et succedit res multis mira felicitate, frustra reluctantibus veteris inscitiae mystis. Meum consilium vtinam tibi tam felix esse possit quam ego sedulo cupiam dare! Tantum indicabo nomina, tuus erit delectus. 20

Agit nunc Louanii Iacobus Ceratinus, vir vtriusque literaturae pulchre doctus, moribus probis et integris: quod scio te non minus spectare quam eruditionem. Eum pestis ac bellum, duo maxima vitae humanae mala, Tornaco expulerunt: nam illic in Collegio linguarum, quod institui coepit, profitebatur. Est Hermannus 25 Vuestphalus. Is agit in Collegio Liliensi: iuuenis probus quidem, et vndiquaque doctus, sed praecipue indefatigabili diligentia in formanda, curanda, erudienda adolescentia. Est in eodem collegio Adrianus Suesionius, praeter exactam vtriusque literaturae peritiam,

12. *F. Corrig.*: Canterios *F.*

11. Agricola] See Ep. 23. 57n.

Langium] See Ep. 70. 45n.

12. Canterios] See Ep. 32 introd.

13. liberos] Cf. Ep. 1220. 45n.

15. coelum] Cf. Ep. 1221. 17n.

21. Ceratinus] See Ep. 622. 31n.

24. Collegio linguarum] See Ep. 525 introd.; and, for some facts of its brief existence 1523-30, A. Hocquet, *Tournai et le Tournaisis au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1906, p. 284. In his will of 22 Jan. 1527 Erasmus left to the College a copy of the projected edition of his collected works: naming as the founder of the College, Peter Coutrellus (Cottrel), who was Vicar-general to the Bp. of Tournay, L. Guillard (Ep. 1212).

25. Hermannus] Herm. Stuvius of Vechta, s. of Oldenburg, was a pupil of Murmellius (Ep. 838. 2n) and made his university course at Cologne. While there he contributed verses to Ant. Tunniceus *Carmen elegiacum*, s. l. et a.; and Tunniceus' *In Germanorum paroemias*, Cologne, Quentell, 1513, has an epigram addressed to him (f. 44) as 'philosophiae et humanitatis studiosissimum'. About 1517-20 he was teaching at Zwolle under Lister (cf. Ep. 838. 7n); and Murmellius dedicated to him *Tabularum opuscula tria*,

Deventer, A. Pafraed, April 1517, and *Scoparius in barbariei propugnatores*, ibid., s. a. (1517). From Zwolle he went to Louvain, where he came under the influence of Goclenius (p. 504), and taught for some time. Later he returned to Westphalia, and became pastor at Wildeshausen, between Vechta and Bremen; where he died a few years before the publication of Hamelmann's *Illustrium Westphaliae virorum liber iv*, Lemgo, 1564.

See the critical edition of that by H. Detmer and K. Löffler, Münster i. W., 1908, pp. 135, 296, 298; and D. Reichling's *J. Murmellius*, 1880, pp. 82, 163, 4.

29. Suesionius] Adr. Amerotius († 14 Jan. 1560 or 1562) of Soissons was a pupil of Aleander in Paris in 1512; and began teaching Greek grammar in the Collège du Lis in 1514 (Al. E. i. 6). He completed his course in philosophy at Louvain in 1516, being first in the promotion. For some years he continued teaching, and published a *Compendium* of Greek grammar, Louvain, Th. Martens, 15 Oct. 1520 (van Iseghem 161); in the preface to which, dedicated to Ant. de la Marek (Ep. 956), he speaks highly of his teachers, Nevius

30 et philosophiae gnarus et iuris Caesarei non ignarus, moribus mire candidis. Est Rutgerus Rescius, Graecae linguae professor, in Collegio nouo quod instituit Hieronymus Buslidius: qui doctrinam non vulgarem incredibili quadam modestia planeque pudore quodam virgineo condecorat. Est Conradus Goclenius, vir acri iudicio, 35 doctrina minime triuali, industria indefatigabili, animo excelso, moribus mira comitate ac iucunditate conditis, fide certissima, rerum etiam communium prudentia valens, quae fere solet in studiorum cultoribus desiderari. Est Adrianus Barlandus, vir nullo fuco, syncerus et amicus, prompta quadam ac pura Latini sermonis facili- 40 tate, et in hoc genere complures iam annos exercitatus. Est Melchior Treuir in collegio Castrensi, moribus inculpatissimis, in philosophia pene detritus, theologiae vetus iam cultor: sed his dotibus adiunxit vtriusque literaturae non vulgarem peritiam. Est Lodouicus Viues, vir vndeque doctissimus: sed is, opinor, abhorret 45 ab istiusmodi prouincia. Sunt autem non hii solum sed et alii permulti, caeterum mihi non perinde cogniti. Horum quos recensui nomine non dubitem fideiubere. Ex his quemcunque delegeris, non male collocaueris amici tui pueros.

Eximium D. Nicolaum Euerardum, Hollandiae praesidem, vicissim 50 meis verbis salutabis: quem virum vtinam fata nobis quam diutissime seruent! reip. natum, si quis est alius. Scribam illi propediem. Nam in praesentia duos onerabam epistolis, alterum qui in Hispaniam, alterum qui Romam transcurrat. Bene vale, vir honorande in Domino.

55 Ex Anderlaco .VIII. Calend. Octobr. ANNO M.D.XXI.

45. hii F: ii H.

49. D. om. H.

51. est add. H.

55. Octob. H.

(Ep. 298) and Gavere (Ep. 717. 21n), and of his friend, Paschasius Berselius (Ep. 674). He also composed a treatise on Greek dialects, of which no edition seems to be known before one at Paris, C. Wechel, 1534. In 1545 he succeeded Rescius as Professor of Greek in Busleiden's college; and held the post with credit until his death. He was a priest, and very diligent in preaching. See Nève pp. 207-10.

31. Rescius] See Ep. 546 introd.

34. virgineo] Cf. Ep. 1046. 16-17.

Goclenius] See p. 504.

38. Barlandus] See Epp. 492 introd., 1050, 1051 introd.

41. Melchior] M. Viandalus or Viandulus (? of Vianden, 24 ms. nw. of Trèves) was at this time in the Collège du Château (cf. Ep. 1217. 121n); but early in 1522 he received an invitation to go and teach elsewhere (Epp. 1257. 1-4, 1292. 2n), perhaps at Tournay. Erasmus took a fancy to him, dedi-

cated to him a commentary on Psalm 3 (Ep. 1427); and in April 1524 proposed to leave him a sum of money (Ep. 1437). From 20 June to 20 Oct. 1525 Melchior was teaching in the trilingual college at Tournay (l. 24n); see V. Vander Haeghen, *Robert de Keyser*, 1908, pp. 24-5. After the suppression of the College he seems to have continued living at Tournay; where he died a. 25 Feb. 1535 (Basle MS. Goclenii Epist., f. 12 v<sup>o</sup>), having married twice and leaving several children (Lond. xxx. 69, xxvii. 28; LB. 1279, 1286). Martin Lypsius initiated a correspondence with him c. 1525 (Horawitz v. 55).

42. pene detritus] Cf. Ep. 1427.

44. Viues] See Ep. 927 introd.

49. Euerardum] See p. 237.

51. Scribam] See Ep. 1238.

52. in Hispaniam] Carrying, among others, Ep. 1235.

53. Romam] Carrying Ep. 1236.

## 1238. TO NICHOLAS EVERARD.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 635.  
HN: Lond. xvii. 6: LB. 604.

Anderlecht.  
<October ?> 1521.

[Within the limits of Erasmus' residence at Anderlecht in the summer and autumn of 1521. A precise date is not possible; but l. 9 implies that the summer was over. This may therefore be the letter promised in Ep. 1237. 51.

Before leaving Anderlecht Erasmus went over to Brussels (cf. Ep. 1342. 62-5) to see Aleander, who had returned thither from Bruges (cf. Ep. 1233. 171n). Their interview, which lasted nearly five hours, is described briefly by Erasmus in the *Spongia* (LB. x. 1645 E = HE. 333, § 134), and more fully by Aleander in a dispatch from Louvain, 13 Oct. 1521 (Balan no. 126): 'Quello amico de chi se suspica <Erasmus>, essendo Dominica proxime passata <6 Oct.> meco a pranso insieme cum vn grande Lutherano, accadette che si parlo di questo libro che io mando <Quod Petrus nunquam fuerit Romae>, et dicendo io che contenea multe buggie impudentissime, lui infiammato como vn foco mi disse cum impeto che ne monstrassee vna che li piacerebbe. Io certo aperto il libro subito ne monstri doe euidentissime, et probailo per li proprii detti de San Paulo allegati in esso libro, de sorte che subito deuento giallo, che pareua venenato da grande confusione; ma perche non era tempo de piu proceder, io messi fin a tal cosa lassandoli che roder.']

ERASMVS ROT. ABSOLVTISSIMO IVRIS VTRIVSQVE DOCTORI D.

NICOLAO EVERARDO, HOLLANDIAE PRAESIDI, S. D.

Si patriae pietas apud me parum valeret, tamen vel tui vnus charitas me facile posset, non dicam in Hollandiam, sed ad quamlibet procul semotam pertrahere regionem. Sed iam diu iturientem ac subinde profectionem adornantem, semper aliquid exortum nouae remorae non sinit hinc auelli. Neque enim consilium est insulam 5 istam alias adire quam aestiuis mensibus. At aestas apud nos adeo brevis est vt aliquando nulla sit, priusque sentiamus eam abire quam senserimus aduenisse. Nunquam aeque mihi compertum fuit nos coelo viuere potius quam cibis. Totam hanc aestatem rusticatus sum, nec vnquam quicquam cessit felicius. Tanto redditus sum vegetior 10 hoc coelo puriore vt alium esse dicas. Neque tamen minus faueo meae Hollandiae, quod tam male conueniat cum coelo. Imo miram quandam animo persentio voluptatem, quum animaduerto illam caeteris rebus vberem, praeclaris etiam ac posteritatis memoria dignis ingeniis ditescere. Quoties enim illi sum gratulatus Martinum 15 Dorpium! qui nostratum theologorum vnus scholasticam theologiam cum melioris literaturae peritia, qui solidam sapientiam cum vera eloquentia coniunxisset. At his diebus nos inuisit Hermannus Lethmanus, patria Gaudanus, qui, nisi fallor, Dorpium aut aequabit aut vincet etiam; nisi quod Dorpius assiduo studio seipsum quotidie 20 vincit.

TIT. ABSOLVTISSIMO . . . DOCTORI D. om. H. 6. nos F: uos H. 19. Lethmanus patria add. H (H Lond.: Lethmānus N LB).

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 3. iturientem] Cf. Ep. 1092. 1.   | rusticatus] Cf. Ep. 1208. 1n.            |
| 5. insulam istam] Walcheren; see p. 237. For a view of its climate see Ep. 663. | 12. cum coelo] Cf. Ep. 296. 66-7, 207-8. |
| 9. coelo] Cf. Ep. 1111. 78n.  | 16. Dorpium] See Ep. 304 introd.         |
|   | 19. Lethmanus] See Ep. 1320.             |

Hermannus quum, antequam stadium theologicum ingrederetur, feliciter esset auspicatus Graecarum ac bonarum, vt vocant, literarum noticiam, ita se gessit in hoc cursu Sorbonicae theologiae, vt omnium  
 25 punctis primas meruerit, idque in ea schola quae sine controuersia in hoc studiorum genere semper primas tenuit. Neque vero tantum est instructus argutiis illis quibus in scholis velitantur; nihil consiliorum, nihil historiarum, nihil veterum theologorum non excussit, atque adeo habet in promptu. Ingenium velox ac rapidum, discendi  
 30 auditas inexplabilis, iudicium praesens et expeditum, quodque in hoc genere rarum est, nihil habet arrogantiae, nihil bilis, nihil supercilii. Mira comitas, mira modestia. Audit patienter quoslibet. Cedit etiam inferioribus. Plerique vbi metam illam Sorbonicam contigerunt, perinde quasi iam defuncti sint omni studio, in ocium sese  
 35 recipiunt, aut neglectis libris sacerdotiis accumulandis inuigilant. Hic tanta cum laude theologiae lauream assequutus, tam auide versatur in euoluendis optimis autoribus, quasi non dimissus a studio, sed nunc demum admissus sit ad seria studia. Sic autem amplectitur has humaniores literas vt suae professionis tamen non sit desertor.

Proinde me quidem magna quaedam spes habet, aut hunc aut neminem fore, qui veterem ac nouam eruditionem sic misceat ac temperet, vt vtriusque generis sodalibus abunde satisfiat. Siquidem annum vix attigit trigesimum. Et est corporis valetudo prospera, quae hoc magis pollicetur viuacitatem, quod ipse victus sit temperatissimi: si  
 45 tamen hoc homini perpetuo licebit apud Hollandos. Neque dubito quin huic similes complures sint exoritura, si modo haec regio didicerit habere honorem eximiis ingeniis, et intellexerit quanto veriore ac viuaciorem gloriam sit hinc latura.

Non tibi commendo Hermanum: non enim dubito quin tibi  
 50 notior sit quam mihi; neque me praeterit quo studio soleas eiusmodi prosequi. Tantum rogo vt eum et reliquis Hollandiae nostrae proceribus commendare studeas. Sic citius sibi parabit opinionem apud vniuersos, si primorum suffragiis commendabitur, et eorum iudicio probabitur qui apud omnes sunt probatissimi. Ipse quidem non  
 55 ambit gloriam, sed hoc magis promeretur. Et ad publicam vtilitatem pertinet vt de viris optimis optime sentiat et populus.

Satis feliciter vbique gliscebant bona studia, quamlibet obstrepentibus ranis, nisi Lutherana tragoedia exorta turbasset omnia. Et quasi hoc parum sit mali, vereor ne, nisi deus aliquis ἀπὸ μηχανῆς hos  
 60 indies gliscentes bellorum tumultus componat, non turbentur modo verumetiam extinguantur. Totus orbis Christianus, velut in duo diuisus, exitiabili bello inter sese committitur. Duo Principes, vt

49. Hermānum H.

24. Sorbonicae] Lethmatius' career at Paris may be traced from the *Liber receptoris nationis Alamaniae* (Sorbonne MS. pp. 92, 100 v<sup>o</sup>, 101 v<sup>o</sup>, 145, 147 v<sup>o</sup>) and from some xviii<sup>c</sup> collections for the history of the Sorbonne (Paris MS. Arsenal 1021, p. 497). He was B.A. 1507-8, Proctor of the German nation 1508-9, M.A. 1509. In 1510 he entered the Sorbonne at the age of 19, was Fellow there 1513, Receptor of the

German nation 1514-15, being then B.D.; and in 1519 or 1520 D.D., standing first in order of merit.

45. apud Hollandos] Because of the *computationes* which Erasmus so much disliked; cf. Epp. 76. 14, 129. 25, 1033. 21-2. For another aspect of the situation cf. Ep. 996. 43n.

60. turbentur] sc. bona studia.

62. Principes] Charles and Francis: cf. Ep. 1228. 51-2.

summi, ita iuvenes, magisque animi magnitudine feroces quam vsu rerum callidi, deuotis animis alter in alterius perniciem imminentes, orbem secum in fata trahunt; atque interim, o Deum immortalem, 65 vbi Romani Pontificis autoritas? Ea, quum quaestus negotium commendatur, potest et angelis et daemonibus imperare; hic nihil potest apud filios suos, a tam pernicioso bello coercendos? Vbi nunc isti nimium vocales ecclesiastae? Hic aut linguam non habent, aut habent adulatricem. Fortassis olim dicet Carolus noster, 'Non 70 putaram bellum rem esse tam pestiferam'. Sed hoc dictum nimio nobis constabit. Caeterum nos his in rebus nihil aliud possumus quam a superis optare meliora. Si nostra aula decem haberet tui similes, melius cum rebus humanis ageretur.

Sed vt ad studiorum causam redeam, posteaquam Lutheranum 75 negotium confectum est (quod vtinam recte confectum sit!), eo redeunt vnde coeperant. Palam in concionibus et lectionibus publicis damnant linguas ac politiores literas, in Erasmus nominatim magnis conuiciis debacchantur quidam. Nec video profecto quid sibi proposuerint. Etenim si hoc agunt, vt populus intelligat in istis ordinibus 80 esse homines impudenter maledicos, hoc iam persuasius est populo quam vt ipsis expediat. Sin illud agunt, vt iuvenes a bonis literis alienos ad suae theologiae studium allectent, non poterant eos magis detertere quam huiusmodi moribus. Luteciae Cantabrigiaeque sic floret theologiae studium vt nunquam alias aequae. Quid in causa? 85 Nimium quod sese accommodant seculo alio se flectenti, quod has meliores literas vel vi irrumpere conantes non repellunt vt hostes, sed vt hospites comiter amplectuntur. Quod Louanii frigent theologorum scholae—nam hoc queruntur quidam—, mihi non possint imputare, qui neminem vnquam verbo sin dehortatus: sed paucorum 90 rabiosa pariter atque indocta maledicentia probos animos alienat. Porro quod a paucis fit, omnibus imputat vulgus, quum videat haec toties tam impune fieri; quum tantas excitarint tragoedias ob vnam voculam a Graecae linguae professore dictam, quae tamen ad nullius contumeliam pertinebat. 95

Vehementer probo quod maledicis libellis opposuerint Caesaris edictum: etiamsi nullus istorum queritur de libellis plus quam famosis, quos, vt audio, subinde nouos Coloniae profert Peffercornus, neque clam est quorum impulsu id faciat. At oportebat eadem opera linguis huiusmodi, sceleratioribus etiam quam sint libelli famosi, 100 Caesaris edictum aliquod opponere. Alioqui praeclare cum bonis viris agatur, si talibus scurris, quibus praeter impudentiam et linguam maledicam nihil est, impune erit publicitus incessere famam alienam, et aliis fas non erit libris aeditis, qua licet, suae famae patrocinari. Indignantur si quis in epistola queratur apud amicum quod ipsi 105 publice designant apud populum. Equidem cupiam sic tueri me vt

70. Non putaram] Cf. Ep. 1161. 14n.

84. Cantabrigiaeque] Cf. Ep. 1111. 28n.

88. frigent] Cf. Ep. 1166. 106.

94. professore] Evidently Rescius; cf. Ep. 1240. 8-9.

97. edictum] Cf. Ep. 1192. 66n.

98. Peffercornus] See Ep. 487. 20n. His most recent work was *Ein mitleydlische Claeg... gegen... Reuchlin*, (Cologne), 21 March 1521; see Eov. ii, pp. 114, 15.

99. quorum] The Dominicans.

alios non laedam ; sed si quis sic hominem impetat vt suam vitam  
tueri non possit nisi vitam adimat impetenti, leges hoc illi imputant  
qui causam dedit. Dices, 'In ius voca'. Quo tandem? Nec princi-  
110 pem nec episcopum agnoscunt iudicem. Theologi, quorum libidine  
res temperantur. sic se gerunt vt ab his subornari videantur. Priores  
aut fauent aut in hos ius non habent. Quaerendus igitur illorum  
Vicarius, vt vocant. Atque interim is qui hodie debacchatus est  
apud populum, alibi prandeat. Proinde his rebus freti scurrae nihil  
115 non audent. Vix credas quam his factis suis alienant a se multitudi-  
nem omnem, sed praecipue primarios cordatosque viros. Hoc vbi  
sentiant, mihi videlicet imputant malum quod ipsi sibi suo iumento  
accersierunt. Ego tumultus istorum vel ridere possum; tantum  
doleo culpa hominum male audire theologiam, malo fermento vitari  
120 studiorum dulcedinem, ac publicos infici mores. Bene vale, vir  
ornatissime.

Ex Anderlaco, Anno M.D.XXI.

### 1239. TO GABRIEL OFHUYS.

Gouda MS. 1324, f. 50 (a).

Anderlecht.

F. f. 2<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup>: HN: Lond. i. 3: LB. 538.

14 October (1521).

[The value of the manuscript is discussed in connexion with Epp. 1206, 1225. For Ofhuys see Ep. 692 introd.; and, for Erasmus' respect for the Carthusians, Ep. 1196. 425n.]

The year-date added in H has again no value; for on 14 Oct. 1520 Erasmus was at Antwerp (Ep. 1153. 90). His residence at Anderlecht and the position of this letter at the end of the final sheet of F clearly indicate 1521.]

ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS D. GABRIELI OFHVSIO CARTHVSIENSI S. D.

A STVDII et negociis vix erat ocium scalpendis, vt aiunt, auribus :  
tamen mitto tibi tuos versiculos, ne queri possis vlla in re non  
morigerum animo tuo fuisse Erasmum, vere tuum in Christo. Scio  
quam multa mala doceat ocium. Proinde malo te istiusmodi opellis  
5 transmittere tempus quod datur a sacrorum pensis vacuum, quam  
ad deteriora prolabi. Attamen longe satius erat e sacris libris  
Christi Paulique imaginem viuam et efficacem pectori tuo penitus  
imprimerè, quam plumbo, aere chartisque exprimere. Quod ipsum  
arbitror te facere, mi Gabriel, nec istam industriam tuam aliud esse  
10 quam felicitis ingenii luxuriem : quam in suo Nepotiano laudat etiam  
Hieronymus. Non arbitror a Christo nato seculum fuisse hoc

1238. 110. Theologi F: Pseudomonachi H.

122. Anno M.D.XXI add. H.

1239. TIT. CARTHVSIENSI F.

1. et a: ac F.

7. penitus F.

8. chartisue F.

11. hoc fuisse F (hoc om. N).

1238. 110. Theologi] The variant introduced in H perhaps means that in 1529 Erasmus considered the orthodox theologians to have completely identified themselves with the monastic party, and thus to be 'monks in disguise'. But his use of *pseudomonachi* for the

friars in Ep. 1582 suggests that he may have 'precipitated' the change here without reading over the whole passage.

117. iumento] Cf. Ep. 595. 2n.

1239. 1. negociis] in connexion with his impending departure to Basle.

11. Hieronymus] Cf. Ep. 60. 12.

maliciosius: quo minus oportet vos poenitere instituti vestri. Me mea fata in has abripuere procellas. Nec tacere mihi licet, nec digna Christo loqui. Christus clamat, 'Confidite, ego vici mundum'. Mundus videtur breui clamaturus, 'Ego vici Christum': adeo pro 15 dotibus Euangelicis palam regnat ambitio, voluptas, auaricia, audacia, vanitas, impudentia, liuor, malicia; etiam inter hos qui se lucem ac salem huius mundi profitentur.

Reuisam vos vbi primum licebit. Interea salutabis optimum Patriarchen vestrum, Oeconomum, et eum qui nos obiter magno, 20 vt apparebat, affectu salutabat. Bene valentem et ad coelestia semper anhelantem te seruet ac prouehat Christus, vnica spes piarum mentium, mi frater in Christo charissime.

Ex Anderlaco: pridie idus octobris [Anno M.D.XX.]

#### 1240. TO RUTGER RESCIUS.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 650.

HN: Lond. xvii. 15: LB. 607.

Anderlecht.

(October?) 1521.

[The place-date and the position in F corroborate the year-date added in H; and there is a resemblance in ll. 8-9 to Ep. 1238. 93-5. The 'contumelia' appears to be some sequel of the trouble which had arisen in 1519-20 (see pp. 132, 154-5); on 30 Aug. 1520 Rescius' suit against Calaber had not yet been heard (see de Jongh pp. 203, 25\*.)]

ERASMVS RVTGERO RESCIO SVO S. D.

Nr tam atrox esset contumelia, mi Resci doctissime, prorsus autor tibi futurus sim vt vel iniquis conditionibus pacem admitteres. Nunc cum eiusmodi sit contumeliae genus, vt nemo non detestatur sit, si quid eiusmodi commisisset herus in suum mancipium, cuiusmodi maliciosa conspiratione designarunt ii quorum partes erant omnem 5 iniuriam a frugi scholasticis depellere, non ausim vt facias suadere, quod tamen tuo bono factum esse cuperem. Mira vero tyrannis! Ipsi quum ne vculae quidem vllius iniuriam ferant, postulant vt tu tam insignem contumeliam musses, ac propemodum etiam vltro veniam postules, ne quid scilicet illorum decedat dignitati. Res 10 erat digna quae posteris innotesceret: at ego puto generosius esse vindictae genus si, quemadmodum hactenus fecisti, Graecae literaturae professionem quam maxime cohonestes, et integerrimis tuis moribus et docendi vigilantia.

Quod si non impetras hoc ab animo tuo, vt litem remittas—id 15 quod ego nolim abs te flagitare, quando famae res agitur—, fac ita litiges quemadmodum hactenus est a vobis litigatum. Nam quum

1239. 13. procellas abripuerunt F.  
add. H. 1240. 10. scilicet add. H.

19. vbi a: vt F. 24. Anno M.D.XX

1239. 14. Christus] John 16. 33.  
19. Reuisam] Cf. Ep. 1209. 4n.  
20. Patriarchen] The Prior of the  
Carthusians at Brussels since 1517 was  
John Meerhoul: see Ant. Sanderus,

*Chorographia sacra Brabantiae*, 1659, vol. i,  
Carthus. Bruxell., ch. 3.  
1240. 2. pacem] Cf. Epp. 1156. 14,  
1211. 559, 1225. 299.  
8. Ipsi] The University authorities.

proxime essem Louanii, sic obesulus, rubicundulus et alacer eras, vt mihi lite non macerari sed saginari videaris. Et habes te dignum  
 20 aduersarium Ioannem Calabrum medicum, qui te pallore macieque refert: excepta aetate adeo tui non dissimilis. vt periculum sit ne cui videaris litigare cum patre. Quauquam vir ille mea sententia non peccauit malicia sed obsequio. Bene vale, Resci chariss.  
 Anderlaci. Anno M.D.XXI.

## 1241. FROM WOLFGANG FABRICIUS CAPITO.

Vita Erasmi p. 144.

(Halle.)

Lond. xxx. 79: LB. 596.

14 October 1521.

[The manuscript, as Merula had it, was either defective in a few places or else undecipherable: the gaps are not easy to fill. The year-date is established by the reference to the Diet of Worms, and by the movements of Capito.

He had just returned from a visit to Wittenberg, where he spent two days c. 30 Sept.: cf. ME. 142, 3037 and BRE. 212. The purpose of his going, in which he was accompanied by Stromer (Ep. 578), was to urge the friends of Luther, and through them Luther himself, to moderation, in the hope that his patron, the young Archbishop of Mainz, might be induced to countenance Luther's views, if not too uncompromisingly expressed. Albert had indeed recently shocked Luther by reopening the sale of indulgences at Halle on 15 Sept. (LE<sup>2</sup>. 459, 461 and BRE. 212); but Capito hoped that with care he might be persuaded to abandon the traffic. To Luther, however, compromise was impossible. On 1 Dec. he wrote to the Archbishop demanding that indulgences should be given up, and that priests who wished to marry should be freely allowed to do so (LE<sup>2</sup>. 469). Albert replied in ostensible humility (LE<sup>2</sup>. 475), which aroused hopes in Luther (JE. 73); and Capito did his best to mediate with a long letter (LE<sup>2</sup>. 474), sent with the Archbishop's, and having considerable resemblance to this, which had been written two months earlier. When Luther's hopes were disappointed (cf. LE<sup>2</sup>. 479), Capito fell for a time into disgrace with him; but on 12 March 1522 he made his way to Wittenberg and obtained pardon (BRE. 220).]

FABRITIUS CAPITO ERASMO ROTERODAMO VNDECVNQVE DOCTISSIMO  
 CHRISTIANISSIMOQVE S. P.

SCRIPSI nuper satis prolixè, et fortassis variè, de industria: nam ea nobis cautione opus est inter tot insidias. Exemplum istud tuum est, qui ad me omnia prudenter et circummunite: quod consilium tuum amplector, ingenium istud referre nequeo. Sum etiam ferme  
 5 viribus parum integris, et mira occupatione exhaustus; nam aulicus sum. Lutherani omnia furiosius, insolentius, arrogantius; mordicus quemlibet arripiunt; cuique in faciem barbara cum impudentia conuiciantur; praeter se omnia ingenia publice contemnunt. Quibus intercessi pridem, oraui ne impetu in illum modum veherentur, ne  
 10 contumeliose suam causam tuerentur, et imprimis sum obtestatus,

1240. 24. Anno N<sup>2</sup> Lond.: om. FN<sup>2</sup>. M.D.XXI add. H.

1240. 20. Calabrum] M.D. at Louvain  
 1489; Rector of the University 1514,  
 1516-17, 1519-20; † 14 July 1527, 'mul-  
 tum senex'. Se Molanus p. 563, Val.

Andreas pp. 41, 228-9, and de Jongh.  
 1241. 1. Scripsi] Not extant.  
 5. aulicus] Cf. Ep. 1158. 20n, and  
 l. 46n *infra*.



abstinerent captare minutias ex autoribus reprehendendas: nam vehementer aequa hominum iudicia ab illis tantum supercilium abalienat. Spero fore vt honestius deinceps tui mentionem habeant. Non est professio qua te non perstringunt apud suos; et in publicum suae factionis principem statuunt praepostera ratione. Libere fateor, 15 mihi stomachum concitarunt, gloriae nominis tui studiosissimo. Modestius tecum, vt dixi, subinde agent, quantum video. Caroli Regis sententia olim longe alia erit. Glapionis apophthegma comprobo. Christus finem indubie faciet his malis. Nam Euangelium dicendum et legendum nemo prohibere poterit; comburendis libris 20 nihil efficitur. Nec aliud non pauci exoptant quam vt se propter veritatem proceres Ecclesiae perditos eant; tum aiunt causam suam firmatam; interim vero videri ambiguam, tanquam sine sanguinis testificatione. Libelli famosi ex animo displicent. Excitabunt semel orbem ad occurrendum: quod nolim cito fieri, ne perperam fiat. 25 De Carolostadio scimus mutatam sententiam Regis. Ducunt apud nos vxores presbyteri, annuentibus principibus aut certe dissimulantibus.

Meus ille a Wormatia reuersus recepit sacra legenda. Nuper dixit se intelligere fidem non vocari in discrimen, sed nummis et potentiae 30 deperiturum quippiam. Magnificeque se promittit rebus communibus adfore. Atque iuuenis est et Princeps. Multi vero nihil earum rerum intelligunt; quo fit vt atrocius saeuiant. Non est dies quo non instet . . . . . de te sibi conciliando. Nam subodorat vim latentis veritatis, quam tu primus in lucem eruisti. Scribe 35 semel atque iterum quid ei faciendum; nam videtur . . . . . librum ceu aliud affectat modo, tanquam certissimum mali remedium. Intellexit constitutiones plerasque nimium impudentes: et mutandas

32. iuuenis *scripsi*, cf. l. 40n: vnus O<sup>l</sup>.

34. . . . . O<sup>l</sup>: ? ardentius.

14. perstringunt] Erasmus had already had this report in August; cf. Ep. 1225. 282-4.

18. sententia] Charles had solemnly pronounced against Luther at Worms on 19 April.

[Glapionis] See Ep. 1275. Of his 'apophthegm' I can find no trace.

20. comburendis] Cf. Ep. 1218. 41n.

26. Regis] The King of Denmark (Ep. 1228. 30n), who had offered Carlstadt (Ep. 911. 56n) an archbishopric; see BRE. 206. For an account of the negotiations see Th. Kolde in ZKG. viii (1885), 283-92.

27. vxores] For examples of this see LE<sup>2</sup>. 474. 128-50; JE. 73, 74; BRE. 220; Balan no. 107.

29. Meus ille] Albert of Brandenburg. For Capito's influence with him see Ep. 1158. 19n, and, for Albert's intervention at Worms on behalf of Luther, LE<sup>2</sup>. 474. 21-43.

sacra legenda] That this means private reading is shown by Capito's

letter to Luther, 21 Dec. (LE<sup>2</sup>. 474. 53-6): 'hominem perpuli ad legenda sacra, praesertim Euangelia et Paulum, praeterea quae de bonis operibus pietissime tu pridem edidisti'. On the same date Capito wrote to Melancthon (*Bibl. Bremensis*, iv. 1720-1, p. 933): 'rem propius agnoscens ad legenda sacra, ad audiendas Euangelicas conciones, ad primas episcopi partes fungendas se destinavit: nam dicendi Euangelii animum pridem insumsit, hactenus tamen deterritus est ne conaretur, liberali pudore et reuerentia Ecclesiasticae maiestatis, quam vere expendit viribus suis superiorem'. Jonas, who was now at Wittenberg, welcomed the news and hoped that other bishops would follow so good an example (JE. 73 init.).

34. conciliando] For Albert's advances to Erasmus see Epp. 661. 1-10, 23-9, 32; 986. 31-9.

38. constitutiones] The regulations governing the sale of indulgences.

curaret, quantum in eo situm esset, modo sic . . . . . tametsi  
 40 Princeps est et insolentissimis adulatoribus obnoxius; praeterea edu-  
 catus ut solent. Iussit ut excusarem neglectum tui: quod pudori et  
 reuerentiae tribuit, non insincero animo. Mire timet famosos libellos,  
 quibus tam confirmatur in factionem monachalem; quocirca omnes  
 diligentissime moneo, ei ut parcant. Quod si me ames, obseco  
 45 significes quid me velis conari, dum sic habeam obsequentem Prin-  
 cipem; a quo discedam quantocius aperuerit suum erga bona studia  
 iniquiorem animum. Contendam et ipse pro virili in publicum  
 profuisse. Vale, et Aleandrum ne lacesas. Deuoranda nobis multa  
 videntur. Fata viam inuenient. Vale 14. Octobris Anno 1521.

1242<sub>1272</sub> TO STANISLAUS TURZO.

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 634.

(Basle.)

HN: Lond. xvii. 4: LB. 597.

(c. 21 November 1521.)

[Written just before Ep. 1243.]

For Erasmus' journey from Louvain to Basle see Epp. 1302, 1342. The last date on which he can be traced at Anderlecht is 14 Oct. (Ep. 1239). He then went to Louvain for six days (Ep. 1342. 102), stayed in the Wild Man inn (Ep. 1244. 3n) and had more amicable intercourse with Aleander than shortly before at Brussels (see p. 591). For some days he was at Antwerp collecting money from his pension (Epp. 1302. 23-24, 1342. 101-2); and dined with Gilles in company with Nicholas of Hertogenbosch (Ep. 1697). Then he returned to Louvain, and set out for Basle on the afternoon of 28 Oct. (Epp. 1342. 113, 133-4, 145-6). The first night seems to have been spent at Tirlemont, where he picked up a troop of disbanded soldiers who were returning up the Rhine (Epp. 1302. 14-15, 1342. 148-54). For the next stages their route no doubt followed his line in Sept. 1518 (Ep. 867), to St. Trond, Tongres, Maastricht, and Aachen. Thence they went to Duren; but instead of entering Cologne, they rode straight to the Rhine, through a place which he calls 'Sychimum', perhaps Sechem, se. of Bruhl. From Coblenz on, he went by the right bank of the Rhine, to have the escort of the soldiers: but at Spires he left them and crossed back again, finally making his way to Basle through Strasburg, Schlettstadt, and Colmar. In a letter to Alciati (Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 163) Boniface Amerbach announces that he arrived at Basle on 15 Nov.; cf. ZE. 33.

So long as he was with the soldiers, he travelled very rapidly, partly no doubt from his desire to keep up with them, and partly because he was eager to finish his journey and get on with his work. After such fatigues he rested two days at Spires and two at Strasburg, in each case perhaps two full days and three nights. The last three stages apparently each occupied a day. In this course the only fixed points are those of his setting-forth and arrival, 28 Oct. and 15 Nov. Some guidance as to time may be obtained from his journey of Sept. 1518 (Ep. 867); but in the absence of more precise information the following itinerary can only be conjectural:

28 Oct. From Louvain to Tirlemont.

29 Oct.-2 Nov. From Tirlemont to Duren.

3, 4 Nov. From Duren to 'Sychimum' and Coblenz, arriving on the second

40. Princeps] Cf. LE<sup>2</sup>. 474. 71-2: 'homo est non . . . inadulabilis, quia princeps natus et iuuenis est'.

educatus] Cf. ibid. 26-7: 'quia princeps est et rudis lectione sacra'.

45. obsequentem] Cf. Ep. 1158. 19n.

46. discedam] Cf. ibid. 151-4: 'si non

animus et spiritus τῷ Ἀρχοντι accesserit, nihil deinceps erit cur me hoc taedio aulico enecem, nec subseruiam amplius quatuor menses, si tantisper subseruiam huic expectationi ceu desperatae'.

48. Aleandrum] Cf. Ep. 1195. 47n.

- morning at 10. The rest of the day spent there: in the afternoon, letters written, none of which survive.
- 5 Nov. From Coblenz to Mainz.
- 6 Nov. From Mainz to Worms (for dinner) and Spires, arriving late. Both here and at Worms he was upset by the stoves (Epp. 1302. 29-30, 1342. 190-1, 204).
- 7, 8 Nov. At Spires.
- 9, 10 Nov. From Spires to Strasburg (cf. Ep. 867. 152).
- 11, 12 Nov. At Strasburg.
- 13 Nov. From Strasburg to Schlettstadt.
- 14 Nov. From Schlettstadt to Colmar.
- 15 Nov. From Colmar to Basle.

The reasons which determined Erasmus to leave Louvain and go to Basle were various. He was weary of the incessant controversies in which he had been involved (Lond. xix. 33, LB. 1033); and he wished to see the notes of his third edition of the New Testament (Ep. 1174. 151) through the press (Epp. 1302. 8-13, 1342. 90-6). But the most powerful motive was the fear that Court pressure, exercised through Glapion (Ep. 1275), might compel him to enter the lists definitely against Luther (OE. pp. 351-2, and a *Responsio* of 1530, LB. x. 1612 c; cf. Ep. 1342. 47). When he started, his intention was to return in the spring (cf. Ep. 1209. 4n); and he probably did not propose to stay longer in Basle than on his previous visits. But having reached the circle of his friends, he found it hard to tear himself away. Writing in 1533, he could say that he had never regretted the migration (OE. p. 352).

His reception by the advanced party in Basle may be illustrated from a letter of Conrad Pellican to Melancthon, 30 Nov. 1521 (K. Hartfelder, *Melancthoniana paedagogica*, 1892, p. 19): 'Erasmus nobiscum est. Prudenter scribit et loquitur, ne veritati non assit et periculum non scribendi euadat. Expediit vt sapienter dissimulando inuidiam superet et promouentis vos in sacris studiis non impeditur sinat. Frangere mihi passim videtur iras atrocium, lenimentisque oportunitas insinuare modestiam. Egit sapienter id et caute nuper cum Aleandro. Disputat crebro contra Lutheranos Papistarum inuentis, et nunquam non pro veritate colligit et decernat. Scribit propediem in Euangelia, fortasse Paraphrases. Epistolas suas nouissimas libro inclusit, pro Luthero omnes, cautus atque sollicitus ad omnes semper. Non possum non commendare virum; sed spiritum Lutheri non aequat'. Melancthon at once conveyed the welcome intelligence to Spalatinus (ME. 127): 'Erasmus Basileae est. Heri literas accepi a Pelecano longe iucundissimas; e quibus apparet nihil vanius esse eo rumore quem sparserunt stulti quidam de Erasmi aduersum Martinum voluntate'.

Stanislaus Turzo († 17 April 1540) was a younger brother of John, bp. of Breslau (Ep. 850); and like his father and other members of his family, played a conspicuous part in the affairs of Hungary. He matriculated at Cracow in 1485, and then spent some time in Rome. On his return he was appointed to Olmutz, the chief see of Moravia, in 1497; and in this capacity helped to crown Louis II as King of Bohemia, 11 March 1509. In his palace at Kremsier he entertained Louis magnificently in 1510, and Sigismund of Poland in 1516.

Like his brother he was a munificent patron of learning. Hutten wandering through Moravia in 1511 received from him a horse and journey-money (HE. 10 = VE. s<sup>3</sup>. 119). The provost of Olmutz, Aug. Moravus, received encouragement in his studies (cf. Boh. E. ii b. 24), and dedicated to him a *Catalogus episcop. Olomucensium*, Vienna, H. Philoualle, 8 March (1511?). Janus Dubravius, the historian, who was for long his counsellor, and followed him in the see, extols the Christian simplicity of his life (*Hist. Bohem.* bk. 32); and dedicated to him an edition of Martianus Capella, Vienna, H. Vietor, 11 May 1516. Erasmus was first brought to his notice in 1518 by Ja. Piso (Ep. 216), when the two brothers were at Cracow (Ep. 1662); but though John at once opened correspondence (Ep. 850), Stanislaus made no attempt to court the scholar's acquaintance until July 1521, when he sent by Ursinus Velius the letter (not extant) which this answers and a present (VE. 271). Ursinus' visit to Basle suggested to Beatus Rhenanus that he should dedicate to the Bp. his *editio princeps* of Tertullian, Basle, Froben, July 1521 (BRE. 207); in return the Bp. sent him a cup in 1522, and at the same time a present of coins for Erasmus (Ep. 1272). Beatus then dedicated to him a collection of *Autores historiae ecclesiasticae*, Basle, Froben, 1523 (BRE. 234): a compliment which the Bp. merited, since he could assure Beatus

that he had read Tertullian right through (BRE. 266). Erasmus carried on the connexion, dedicating to Turzo first Pliny's *Hist. Nat.*, Basle, Froben, March 1525 (Ep. 1544), and then an *Enarratio* of Ps. 38, *ibid.*, March 1532. All these works brought cups from the Bp. (cf. Ep. 1603; Aventinus' *Werke*, vi, 1908, p. 90; and Lond. xxvii. 37, LB. 1229); the last of which was in Erasmus' possession at his death (L. Sieber, *Mobilier des Erasmus*, 1891, p. 6). Other books addressed to Turzo are Cuspinianus' edition of Dionysius Periegetes, Vienna, Winterburger, 1508; Ziegler's attack on the Bohemian Brethren (Ep. 1260. 1301); Math. de Miechow's *De duabus Sarmatiis*, Cracow, 1517; Slechta's *Microcosmus*, 1522 (see Ep. 950 introd.); Andr. Cricius' *De afflictione Ecclesiae*, Rome, 1527; and Jo. Faber's *Sermones aduersus Anacaptistas*, Vienna, J. Singren, 1528. Beatus Rhenanus, *In C. Plinium*, Basle, Froben, March 1526, p. 27, extols his exceptional generosity to men of learning.

See A. Pilarz and F. Moravetz, *Moraviae Historia*, ii, 1786, pp. 124, 128, &c.; and an article by K. Wotke in *Zs. f. Gesch. Mährens*, iii, 1899, 337-88, which I have not been able to see.]

ERASMVS ROT. R. P. AC D. D. STANISLAO, EPISCOPO OLOMVCENSI, S. D.

MIRO quodam affectu prosequerbar germanum tuum Turzonem, episcopum Vratislaviensem, illius literis amantissimis ad amicitiam prouocatus, quum neuter alterum in vita vidisset, imo quum ille nostram imaginem conspexisset in meis lucubrationibus, ac vicissim  
5 mihi sui pectoris ideam in vnis atque alteris literis expressisset. Quo mihi fuit acerbior eius viri mors, non tantum ob id quod ipse tantum patronum et amicum amissem, etiamsi nullam ego iacturam in rebus humanis grauiorem esse iudico quam amici probi; verum multo magis quod tantum ornamentum Ecclesiae mors praematura  
10 terris eripuisset. Vt olim πολλοὶ μὲν varθκοφόροι, παῦροι δὲ τε βάρχοι, ita hisce temporibus non omnes episcopi sunt qui mitras gerunt. Atqui hinc certissima spes est fore vt floreat Christi regnum, quod quotidianis votis vt adueniat optamus omnes, si viri tui similes, non solum maiorum imaginibus verumetiam Christi dotibus insignes,  
15 admoti gubernaculis Ecclesiae, quicquid habent vel fortunae vel dignitatis vel ingenii, id omne conferant in commoda gregis concrediti, et in lucrum eius cui reddituri sunt omnes rationem.

Hunc moerorem mihi si non ademit, certe leniit tuae celsitudinis epistola, quae declarat te velut alterum Turzonem, doctrinae morum-  
20 que similitudine vere germanum, fratri demortuo in Erasmi amandi vices successisse. Laetor vtcunque sartura damni; sed vtinam contigisset eam possessionem longe preciosissimam conduplicari, vt nec tu fratrem optimum desiderares et ego pro vno patrono duobus fruerer! Primus illius obitum obnunciavit Bruxellae Hieroslaus  
25 Lascanus, Polonorum legatus, iuuenis eleganter doctus. Aegre cre-

TIT. ROT. R. P. AC D. D. om. H. 19. doctrinae add. H. 24. Hieroslaus  
Lascanus add. H. 25. iuuenis eleganter doctus om. H.

1. Turzonem] See Ep. 850.  
4. imaginem] Cf. Ep. 1101. 7n.  
5. ideam] Cf. Ep. 1334. 109n.  
10. πολλοὶ] Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 69 c.  
25. Lascanus] Hieroslaus (or Hieronymus; cf. La. E. 1, 2) of Lask in Poland (27 Sept. 1496-22 Dec. 1541) belonged to a distinguished family that had for long taken a great part in the

public service. Under the direction of his uncle, John, abp. of Gnesen, he went with his younger brother, John, later the well-known Reformer, to Rome in 1513; and from 1514 to 1516 they were students at Bologna. In 1519 Hieroslaus was sent on a special mission from the King of Poland to Frankfort at the time of the Imperial

debam, licet affirmanti. Mox Zanderus, praepositus Vratislaviensis, mihi reddidit animum, confirmans se ex amicorum literis certo scire Turzonem conualuisse. Sed idem paulo post diuersis acceptis literis, ex falso gaudio me in verum ac certum luctum coniecit. Sed haec est non ignota iam fatorum inuidia, quae pulcherrima quaeque tantum 30 ostendunt terris, deterioribus ad tedium vsque relictis.

26. Zanderus add. H.

Election. In 1520 he was deputed to greet Charles v on his return from Spain; and made the acquaintance of Erasmus then, at Brussels and Cologne (pp. 330, 370; cf. I, p. 33. 3-14). In 1523 he succeeded his father as Palatine of Sieradz, an important town lying to the west of his home. In May 1524, when sent on an embassy to Francis I, he again visited Erasmus at Basle (cf. Ep. 1452 with Ep. 1445); and had the interview described in I, pp. 31. 28-32. 38. He showed Erasmus a book against Luther printed at Cracow, 1524 (Ep. 1629); and at departure presented him with a silver flask, which was still among Erasmus' possessions in 1534 (L. Sieber, *Mobilier des Erasmus*, 1891, p. 8). Erasmus in return dedicated to him the *Modus orandi Deum*, Basle, Froben, Oct. 1524 (Ep. 1502); and corresponded with him in 1525-6 (Epp. 1622, 1751).

Hieroslaus continued to play a leading part in Poland, and on the death of Louis II of Hungary at Mohacz, 1526, secured the succession of John Zapolya, national claimant-king against Ferdinand; visiting England on his behalf in July 1527 (Brewer iv. 3231, 3265), and going later to Constantinople to obtain Turkish consent. For intrigue with Ferdinand, Zapolya disgraced and imprisoned him 31 Aug. 1534; but next year he was released and compensated (cf. Lond. xxvii. 24, LB. 1278). Renewing his intrigues with Ferdinand, he only made himself distrusted by both sides. On Zapolya's death (1540) he was again sent to Constantinople in Ferdinand's name, in connexion with the succession; but was imprisoned there, 1540-1, and carried back by the Sultan when he visited Hungary in person. On retiring from Belgrade the Sultan released him, and he made his way back to Cracow to die.

A view of his character is given in a letter from Cracow, 28 June 1537, printed by T. Wierzbowski, *Materyaly do Dziejow Pism. Polskiego*, I, 1900, p. 64: 'Dominus Hieronimus Laski palatinus hisce proximis diebus quatuor castella

in confinio Poloniae et Hungariae expugnauit, et in deditionem Regis Ferdinandi accepit: et tamen nulla est hebdomada qua Cracouiam venire negligat. Tanta est celeritate et vigilantia vir, dignus Vlyssis secundi nomine'.

See H. Dalton's life of John a Lasco; La. E. p. 288; OE; BRE. 333; and *Acta Tomiciana*. There is a life by A. Hirschberg, Lvov, 1888, in Polish, which I am unable to read: fully reviewed in *Ungarische Revue*, viii (1888), 428-35. See also C. Pascal in *Bull. Soc. Hist. du Protestantisme français*, xlv (1895), 287-305 and 575-93.

26. Zanderus] Michael Sanderi or Sanderus († c. Sept. 1529) studied at Bologna with Thos. Wolf jun. of Strasburg, c. 1492-1501 (Schmidt ii. 61, 2: cf. Knod 4278) and became LL.D. He went to Rome and secured a papal chaplaincy; and then acquired further preferment, charges upon canonries at Strasburg, in Feb. 1514 a canonry at Novara from Card. Schinner (Sch. E. 361), and in May 1515 the abbey of St. Christopher near Bergamo (J. Hergenröther, *Leonis X Regesta*, 1891, 15324). At this last date he was already Dean (not Provost) of Breslau.

As secretary to Schinner he appears repeatedly in the letters of Beatus Rhenanus and Zwingli until May 1519, residing at Zurich and buying books at Basle. Schinner sent him frequently to negotiate with Wolsey in 1520-2 (Brewer iii); and so on his master's death (Sept. 1522) he appears to have been in some measure in English service (Brewer iii. 3103). In Dec. 1523 he had recently obtained a canonry at Constance (Ep. 1401. 19), where he became intimate with Faber, and supported him in his opposition to the Reformation. Later he became master of the ceremonies to Campeggio (see the preface to F. Nausea's *Ad Erasmus Oratio*, Vienna, J. Singren, 25 Aug. 1524); and in Dec. 1524 he was in Rome (Ep. 1530).

See P. Kalkoff, *Briefe... über Luther vom Wormser Reichstage*, 1898, pp. 75, 6 and Zw. E<sup>2</sup>. 50n.

Quod operam suam mihi tam propense offert tua benignitas, magis conuenit vt meam tibi offeram, tantulus cliens patrono tanto. Fauorem ac studium amplector: quo mihi nunc sic opus est vt nunquam  
 35 alias aequae, aduersum quosdam odiose coniuratos in bonas literas, et repullulare gestientem veterem illam ac germanam theologiam. Quorum tanta est improbitas, vt me nonnunquam mearum vigiliarum propemodum poeniteat. Velium mihi multis modis optatissimum nondum videre licuit. Is epistolam reliquit apud amicos;  
 40 munusculum, quod animi in me tui pignus esse voluisti, ipse traditurus quum dabitur congregari. Pro sacris tuis manibus epistolam saepius exosculatus sum, tua manu, vt testaris, descriptam. Christus opt. max. celsitudinem tuam nobis seruet incolumem.

1243<sub>1272</sub> TO STANISLAUS TURZO

Epistolae ad diuersos p. 639.

Basle.

HN: Lond. xvii. 9: LB. 598.

22 November 1521.

[The last letter in F in point of time; written shortly after Erasmus' arrival in Basle. The year-date added in H is therefore unquestionable.]

ERASMVS ROT. R. P. STANISLAO, EPISCOPO OLMVTCENSI, S. D.

Vix superiores literas ad te meas obsignaram, Velius ad acceptum aduentus nostri rumorem, Basileam reuolat—nam forte Friburgum iam commigrarat—, munusculum tuae celsitudinis exhibet, atque adeo sic modis omnibus commendat, vt mihi non minus fuerit  
 5 gratum quam si longe maioris fuisset precii. Ipse Velius mihi factus est longe charior quam ante fuerat, ex degustatis ingenii monumentis, ob incredibilem morum comitatem, quum hoc fere genus hominum soleat alienius esse a sensu communi. Visus est et multo  
 10 felicior quam existimaram. Primum ipse cultus magnificus ac nitidus fortunam arguit satis lautam. Deinde corporis species declarat, rara numinis indulgentia, ingenio felicissimo domicilium aequae felix contigisse. Non abs re ille tuam amplitudinem sic veneratur ac praedicat. Veneratur autem non secus ac numen aliquod,  
 15 praedicat effusissime. Porro quod tu talem virum tam arcte complecteris, tam largiter foues, non minus est laudandum iudicium tuum quam benignitas. Proinde non possum non vtrunque alteri gratulari, tibi talem alumnum ac virtutum tuarum praeconem, illi tam egregium Moecenatem. Rursum valeat T. R. D.; cui me modis omnibus commendo. Basileae .x. Cal. Decembr. Anno M.D.XXI.

1243. TIT. ROT. R. P. om. H. S. D. FN<sup>2</sup> LB: s. HN<sup>2</sup>. 18. T. R. D. F: tua sublimitas H. 19. Anno M.D.XXI add. H.

1242. 38. Velium] See Ep. 548. 4n. He was now at Freiburg: cf. Ep. 1243. 1-3.

42. exosculatus] Piso (Ep. 216) records that the Turzo brothers gave a

similar reception to a letter of Erasmus which he showed them c. 1518: see Ep. 1662.

1243. 1. literas] Ep. 1242.

4. commendat] Cf. BRE. 223.

## 1244. TO WILLIBALD PIRCKHEIMER.

Pirckheimeri Opera p. 272.

Basle.

O<sup>2</sup>. p. 162: Lond. xxx. 26: LB. 599.

29 November 1521.

[1521 is the only year after Erasmus' return to Basle in which Leo x (l. 32) was still living. For the forms of heading and address see Ep. 1085 introd.]

S., ornatissime vir. Postremae litterae tuae mihi redditae sunt, confabulanti Aleandro. Nam cum forte agebamus Louanii in eodem diuersorio, is mihi saepius de te verba fecit, et ita fecit vt tibi videretur fauere. Nam ostendit diploma quo liberareris ab ista molestia. Ista querela, mi Bilibalde, tibi cum multis est communis. In me 5 non simplex exitium moliuntur. Equidem demiror quis deus Lutheri animum moderatus sit, vt tot amicis a prouocando Pontifice deterrentibus, semper acerbiora scripserit. Magis autem demiror malitiosum quorundam studium, qui volentes nolentes conati sint aliquot in suam sententiam pertrahere: quasi cuperent perire cum 10 multis. Quid enim aliud quaesire talibus libellis quam exitium? Qui sic scribunt, qui sic minantur, debebant habere paratas copias, si voluissent esse incolumes. Vide vero quantum promouerint. Bonas litteras deprauarunt inuidia, et optimus quisque qui maxime fauet Euangelicae veritati, affinis est suspicioni periculosae. Ingens orbis 15 dissidium excitatum est inter omnes, fortasse duraturum in multos annos et semper in peius progressurum. Pro sinistro tentata libertate duplicatur seruitus: adeo vt ne vera quidem liceat tueri. Porrectum est telum sceleratissimis quibusdam, quo se vliscantur aduersus optimum quemque. Inusta est non leuis nota Germaniae, vt solet 20 paucorum temeritas vniuersitati imputari. Desiderabant in nobis prudentiam et consilium; et qui vel armis solemus esse formidabiles, contemnemur et a contemptissimis, vt qui nec mentem habeamus nec arma. Nobiles aliquot hic minitantur sacerdotum opibus, quasi huc spectet finis Lutheranae fabulae; et ita collegia omnia conciliant 25 aduersae parti. In me nihil adhuc tentatum est palam, nisi quod Louanii potissimum Praedicatores quidam me mendacissimis con-

1. S. P: BILIBALDO SVO ERASMVVS S. D. O<sup>2</sup>.  
LB: qua P.

9. sint P: sunt O<sup>2</sup>.

19. quo

23. contemnimur O<sup>2</sup>.

2. Aleandro] Cf. Ep. 1195. 47n.

Louanii] This meeting must have occurred between Erasmus' return from Anderlecht, where he still was on 14 Oct. (Ep. 1239), and his departure to Basle 28 Oct. (p. 598).

3. diuersorio] Ep. 1342. 105 shows that this was the *Homme Sauvage*: apparently the principal inn in Louvain, for in Aug. 1426 the secretary who brought letters from the Duke of Brabant approving the foundation of the University, was lodged there at the expense of the town. See E. van Even, *Louvain monumental*, 1860, p. 286.

In a document of 1521 quoted by Kalkoff, *Aleander gegen Luther*, p. 96, the inn is named the 'Vagus Vir'.

4. ista molestia] Cf. Ep. 1182. 4n. On 19 July Aleander wrote to the Curia asking for power to absolve Pirckheimer and Spengler without requiring their appearance at Rome; and a Brief to this effect was sent off to him from Florence 3 Aug. 1521. See Balan pp. 274, 279.

7. a prouocando] Cf. Ep. 1241.

22. vel armis] Cf. Ep. 1168. 19n.

27. Praedicatores] Cf. Epp. 1166, 1173.

cionibus infamant apud populum, apud principes variis titulis deferunt. Quidam cogunt vt scribam aduersus Lutherum, cui non est  
 30 ocium vllum vt vel legam illius libellos. Nihil ego video melius quam in hac re mussare. Tibi suaserim vt pro tua causa scribas ipsi Leoni. Est ingenio mitissimo et fauet viris eruditis. Apud Aleandrum ea de re loquutus sum quae sint in rem tuam quaeque puto esse vera. Bene vale.

35 Basileae. Prid. Natalis S. Andreae Anno 1521. Raptim.  
 In quibusdam Germanis, quibus toto pectore fidebam, minimum reperi fidei.

Erasmus tuus.

Clarissimo D. Bilibaldo Pirckheimero, senatori Noremburgensi et  
 40 Caesareae maiestatis consiliario.

1235, 1245. FROM PETER BARBIRIUS.

Leipzig MS.  
 EE. 3.

Vittoria.  
 29 November 1521.

[An original letter, autograph throughout.]

SALVE, doctissime domine mi Erasme. Reddite sunt michi simul his diebus bina litere tue, altere ad nonum cal., alter(e) ad octauum cal. octob., ambe Andrelaci scripte. Turbe bellorum quas patimur efficient, timeo, ne vos saltem tam cito possim inuisere. Ne tamen  
 5 non firmum sit quod tibi aliis literis meis promisi, hoc est vel me istuc venturum ante Natiuitatem Domini vel modum prospecturum quo tibi pensio assignaretur, communicata re cum quibusdam peritis istorum negotiorum Romanorum, comperi quod sanctissimus dominus noster, interueniente consensu meo, facile reseruabit tibi fructus  
 10 horum que abs te, domine mi Erasme, accepi beneficiorum pro pensione. Quo facto futurum est vt, siue moriar siue viuam, non possis solitis carere fructibus. Et quia forte dices 'Sumptus ingens hac in re faciendus erit,' ego respondeo quod ad hoc coram sanctissimo domino nostro transigendum ego constituam procuratores vt nomine  
 15 meo consentiant in huiusmodi pensionem; et ex nunc, pro vt ex tunc, propono firmissime, visa sola signatura sine expeditione bullarum, dictam pensionem me soluturum. Et sic non erit opus facere impensas maiores quam vnus ducati, saltem per vitam meam; quod si contingat me mori ante te, in tua erit facultate secundum tenorem

1244. 34. LB: vera Basileae. Bene vale P. 38. Erasmus . . . 40. consiliario cm. O<sup>2</sup>.

1244. 30. vel legam] Cf. Ep. 1225. 258-60.

36. Germanis] Cf. Epp. 1225. 357-61, 1258. 26-7. Ep. 1278. 10-13 makes the meaning clear, that in F, as in E, the editors to whom had been entrusted the selection and revision of new letters, had committed indiscretions: see p. 498.

Ep. 1257. 5-7 shows that Nesen was one of those whom Erasmus had in his mind.

1245. 2. altere] Ep. 1235.

altere] Perhaps a duplicate to Ep. 1235, sent by another messenger.

3. bellorum] In Castile and Valencia.

5. literis] Not extant.

10. beneficiorum] Cf. Ep. 1094.



dicte signature bullas facere expedire sine meo vel cuiuscunque nouo 20  
consensu. Quia vero de pensione sex librarum grossorum cum media  
super prebenda Cortracen<sup>(si)</sup> assignatarum non potest hoc modo fieri,  
ego decreui vel hic vel in Flandria pro eis accipere beneficium ali-  
quod seu sacerdotium, et tunc similiter consentiam in pensionem  
similem, sicut iam consensurum me predixi quoad alia beneficia. 25  
Quia vero hic rari sunt notarii apostolici, presertim qui Latine scri-  
bere possint, ne, precor, putes me fidem non seruare, si cum presenti-  
bus non misero procuratorium ad hoc faciendum; sed quod non  
faciam hoc nuncio, faciam per proximum.

Ceterum quia aliis literis tuis ad me scripsisti, placere tibi si fratri 30  
meo horum beneficiorum partem relinquerem, ego ei cum presen-  
tibus scribo, ac mitto procuratorium ad cedendum ei ecclesiam sancti  
Egidii in Wasia, rogans vt statim constitueret procuratores ad con-  
sentiendum in pensionem omnium fructuum ad vtilitatem tuam,  
sicut hucusque recepisti: quod ideo ad te mitto, vt intelligat se id 35  
munus abs te potius consequi quam ab alio quocunque; simul vt, nisi  
tibi placuerit, non exhibeas dictum procuratorium, nisi prius pro-  
curatores ad hoc sufficientes constituerit qui possint nomine suo, casu  
quo fuerit ei prouisum de dicta ecclesia, consentire in pensionem  
tantam, quantum fuit quod singulis annis solitus es de dicta ecclesia 40  
recipere; simul vt, si videbitur tibi et iis quos hac in re adhibebis  
consiliarios, non des procuratorium huiusmodi, donec ego consensero  
in pensionem prefatam. Et, sicut iam premisi, sic fiet vt nullum de  
ipso fratre dubium possis habere; ipse enim post dictum consensum  
meum, vbi receperit beneficium, non poterit facere quin ad solu- 45  
tionem pensionis obligetur. Non equidem quod dubitem de ipsius  
fratris mei fide in te; vel de tua in eum spe, sed vt tollatur omnis  
periculi, quantum commode fieri poterit, occasio. Si enim ei resigna-  
retur antequam ego consentirem in pensionem huiusmodi, posset  
interea mori, et sic tu pensione et ego ipso beneficio priuarer. 50

Eorum que hic contigerunt, nichil scribam, ne occasionem habeas  
irridendi stilum meum tam non Liuium: qui si michi esset vti  
domino meo Erasmo, celebrarem certe meum Carolum quantum  
veritas pateretur atque decor. Nichil est quod moneam te nunc  
super turbis istis Louanien<sup>(sibus)</sup>, quandoquidem videam nocere me 55  
potius quam iuuare. Hoc vnum faciam quod possum: Deum orabo  
vt ita te tuaque omnia dirigat, vt ad gloriam et honorem suum et  
salutem tuam et omnium nostrum vtilitatem cedat, quod te certe  
facere confido; et tu, domine mi Erasme, idem facito, rogo.

Vale Ex Victoria tercio cal. decemb. anno 1521. 60

Tuus, vt seruus, Petrus Barbirius.

Doctissimo simul et humanissimo viro, domino Erasmo Roterodamo, domino semper obseruando.

22. Cortracensi] See Ep. 436. 5n. It appears that a *libra grossorum* was worth 20 florins.

28. procuratorium] It still had not arrived in May 1522: see Ep. 1287. 10-11.

30. aliis literis] Not extant.  
fratri] Nicholas Barbirius; see

Epp. 613 introd., 1094. 29n.

32. sancti Egidii] See Ep. 1094. 29n.

53. Carolum] Charles v.

55. nocere] Barbirius evidently considered that his advice had only spurred Erasmus on to justify himself, with Epp. 1216, 1225, 1235.

## 1246. FROM WILLIAM TATE.

Breslau MS. Rehd. 254. 149.

EE<sup>2</sup>. 6.

Richmond.

4 December 1521.

[An original letter actually sent and seemingly autograph; but with the address-sheet missing. The dates are sufficiently confirmed by the mention of Henry's book (l. 26: see Ep. 1227. 5n) and the Bull that followed (l. 21n).

W. Tate of York († c. 10 Sept. 1540) met Erasmus in 1499 or 1505-6 in England and in 1500 or 1506 (Ep. 535. 39-42) at Orleans (l. 2): where he no doubt obtained his degree in law. In 1512 he was a trustee to whom certain lands in Yorkshire were demised (Brewer i. 3386). Later he secured a position at Court: whence in Dec. 1517 he was sent to carry the King's Christmas offering to Canterbury, and in 1521 the *Assertio* to Rome (ibid. ii, p. 1476, iii. 1450); and the present letter evidently was written from the royal palace (Ep. 937. 46n). In 1520 he was treasurer of Beverley Minster, where his name is carved on one of the stalls (G. Oliver, *Beverley*, 1829, p. 330). In 1522 he received a canonry at Windsor and a prebend at York (Le Neve iii. 392, 176)—preferment which perhaps indicates that he was already attached to the household of Henry VIII's natural son, the Duke of Richmond (1519-36). By 1525 he was a member of the Duke's Council in the North, at a time when the boy was thought likely to be the heir to the throne (DNB. xix. 204); and in 1526 he was his almoner (Brewer iv). The date of his death may be approximately inferred; for his will was made on 9 Sept. 1540, and the rectory of Chelmsford which he held, was filled up on 11 Sept.; see *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser., x. 55, and cf. Ep. 623 introd. To his prebends appointments were made on 7 and 8 Oct. 1540 (Brewer xvi. 220. 13, and Le Neve iii. 393, 176).

He is very likely the 'humanissimus Dr. Taitus', whom Wakefeld (Ep. 1311. 44n) mentions as a friend and praises for his knowledge of Hebrew (*Oratio*, ff. C<sup>8</sup>, E<sup>2</sup> v<sup>o</sup>): but though he had learning enough to quote Greek here, the Latinity of this letter leaves something to be desired.]

IHS.

DO. DES. ERASMO ROTERODA., VERAE PHILOSOPHIAE SACRAEQVE

THEOLOGIAE PROFESSORI, GVILHELMVS TATO

INTER LL. DOCTORES MINIMVS S. P. D.

IAM ad te scribere, vir doctissime, <impellit> non modo vetus illa inter nos amicitia olim et Britanniae hic concepta, Aureliaeque, Gallicarum vrbe, continuata, verumetiam quod indies magis ac magis philosophiam, illam scilicet Christi, sapere nitentibus viam ipsam, 5 nedum semitam latissimam, demonstras. Eoque quantum emolumenti in Christo militantibus es allaturus, mihi haud facile putem dictu. Aevo proculdubio illo natus es foelici, ac me quidem, quod aevo tuo superstes sim, ingenti afficio gaudio. Vehementius tamen 10 gauderem, si illa locorum inter nos distantia <ad>mitteret, quo inpraesentiarum consuetudinem apud me tui interdum haberem. Animo penitus istic apud te moror, quanquam corpus illud meum inter nonnullos hic invidia latrantes bonosque semper et eruditos lacerantes viros tedio non mediocri afficiatur. Caeterum quum ii linguis alios feriant, sese dilaniant. Hinc τοῦ τὸ ἀπόφθεγμα σοφοῦ, 15 Τὰ γὰρ τοῦ φθόνου κινήματα αὐτοῦ πληγαὶ γίνονται τοῦ βασκάνου. Sed

8. *Pro ingenti afficio gaudio forsitan prius scripserit ingens tenet gaudium.*

7. foelici] This may be contrasted with Erasmus' own view of himself: see Ep. 1102. 6n.

(spem) habeas velim; iisce hiantibus dantur offulae, satque eorum occluduntur ora.

Audisti iamiam, reor, potentissimum illum ac elegantissimum principem Regemque nostrum Henricum, huius nominis octauum, cum corporis tum animi dotibus nemini secundum, totoque terrarum 20 cyclo fortissimum fidei defensorem non modo ab Ecclesia dumtaxat Rhomana sed et iure ipso meritissime nuncupatum, aduersus Lutherianam haeresim, illam videlicet qua sacramenta ferme quasi omnia pessumire temere conatur, eleganter suo calamo libellum /

IHS.

concessisse haud ἀπειράφον; titulus enim huic, vt ita dicam, Chri- 25 stianissimus, *Assertio* scilicet *septem sacramentorum*. Eum iam ad te libellum regia annuente maiestate transmitti curauim. Quem oro perlegas; puto nanque reperiēs non solum a principe et eruditi et candidi ingenii, verumetiam a summo theoligo aeditum. Quamobrem, mi charissime Erasme, quidnam hoc in diuino opere sentias, 30 tuum Tatōnem, quam citius poteris, certiore facias. Idque vehementer efflagito, iudiciumque hac in re tuum quotidie praestolor.

Vale, nostri aevi decus. E Rychemonti, Londinum prope, pridie nonas decembres. Anno seruatoris nostri, 1521.

Tuus Tato Eboracensis. 35

#### 1247. FROM CONRAD PEUTINGER.

Breslau MS. Rehd. 254. 119, 120.

Augsburg.

EE<sup>2</sup>. 7, 8.

9 December 1521.

[An original letter, with a page (ll. 50-62) inserted by Peutinger's wife: autograph in both parts. The year-date is confirmed by Erasmus' return to Basle, and by the week-date given in l. 19.]

Margaret Peutinger (18 March 1481—7 Sept. 1552) was the daughter of Antony Welser, burgomaster of Memmingen. When she married in 1498-9, she was already 'Latinis literis aliquantum imbuta' (RE. 66); and though by now the mother of a large family, she still found time for her studies. On 1 Dec. 1511 she addressed to her brother Christopher an archaeological *Epistola*; which describes a statue of Mercury recently dug up at Augsburg, inscriptions found in the Augsburg diocese, and some of the coins and inscriptions in her husband's collection. She hoped that it might be printed in Rome, where Christopher then was; but no edition is known before that of H. A. Mertens, Augsburg, 1778. See J. G. Lotter's *Hist. vitae Conradi Peutingeri*, Leipzig, 1729, pp. 20, 32, 58-60.]

D. DESIDERIO ERASMO ROTERODAMO &C. CHVONRADVS PEVTINGER AVGVSTANVS SANITATEM ET FELICITATEM VERAM OPTAT.

Tuae dign<itati> pro reditu suo in Basileam gratulor; gratulor eciam Germaniae superiori, quod te quidem, vt omnino nobis sperandum est firmiter, non nisi fructu maximo [te] denuo excoeperit. Ita 5 enim tuae optima consuetudinis clarissimum decus accedit, vt non nisi studiosis et bonis omnibus prodesse velis; et eo eciam magis pro tua singulari prudencia, virtute et rerum cognitione exactissima prae caeteris magis splendescere, quanto pro tua singulari humanitate et beneuolencia vnumquemque complecti soles. Cuius rei et ego 10

1246. 21. fidei defensorem] See Ep. 1227. 5n.

24. conatur] sc. Lutherus.

27. transmitti] Cf. Ep. 1227. 5n.

superiori anno Brugis experimentum iucundissimum habui. Non enim tuorum et omnis virtutis laude insignis et clarissimi Thomae Mori Britanni sermonum cum dulcium tum probatarum sententiarum oblitus sum: adeo ut me etiam absentem, cum Hieronymum<sup>15</sup> presbyterum poliori tua eruditione restitutum, et caetera eruditissima opera tua perlegamus, quorum mira lectionis consuetudine, si quando a negociis forensibus vacare licet, uti soleo, imaginaria quadam fictione te docentem et videre et audire puto.

Ecce quid heri actum. Erat haec dies dominica Aduentus Saluatoris nostri secunda. Ocio laxatus nomismatis nostris et Historiae Augustalis Cornelii Taciti lectione me oblectabar. Sedebat prope, ab alia tamen tabula, coniunx nostra Margarita. Haec tuas Noui Testamenti interpretaciones Latinas simul et eiusdem translationem Germanam, vetustam admodum nec plane eruditam, in manibus habebat.<sup>20</sup> Mox me ab oblectamentis illis reuocauit, inquit: 'Lego Matheum capite xx, et perspicio Erasmus nostrum Matheo quicquam superaddidisse'. Respondi, 'Et quid?' Illa denuo: 'At ille quae nec in Germana lingua habentur, refert'. Mox Euangelium Mathei, quod idem Hieronymus commentatus, ad manum erat, ubi etiam verba<sup>25</sup> illa, 'Et baptismo quo baptizor, baptizabimini', non reperiabantur. Ad tuas Annotationes cogebar; e quibus quam primum a te edocti ultra Marcum verba haec etiam in Matheo ab Origene et Chrysostomo atque Vulgario referri. Tum ipsa voluit ut Origenes xii et Chrysostomus lxxvi omilia super Matheum legeretur: ex quibus plane quae<sup>30</sup> e Graeco restitueris, cognouimus. Tibi spero non iniucundum fore te, praeceptorem amplissimum, non solum me sed et coniugem in dies docere.

Vrbs nostra, quae etsi peste aliquantisper grassata fuit, se nunc habet melius; nam niue albescente et pruina perusta, gelu atque<sup>40</sup> glacie rigente terra, vetus coeli clemencia reducitur. Aedes tamen nostrae hactenus saluae permanserunt. Vtinam commoditas se ita offerret, ut et in patria nostra dignitatem tuam denuo coram inuisere possemus! Schedulam quam inclusi, vxor manu sua scripsit. Rogo te, quae modo formis excudenda putaueris, me cerciorem<sup>45</sup> redde. Dignitas tua beneualeat: quam vxor in Christo salutat.

Ex Augusta Vindelicorum v idus Decembr. Anno salutis mxxxii. <Vene>rando et maximae eruditionis viro, D. Desiderio Erasmo <Roteroda>mo &c., domino et praeceptori obseruandissimo.

Basileae.

<sup>50</sup> "Potestis bibere poculum quod ego bibiturus sum, et baptismate quo baptizor, baptizari?" Dicunt ei, 'Possumus'. Ait illis: 'Calicem quidem meum bibetis et baptismate quo ego baptizor, baptizabimini: sedere autem' ecz."

11. Brugis] Cf. Epp. 1129. 1n, 1145.

19. heri] Sunday, 8 Dec.

22. Noui Testamenti] The notes to ll. 33, 50, show that she was using Erasmus' edition of 1518-19.

30. Et baptismo] Matt. 20. 23.

32. Marcum] 10. 39.

33. atque Vulgario] This name is added in the Annot. of 1518.

50. poculum quod] substituted in Erasmus' translation of 1519 for *calicem quem* of 1516.

"Mögend ir trincken den kelch den ich wird trincken, vnd mit dem tawf, darin ich getawft, ir getawft werden?' Sy sprachen, 55 'Wir mögen'. Vnd er sprach zu yn: 'Wan meinen kelch werden ir trincken vnd mit dem tawf, darin ich getawft, ir getawft werden: aber zu sitzen' ecz." *Comunis interpretacio Germanica hoc solum habet*: "'Mögend ir trincken den kelch den ich wird trincken?' Sy sprachen, 'Wir mögen'. Vnd der Herr sprach: 'Ja, mein kelch 60 werden ir trincken' ecz." *Hic de baptisate nihil.*

Margarita Peutingerin Augustana.

1248. TO MATTHEW SCHINNER.

Paraphrasis in Matthaum f<sup>o</sup>. p<sup>a</sup> v<sup>o</sup>.  
Lond. xxix. 68: LB. vii. 147.

Basle.  
14 December 1521.

[A letter printed at the end of the Paraphrase on St. Matthew (Ep. 1255 introd.). Of the Froben editions enumerated there it is necessary to distinguish the folio of 15 March 1522 (a); the octavos of March 1522 (β) and s. a. (γ); the folio of 1524 (δ), which appears to have been set up from α, with the misprint in l. 14 corrected; the octavo of 1534 (ε); and the folio of 1535 (ζ). The octavo of 1523 follows γ. The year-date of this letter needs no confirmation.]

REVERENDISSIMO D. D. MATTHAEO, CARDINALI SEDVNENSI,  
ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS S. D.

TANDEM ausus sum me committere itineri Germanico, quum tota via vndique militibus esset operta: adeo multos contemnebam, quos paucos metuisssem. Misere cupiebam adesse Nouo Testamento iam tertio renascenti. Graecus ille malebat ter in acie stans Martis aleam experiri quam semel parere. At quanto nos infeliciores, quibus 5 idem foetus toties est parturiendus? Caeterum cum asina per medios ignes suis pullis succurrere tradatur, non mirum si nos per tot pericula subinde transcurramus ad foetus nostros. Sed parum abfuit quin frustra periculosum ac molestum iter suscepimus; mox enim ad nidorem hypocaustorum aegrotare coepimus, vixque recreatos 10 morbus sic repetiit vt non abessemus a periculo vitae.

Sed interea tamen semianimes Paraphrasim in Euangelium Matthaei absoluimus: quam operam et ego tibi Bruxellae receperam, et

1248. TIT. DES. ante ERASMVS add. ε.

8. subinde add. βε: om. αδ.

1248. 2. militibus] Cf. Epp. 1242 introd., 1302: regular troops as compared with the brigands of whom Erasmus had often been apprehensive on his journeys to and from Basle (cf. Epp. 412. 1-9, 867. 27-8, and the letters of March and Apr. 1518: also Epp. 1274. 16-17, 1275. 8. 3. Nouo Testamento] See p. 127.  
4. Graecus] Cf. Eur. Med. 250-1.  
6. toties] Cf. Epp. 269 init., 425, 1365; and 1, pp. 1. 2-4 and 37. 18-38. 1.  
asina] Cf. Ep. 1302. 11-12.  
10. hypocaustorum] Cf. Ep. 1169.  
17. Erasmus' sensitiveness to stove-

heating is expressed repeatedly in other letters of this period (1249, 1258. 30, 1259, 1264, 1302. 32; cf. 1316. 39n). Froben had had an open fireplace (caminum) put into his house in 1521, in expectation of Erasmus' return to Basle (Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 175): so also Botzheim at Constance (a fumarium) in 1522 (BRE. 227: cf. Epp. 1342. 345, 1382. 61). aegrotare] For Erasmus' serious illness throughout 1522 cf. Epp. 1256. 3, 1258. 24n, 1259, 1264-5, 1267. 1274, 1283, 1302, 1311; BRE. 216; VE. 308, 313, 317; Zw. E.<sup>2</sup> 221.

tu Mediolanum proficiscens Germaniae meo nomine promiseras.  
 15 Neque nescit tua celsitudo quam illa sit improba flagitatrix. Eadem  
 igitur opera tuam simul et meam fidem liberare studui. Valetudini  
 congruebat argumentum, in quo vel emori pium sit et optabile.  
 Sumus utriusque in negotio nescio quam simili, certe toti. Vtinam  
 utriusque succedat quod agit! imo, vtinam in Christi gloriam aequè  
 20 cedat quod agimus omnes! Nescio quod sidus infaustum quisue  
 genius malus hos tantos tumultus excitat inter mortales. Nec satis  
 est sic bellis intestinis regna, ciuitates, summos orbis monarchas  
 inter se collidi, nisi studia literarum, nisi religio fidesque Christiana  
 tam periculosos dissidiis concuterentur. Equidem si tantis malis  
 25 nullum adhibere remedium possim, certe me duce aut autore nullus  
 erit factiosus.

Video seculum hoc esse malum ac periculosum. Quid moliantur  
 quidam aut quid parturiat mundus, nescio. Ego, quod semper feci,  
 non desinam fauere gloriae Christi. Homunculus sum misellus, qui  
 30 minus possim quam nihil; tamen voluptati est mihi reflorescere ac  
 velut ἀναζωπυροῦσθαι doctrinam Euangelicam. Quam quidem ad rem  
 vtinam liceat tantundem adferre momenti quantum cupimus! Certe  
 sedulo bonaque fide conamur. Hic animus sibi conscius est, et  
 testem habet Christum, quod nec opes ambit, quarum nunquam fuit  
 35 audus; nec honores, a quibus semper abhorruit; voluptates multo  
 minus, quae nec aetatem hanc deceant, si libeat frui, et breui mihi  
 sciam esse relinquendas. Illud mihi potius studio est, commeatum  
 aliquem parare; quo instructus hinc feliciter emigrem ad Christum,  
 cui nostra desudant studia. Vtinam pariter succedat hic conatus  
 40 noster ac successit in Epistolis Apostolicis! Iam enim passim terun-  
 tur manibus etiam laicorum. Atque vtinam per istas negociorum  
 procillas amplitudini tuae liceat hoc agere quod solum erat agen-  
 dum! Et tamen, quantum licet, scio te fauere negotio Christi;  
 proinde non dubito quin faueas et Erasmo.  
 45 Opus dicauius optimo Principi Carolo, partim quod diuinarem,  
 vt est pietate singulari, hoc illius maiestati fore gratissimum; partim  
 vt tam fauorabili titulo plurium animis commendaretur. De Leone  
 nostro coeptus est hic spargi rumor, quem magnopere cupiam esse  
 vanum. Nihil illius ingenio mitius, vnice fauebat honestis literis.  
 50 In me peculiari quodam animi fauore propensus erat; sed mortalis  
 erat. Si visum est Deo pastorem suum ad solidiorem felicitatem  
 euocare, precor vt nobis contingat aliquis tui similis: si quis  
 tamen tui similior esse potest quam es ipse tui. R. D. T. diu floren-  
 tem et incolumem seruet Dominus Iesus.  
 55 Basileae postrid. Id. Decemb. An. M.D.XXI.

14. tu β: tum α. 55. Id. α: Idib. ε: Idus ζ. αδζ: Decembr. γε.  
 M.D.XXI γε: M.D.XX αδ: M.D.I β.

14. Mediolanum] Schinuerspent the latter half of June in Brussels; and set out on his journey to negotiate with the Swiss to attack the French in Milan, on 30 June (Brewer iii. 1357, 1388): so that the date of his interview with Erasmus can be approximately fixed. See also Ep. 1255. 24-9, 76.

For his earlier persuasion of Erasmus to complete the Paraphrases of the Epistles cf. Ep. 1171. 47n.

15. flagitatrix] for publication: cf. Epp. 1186. 22n, 1255. 80-1. A new form of apologetic disclaimer: cf. Epp. 30. 16n, 1175. 55n.

47. Leone] † 1 Dec. 1521.

## 1249. TO MATTHEW SCHINNER.

Opus Epistolarum p. 820.

Basle.

N. p. 783 : Lond. xxi. 13 : LB. 601.

14 December 1521.

[An abridgement of Ep. 1248 ; intended for actual dispatch, while Ep. 1248 was printed.]

ERASMVS ROT. MATTHAEO CARD. SEDVNENSI S. D.

SVMVVS vtrique in negocio toti. Et vtinam prospere succedat quod agitur ! imo vtinam in Christi gloriam aequae cedat quod agimus omnes ! Paraphrasim in Matthaëum quam te autore suscepimus, videbis excusam nundinis proximis, si modo Christus vitam suppeditabit. Adsumus et Nouo Testamento tertio iam renascenti. 5

Video seculum hoc esse malum et periculosum. Quid alii moliantur nescio ; certe ego cupiam, si liceat, omnibus satisfacere. In Lutherano negocio fortasse plus praestiti quam quidam qui se iactant mira praestitisse. Apud nos quaedam linguae, magnae quidem sed nimium faciles, sparserunt me coryphaeum esse Lutheranae factionis ; verum 10 ipsa Germania multo aliter sentit, non sine meo periculo. Ego licet homunculus misellus et peccator, tamen faueo gloriae Christi, et ob hunc iis qui eius gloriam promouent. Nec opes ambio, nec honores, voluptates multo minus : quas scio, etiamsi diligerem, mihi breui relinquendas. Atque vtinam per istas negotiorum procellas liceat 15 tibi nihil aliud agere quam quod solum erat agendum ! Et tamen, quantum licet, scio te fauere Christo : proinde fauebis et Erasmo.

De Pontifice Leone coepit hic rumor spargi quem plane velim esse vanum. Germania nos exceperit vt solet ; nidor hypocaustorum me propemodum exanimauit. Sanctitatem tuam incolumem ac florentem 20 diu seruet Dominus Iesus.

Basileae postridie Idus Decemb. Anno M.D.XXI.

1250<sub>1261</sub> TO ANDREW ALCIATI.

Opus Epistolarum p. 820.

Basle.

N. p. 783 : Lond. xxi. 14 : LB. 600.

14 December 1521.

[The year-date is confirmed by the mention of the war and of Alciati's 'Declaration', and by Boniface's presence at Basle. See also the letters in sequence, especially Ep. 1278.

Andrew Alciati (8 May 1492—12 Jan. 1550) of Milan, belonged to a family which took its name from estates at Alzate, a village SE. of Como. After studying the humanities at Milan under Janus Parrhasius, he went to Padua c. 1507 to work with Jason Maynus. Later he was at Bologna, where on 5 Jan. 1513 he dated the preface to his first book, *In tres posteriores Codicis Iustiniani Annotationes*, of which I can find no edition earlier than Schott's at Strasburg, 1515—doubtless only a reprint. Returning to Milan in 1514 with the degree of LL.D., he practised as a lawyer ; and composed various legal works in 1517-18, which were dedicated to French officials in Milan, and printed by Minutianus (see Ep. 1020. 57n). He also wrote notes on Tacitus, addressed to G. Visconti (cf. Ep. 378. 12n) ; first printed by Minutianus, 1517. In Oct. 1518 he was appointed to lecture on law at Avignon, and he taught there with great success till Nov. 1522 ; with an interval from April to Nov. 1521, when he returned to Milan because of an outbreak of plague. His resignation in 1522 was due to difficulties about

the payment of his salary. For some years he remained at Milan, regretful of Avignon, and seeking in vain for an appointment in some Italian university, preferably Padua. A high municipal office was offered to him; but he declined, wishing to be free for his studies. These were mainly legal: but he found time to compose a comedy, *Philargyrus*, to translate Ar. *Nubes*, and to hunt for mss. on behalf of the Basle printers: with whom through Boniface he remained always in close communication. At the end of 1527 he returned to Avignon, and taught there till March 1529; when he accepted an invitation, pressed by the Archbishop, Francis of Tournon (Ep. 1319), to come for two years to Bourges. In 1530 he began to negotiate for a chair at Bologna; but it was not till 1533 that he succeeded in his ambition of an Italian post, when the Duke of Milan sent him to Pavia, resisting an attempt of the Doge of Venice to secure him for Padua. From 1537 to 1541 he taught at Bologna, 1541-3 at Pavia again, 1543-7 at Ferrara; after which he returned to Pavia until his death. See Mazzuchelli, with a long list of his works, printed and ms.; V. Cian in *Arch. stor. Lombardo*, xvii (1890), 811-65; O. Giardini, *ibid.* xxx (1903), 294-346; and E. Costa in *Arch. stor. Italiano*, xxxvi (1905), 100-35.

Alciati's reputation was made early: see the honourable mentions in Zasius' *Lucubrations*, 1518, p. 17 (Ep. 862), in Mosellanus' *Oratio de linguarum cognitione*, Leipzig, V. Schumann, Aug. 1518, f. D<sup>1</sup>, and in Erasmus' *Adag.* 259, 445, inserted in the Froben edition of Feb. 1526, and 3836, added in March 1533: also many letters in ZE, and Horawitz i. 17. His most important composition was the legal treatise *De verborum significatione*, written as early as 1523, but not printed till 1530, Lyons, S. Gryphius, with a dedication to Card. Tournon. In his later years he produced a collected edition of his works, finely printed by Isingrinus, Basle, 1546-9, in four volumes. He is best known through a volume of about 200 *Emblemata*, or symbolic epigrams, which, when published with illustrations, set the fashion of an 'emblem-literature', and were soon widely imitated. The first edition appeared at Augsburg, H. Steyner, 28 Feb. 1531, dedicated to Peutinger; and translations were made into French 1536, into German 1542, into Italian and Spanish 1549, into English 1586. Altogether about 180 editions of it are known: see an elaborate bibliography by H. Green, 1872.

Of his correspondence much remains. Ten letters exchanged with Erasmus survive. There are 7 letters to him, 1518-21, in the letter-book of Alex. Minutianus at Milan (Brera MS. AD. XI. 31). P. Burmann in *M. Gudii Epistolae*, 1697, pp. 75-114, printed 27 of his letters, 1518-40, 26 of which are to F. Calvus (Ep. 581. 30n). The Basle MS. G. II. 14 contains 78 original letters from him to Boniface Amerbach, 1521-49; of which 14 are printed by Giardini, and many extracts given by Costa. Boniface's replies are to be found in 63 rough drafts in the Basle MSS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 54 and 73; a few of which are printed in Am. E. Cian prints 8 letters to Bembo, 1532-5, communicated by P. de Nolhac from the Vatican MS. Barb. Lat. 2158 (xxx. 43); and shows that the letters to Fran. Alciati mentioned by Mazzuchelli as in the Visconti Library at Milan are now in the Trivulziana there, but are of little importance. The first letter in Jac. de Boyssone's letter-book (Toulouse MS. 834) is from Alciati, 1534: see also Calc. E. p. 213, Sad. E., VZE and ZE.

ERASMVS ROTEROD. ANDREAE ALCIATO S. D.

ERVDITISSIME vir, Bonifacius Amerbachius, candidus ac bene vocalis praeco laudum tuarum, non tantum sua praedicatione, quam nunquam de te non honorificentissimam facit, verumetiam ostensis lucubrationibus tuis, quas habet in deliciis, effecit vt vehementer suspicere coeperim eruditionem tuam pro modo aetatis pene incredibilem, et mores niueos omnibusque Gratiis refertos.

Pyrri nostri mors mihi fuit acerba. Amabam hominis ingenium sic vt. vix vilius aequae: nam mihi cognitus est a puero. Et illius

2. praeco] Cf. Epp. 1020. 55-6, 1201. 140 introd. He had been Erasmus' pupil in Paris in 1501; cf. Ep. 140.

7. Pyrri] d'Angleberme; see Ep. 345.



gratia magis auebam adire Mediolanum, ni stolidus Mauors tumultu  
vesano misceret omnia. Scripserat enim mihi se nescio quid habere <sup>10</sup>  
mearum nugarum, quas ipse non meminissem me scripsisse. Eas  
ego certe cupiebam auferre, non ob aliud nisi vt abolerem. Nam  
Germani quidam stultissimo consilio nunc nihil non euulgant,  
quantumuis laedant hominis famam.

Quod sollicite mones de Declamatione tua in literis ad Bonifacium, <sup>15</sup>  
ipse caueram diligenter, adeo vt nec legendam cuiquam dederim,  
excepto vno amiculo, sed spectatissimae fidei. Quare hac de re in  
vtramuis aurem dormias licebit. Bene vale.

Basileae postridie Idus Decembris, Anno M.D.XXI.

1251. FROM JOHN SAPIDUS.

Breslau MS. Rehd. 254. 132.

EE<sup>1</sup>. 9.

(Schlettstadt.)

30 December 1521.

[An original letter, autograph throughout. The year-date is confirmed by  
Erasmus' recent return to Basle. I have no clue to his visitors, who had been  
Sapidus' pupils.]

IOANNES SAPIDVS ERASMO ROTERODAMO S. D.

QVI tibi has ferunt literas, Erasme, omnium quos vnquam habui  
vel habiturus sum amicos charissime, vbi certa fama didicerunt te  
nobis redditum atque iam Basileae agentem, solo eoque admirabili  
tui videndi desyderio illecti ac impulsu huc profectisunt, relictis  
parentibus, patria et rebus domesticis, non habito respectu vel <sup>5</sup>  
itineris tam propter rigorem frigoris quam ob alias res non satis  
commodi, nec etiam sumptus faciendi. Magnum sit oportet quod  
eos tantopere vrget ad te videndum. Nam quo id commodius (vt  
ipsi putarunt) et possent et sibi liceret, declinarunt aliquot miliis  
a recta et instituta via ad me, vt eius literis quo olim vsisunt prae- <sup>10</sup>  
ceptore et quem plurimum apud Erasmum valere persuasisunt, tibi  
commendarentur. Ego itaque, mi Erasme, etsi inuitus, maxime hoc  
tempore quo tu plurimis atque illis seriis et arduis detineris negotiis,  
te meis nugis inturbem, neque mihi quoque per meas occupationes  
facile liceat, non potui tamen [me cohibere quin] iuuenibus, moribus <sup>15</sup>  
simul et ingenio praeditis, tui studiosissimis ac tam honesta sollicite  
magis quam oportune petentibus, non morem gerere. Agnosco  
ea in re ipse meam inciuilitatem, quam prorsus nihil tale abs te  
petere debebam; agnosco tamen et tuam humanitatem quae melior

19. debeba MS., vbi extrema litera in fine lineae periit.

1250. 9. Mauors] Cf. Ep. 1248. 14n.  
Milan had been captured from the  
French by the Papal army on 19 Nov.;  
see Brewer iii. 1809, Creighton v. 161.  
11. nugarum] Perhaps the transla-

tion of the *Odyssey*; see Ep. 131. 3nn.

13. Germani] Cf. Ep. 1186. 22n.

15. Declamatione] Cf. Ep. 1201. 15n.

1251. 6. rigorem frigoris] For bad  
weather at this time cf. Ep. 1252. 17-18.

20 est quam vt non boni consulat meam petitionem. Quare in te situm  
est, imo fac tuae partes sint, vt sicut isti me tui causa exorauerunt,  
ita me rursus te ipsorum causa exorare sinas: quod tum facies quum  
te ipsis, quod vnice impetratum cupiunt, spectaculum praeberis.  
Festina eorum abitio me prohibet plura scribere. Cupio isthic  
25 omnes meo nomine salutari.

Vale. M D XXI. III. Ca. Ianuarias.

Domino Erasmo Rot. rodamo, viro omnium doctissimo, praeceptori  
suo opt. max.

## APPENDIX XIV

### EPPENDORFF'S COPY OF THE *EPISTOLAE AD DIVERSOS*.

IN the library of the late Dr. Seeböhm, which is still preserved in his home at Hitchin, is a copy of Erasmus' *Epistolae ad diversos* (F), Basle, Froben, 31 Aug. 1521, to which former owners have imparted considerable interest. On the inside of the cover, which is clearly the original binding, is inscribed by a contemporary hand, 'Danielo Stibaro, equiti Franco, Basileae XII Cl. Iulii XXVIII'; on the fly-leaf opposite are the words 'Sum Danieli Stibari equitis'; and at the end, in contemporary manuscript, on the blank space of p. 668 and the fly-leaf which follows, are two letters from Melanchthon to Erasmus, the second being Lond. Mel. iii. 66, iv. 65, LB. 952, of 23 March 1528, and the first a short note of the same date which does not seem to be found in any other source, introducing Melanchthon's pupil, John Reyffensteyn, who had known Erasmus and Goclenius formerly at Louvain (ME. 515, 1081).

Daniel Stibarus (1503-1555) of Rabeneck, between Bamberg and Bayreuth, was a young Franconian knight who had been an ardent fellow-student with Camerarius (*Narratio de Eobano*, 1553, f<sup>o</sup>. C<sup>2</sup>) at Erfurt c. 1520. He visited Basle in 1528 and stayed for some time in Erasmus' house (cf. Q. 39): also reading law with Boniface Amerbach. Later in the year he went on to Paris, and returned by way of Antwerp, Louvain and Frankfort to Franconia in the spring. In the winter of 1529-30 he was again for some months with Erasmus at Freiburg: whence he returned to Würzburg to the duties of a canonry, which had been conferred upon him in early life, and to become councillor to the Bishop (p. 306). Four letters written to him by Melanchthon between 1536 and 1554 survive; in which he is saluted as a patron, and pleasure is expressed at his retaining 'memoriam nostrae veteris consuetudinis' (ME. 1471). The two letters from Melanchthon to Erasmus copied into the Seeböhm volume must have arrived at Basle not long before Stibarus acquired it. It is therefore not surprising that Stibarus should have had them copied into his book: the handwriting is not his own.

But the volume had had a previous owner. In the inscription on the front fly-leaf only the name 'Danieli Stibari' is in his autograph, written over an erasure. The outer words, 'Sum' and 'equitis', are by an earlier hand, and between them was a name which has been so thoroughly scratched out that even when the clue is supplied, it is not easily decipherable. But at numerous points throughout the book are marginal comments in manuscript by the same hand,

which make it possible to identify the writer. Dr. Carl Roth, of the University Library at Basle, has kindly supplied me with a photograph of an autograph letter (printed below) from the Amorbach collection; and this shows conclusively that the earlier hand is that of Henry of Eppendorff in Meissen (p. 303), and that the name erased can be read as 'Henrici Eppendorpii'. This young Saxon knight's acquaintance with Erasmus had begun at Louvain in 1520 with an exchange of compliments. He then went to the University of Freiburg; but after a somewhat chequered career there, he left in the spring of 1522 and followed Erasmus to Basle. Intimacy soon arose between them. For some time he lived in Erasmus' household; and they went together to Constance in Sept. 1522 to stay with Botzheim. But this accord did not last long. Eppendorff's sympathies were with reform. He hated the monks and friars as cordially as did Erasmus; but in action he was prepared to go much farther. When Hutten transformed Luther's religious protest into a national crusade for the unification of Germany, Eppendorff caught eagerly at the inspiring idea and was for pursuing it with all his strength. Erasmus' cautious moderation became distasteful to him; and when to this was added in 1523 the breach between Erasmus and Hutten, ending in bitter recriminations, Eppendorff was entirely alienated.

While still at Freiburg he wrote to Boniface Amerbach, 20 March 1522 (Basle MS. G. II. 29. 107: the letter mentioned above):

S. Ex te scire cupio, optime Amorbachii, an nostri ioci visi sint Erasmo tam suaues vt eos responso dignetur. Queso vrgeas vt scribat, suppresso tamen me instigatore. Apud nostros rumor est aquilam a vobis e Mediolano agro profligatam, nobis non admodum  
5 iucunda noua. Sed quando ita insaniunt principes, velim huiusmodi trophea sepius referrent domum, vt hominibus simul ac pecunia attrita, miseris mortalibus pace frui tandem concederent! Verum tu tuos triumphos apud me effunde liberius.

Epistolas Erasmi cura mihi quam elegantissime apud vos ligari,  
10 atque isto nuntio mihi rescribere quid pro illis numerandum sit. Faciam vt reddita pecunia proximo nuntio ad me veniant. Interim vale foelicissime ex Friburgo xx Martii M D XXII.

Henricus ab Eppendorff.

To this Boniface replied promptly (Basle MS. C. VI<sup>a</sup>. 73. 204: 23 March), saying: 'Erasum tua comitate tantum abest vt leseris, vt etiam tibi alioquin deditum reddideris deuinctiorem. Respondebit literis tuis statim atque nunciorum oportunitate potuerit. . . . Epistolare concinnatum aureo coronato vendi dicit Hieronymus (Frobenius)'. The identification of the handwriting makes it clear that the Seebohm volume is the copy ordered here.

Having obtained the book thus, Eppendorff proceeded to enrich the margins here and there with notes. These show very evidently his personal feelings and prejudices; his hostility to the orthodox party and its representatives, his admiration for Hutten and Luther,

2. vt eos scripsi: et eos MS.

4. e scripsi: q MS.

and his changing sentiments towards Erasmus. A few are concerned with persons mentioned in the letters. Thus:

1. p. 280. 5, *nebulonem* (Ep. 911. 44,5): Is est Tranquillus Parthenius, homo preter literas, quas non vulgares habet, summe etiam innocens. Non erat candoris Mosellani absenti et nihil tale merito vulnus infligere.
2. p. 282. 7, *Sedunensis* (Ep. 948. 95): Qui mortuus est Rome 1522. Hic multarum cedium author fuit. Huius mense apud Tigurinos adhibitus, miram vafritiem hominis deprehendi.
3. p. 500. 6, *Volzi* (Ep. 1075. 16): Voltzio nihil vidi vnquam purius.
4. p. 510. 3-8, *Stromerum* etc. (Ep. 1125. 24-30): Mosella(ni) illa sunt commentaria. Is enim, cum in Brabantia essem, hos viros ita depinxit, nescio per deos quam vere.
5. p. 513. 19, *ἀθροολώττω* (Ep. 1051 tit.): Hadriano Barlando.
6. p. 539. 19, *Palaeologus* (Ep. 1132. 19): Palaeologorum familia olim regalis erat: ex qua et Lascharis progenitus est, qui nuper iam decrepita aetate nothi Principis Sabaudie sororem in vxorem duxit, ad Heluetios a Gallo orator missus, Anno MDXXII.
7. p. 614. 3, *iuuene reuocato* (Ep. 1200. 1): Is est Hieronymus Phrysus, qui mecum fuit Friburgi, a nobis et amatus et adiutus.
8. p. 635. 5, *in ocium sese recipiunt* (Ep. 1238. 34-5): Sic faciunt Lippenzes sophiste, posteaquam in collegiaturas, vt vocant, inciderunt.

Towards Erasmus, beginning with the desire to claim him for Germany, he ends with criticism and reproaches. Thus:

9. p. 504. 11, *Germanorum* (Ep. 1123. 3): Nusquam non prodit suos in Germanos affectus.
10. p. 615. 10, *homo Germanus* (Ep. 307. 10): Germanus iam es, Eras(me)!
11. p. 296. 2, *Concionandi rationem* (Ep. 932. 18): Hanc iam conscripsit, sed nescio quando sit editurus. 1523.
12. p. 495. 32,3, *Germania prorsus insanit in Leum* (Ep. 1129. 15): Licentior Erasmi lingua! Quasi ad hoc non sis adhortatus, imo impuleris omnes!
13. p. 623. 7,8, *cohibui* (Ep. 998. 67): Quasi tu eos non admonueris epistola vt Leum etiam lapidarent!
14. p. 529. 12,13, *nisi nonnunquam fuco doloque bono fallatur* (Ep. 1167. 171-2): Nescio certe an hoc pacto in fidei negotio agendum sit.
15. p. 294. 32,3, *fac ne ignoret vel studium erga te meum posteritas* (Ep. 923. 25,6): Quod Spongia praestabit.
16. p. 547. 29,30, *Hoc animo puto me maiorem gratiam initurum apud Iesum* (Ep. 1205. 50-1): O Erasme, Erasme, oratio bona est. Vtinam responderet illi animus! quem fortassis iam olim huius mundi principibus vouisti.

Hutten's name is often picked out in the margin ; and for Luther there is nothing but praise.

17. p. 538. 26, *Nec addubito quin id aliquanto felicius illi* (Henry VIII) *successerit* (Ep. 1227. 25-6): Imo longe infoelitus; nam conuitiis Luthe(rum) aggressus est. Ideo indignissime exceptus et traductus, domesticus dedecoris, tantum non stulti cerebri notatus.
18. p. 571. 1-3, *tota illius vita nihil erat nisi sacra concio*, etc. (Ep. 1211. 98): Talis est Lutherus ter maximus.

The orthodox freely provoke his ire, and he singles out the name of Egmondanus (Ep. 878. 13n) for abusive comment, frequently supplying the clue to his identity.

19. p. 562. 2 (Ep. 1172. 25): Egmondanus ebrius.
20. p. 564. 10 (Ep. 1173. 92): Egregius nebulo Egmon.
21. p. 283. 5 (Ep. 948. 110): Eemundanus. But see my note on this passage.
22. p. 526. 12 (Ep. 1147. 95): Car. Ec.
23. p. 527. 11 (Ep. 1167. 43): Camelus Ec.
24. p. 603. 1, *quodam* (Ep. 1196. 105): Eemundano.

He is very bitter against the Dominicans too, especially Hochstrat (Ep. 290. 10n) and John Faber, the theologian (p. 357).

25. p. 527. 7 (Ep. 1167. 39): Dominicani boni socii !
26. p. 564. 16 (Ep. 1173. 130): Preclare gesta nebulonum Predicatorum.
27. p. 503. 15-17 (Ep. 1030. 16-19): Animi morbum corporis deformitate refert. Nihil vidi hoc homine turpius.
28. p. 502. 17 (Ep. 1151. 1): Superciliosus est, nebulo est, indoctus est et monacho impudentior.
29. pp. 515. 13, 516. 12 (Ep. 1156. 3, 42, 70-1): Sceleratus et sui sodalitiis similis Faber. Illa tribuis Fabro, cum tua sint. Eccius, Faber, Doctor Ihesus, Predica(tores) et sexcenti id genus.
30. p. 520. 18 (Ep. 1149. 14): Tertio commendat nebulonem.
31. p. 524. 19 (Ep. 1152. 12): Ioannes Faber nebulo.
32. p. 532. 1-2 (Ep. 1167. 347-9): Vt sunt Ioannes Eccius, Ioannes Faber, Prieras, Caietanus et sexcenti alii.

Further evidence of his partisanship is :

33. p. 532. 10, 11 (Ep. 1167. 359-60): Aleander et Caractiolus nebulonum fex.

And against the denunciation of the 'heresy' which consists in unchristian life he adds :

34. p. 664. 18-5 (Ep. 1232. 89-98): O vtinam pro hac heresi haberemus siue Basilidis siue Manichei !

These *marginalia* were no doubt written for the most part during the period of Eppendorff's close association with Erasmus in 1522-3 ; and thus though one of the identifications (No. 21) appears to be

incorrect—a hasty inference into which, from the frequent vilification of Egmondanus, it was easy for Eppendorff to fall—, it may be presumed that most of the scraps of information are authentic, some (Nos. 5, 7, 24) being probably derived from Erasmus himself. It is the more to be regretted that Eppendorff did not read, or at least annotate, the letters more thoroughly: for not one in twenty has his comments. After the breach he continued for a time to write hostile animadversions on Erasmus; but it appears that he soon lost interest in this. If there is any truth in the insinuation that he was in difficulties for money, he was doubtless glad enough to dispose of a book, the author of which he now detested, for some part of the gold crown which it had cost: and thus it was in the second-hand book market for Stibarus to buy a few years later.

## APPENDIX XV

### THE HEINE COLLECTION

AMONG the notes of the late Dr. Max Reich of Berlin, which the Delegates of the Clarendon Press were good enough to purchase in 1905 for the purpose of this edition, was a letter of Professor Linz, dated 1900, enclosing a list of a collection of letters formed in Spain in 1846-7, by Dr. Gotthold Heine of Berlin. This young scholar, as Dr. Ernst Crous of Berlin kindly discovered for me in 1913, died on 22 March 1848, in his twenty-eighth year, as the result of a chance bullet-wound received four days before during the Revolution.<sup>1</sup> While travelling in Spain and Portugal he had written reports of his progress, which were printed in the *Serapeum*;<sup>2</sup> and he had brought back with him a great number of papers, some copied and others bought.<sup>3</sup> Before his untimely death a few first-fruits had been published;<sup>4</sup> but of the collection of letters now to be considered no use had been made, nor is there any mention of it in his reports. It passed into the hands of the celebrated Dr. Döllinger, the leader of the Old Catholics; and later on to his successor, Professor Friedrich. In the summer of 1907 Professor Friedrich most obligingly placed the letters in our hands at Munich, and gave us opportunity to examine them at leisure, with permission to copy and publish such as we desired.

The collection contained twenty-four letters in all, in two sections—seven copied by Heine himself,<sup>5</sup> and seventeen by an earlier hand, very neat and careful, perhaps a Spanish copyist of the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The originals of the seven letters copied by Heine are to be found in a volume of manuscripts now, and then, belonging to the Royal Academy of History at Madrid:<sup>6</sup> and as Heine notes against his first copy that the address was written by Erasmus himself, the rest of the letter being by a secretary, it may reasonably be inferred that it was copied directly from the Madrid autograph, which has just the condition he describes.

Of the seventeen letters in the second section, which may be

<sup>1</sup> See *Vossische Zeitung*, 25 March 1848, and *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*, 28 March, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> *Serapeum*, vols. vii and viii, July 1846, March and April 1847.

<sup>3</sup> See E. Boehmer in *Deutsche Zs. f. christliche Wissenschaft*, N. F. iv (1861), pp. 345, 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Briefe an Kaiser Karl v, geschrieben von seinem Beichtvater in den Jahren 1530-32*, Berlin, 1848. The *Monumenta regni*

*Gothorum et Arabum in Hispaniis*, Leipzig, 1848, posthumously completed by M. J. E. Volbeding, was in the press.

<sup>5</sup> Four of these are between Erasmus and Gattinara, 1525-8, one being Lond. xx. 63, LB. 967. The other three are from the correspondence of A. Valdes, and have been printed by F. Caballero, *Alonso y Juan de Valdes*, 1875, pp. 432, 395, 335.

<sup>6</sup> Est. 18, gr. 1. 5.



numbered viii-xxiv, a list is given at the end of this Appendix. They consist of seven written by or to Erasmus, of which two are printed in vol. v (Epp. 1277, 1312), and five follow later, 1525-31: four are between John Vergara and Stunica, and are printed below: and there are six others, one of which (No. xx) is by Benedictus Arias Montanus.

As to the provenience of this series of seventeen, by the earlier hand, there are no clear indications. Two of them<sup>1</sup> were doubtless copied from the ms. which Heine had at Madrid; since their originals are there. But the only other clue to origin is in a note by the copyist, on a separate sheet: 'Copiada del tomo 412, folio 588 y 589. Esta escrita en el original en tres llanas. Segun la calidad de las varias emiendas, es original de Arias Montano la letra de que esta escrita. Es de advertir que, sino vna o dos veces, nunca mas pone tilde a la i, quando yere, como en *aduino*. El primer blanco esta assi en el original'. This clearly refers to some writing by Arias Montanus which is not now in the set; but which was in his autograph. There cannot be many collections of mss. large enough to contain 400 volumes of a series, each possibly with about 600 folios. If the source of this autograph composition could be traced, it might lead to the recovery of the originals of the letters. For another ms. in the Bibl. Nacional at Madrid, which is perhaps by the same hand, see p. 631.

How this second section passed into Heine's hands there is nothing to show. It is not uncommon to find later copies existing, side by side with original letters (cf. Ep. 1218 introd.)—made perhaps for the purpose of sending to the press. Thus the Nève collection (App. 16 in vol. v), when bought for the British Museum and Bodleian, possessed besides the originals, a series of inaccurate copies made for Mgr. de Ram, who had intended to publish them: again, Dr. Dollinger had had the last nine of Heine's second section copied, doubtless for the purpose of printing. It may well be that the owners of the originals of Heine's second section at some period entertained a similar design; and that later some reasonably generous librarian or archivist presented the copies to Heine on the occasion of his Spanish visit, with a view to their being published when Heine returned to Germany.

Vergara's correspondent, Jacobus Lopis Stunica (Diego Lopez Zuñiga), was a member of a distinguished Spanish family (? cf. Ep. 487. 14n); and as a theologian of the University of Alcalá had a competent knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. On the appearance of Erasmus' *Nouum Instrumentum*, 1516, he prepared some criticisms which he wished to publish. Ximenes forbade him (Ep. 1128. 4n); but on the Cardinal's death Stunica produced his two series of *Annotationes* against Faber Stapulensis and Erasmus (Ep. 1128. 3n). From ff. A<sup>s</sup> and A<sup>2</sup> of these two publications it is evident that he was one of the editors of the Complutensian Polyglott, though his name does not appear in it: for his part in the work see F. Delitzsch, *Studies on the Complut. Polyglot*, 1872, pp. 24-32. About the end of

<sup>1</sup> Nos. viii (printed by Prof. Bonilla 541-8) and xiii (Lond. xix. 32, LB. in *Revue Hispanique*, xvii, 1907, pp. 962).

Aug. 1520 he set out from Alcala for Rome, where he arrived on 9 Feb. 1521: see his *Itinerarium* dedicated to his brother, Joannes Stunica, who was a Knight of the Order of Santiago, Rome, M. Silber, 1522 (reprinted by Andr. Schottus, *Hispaniae Bibliotheca*, 1608, pp. 624-49). Silber also printed for him in the same year an *Epistola* to Adrian VI (Panzer viii. 265). Stunica continued at Rome his attacks upon Erasmus' work; and in consequence his name appears frequently in Erasmus' correspondence, with great obloquy. But after some years better feeling prevailed: and instead of publishing the criticisms which he had made upon Erasmus' fourth edition of the New Testament, 1527, Stunica proposed to communicate them to him privately. From this he was prevented by his death, which occurred at Naples about the end of 1531: see cap. 32 of Sepulveda's *Antapologia pro Alberto Pio in Erasmus*, Rome, A. Bladus, 1532 (Panzer viii. 275), and Sep. E. ii. 1 and 2, cf. EE. 176. The *Antapologia* mentions also (cap. 19) that c. July 1529 Stunica and Sepulveda accompanied Cardinal Quignon on his mission to meet Charles V at Genoa: cf. J. Wickham Legg, *Second Recension of the Quignon Breviary*, 1912, p. 96. During the Imperial visit Choler saw him at Bologna and formed a good opinion of his feelings towards Erasmus (EE<sup>2</sup>. 80). See Nic. Antonio, *Bibl. Hispana noua*, i, 1783, pp. 295-6; and A. Bludau, *Erasmus-Ausgaben des N. T.*, 1902, pp. 125-40.

In order to elucidate Epp. 1277 and 1312 and the letters which follow here, the series of publications by Erasmus and Stunica during the course of their controversy may be detailed:—

1. Annotationes contra Erasmus Roterodamum, in defensionem translationis Noui Testamenti, Alcala, A. G. Brocario, 1520, fol.
2. Apologia respondens ad ea quae Iacobus Lopus Stunica taxauerat in prima duntaxat Noui Testamenti aeditione. Louvain, Th. Martens, (Sept. 1521; cf. Epp. 1235, 6), 4°. Enlarged later for inclusion in the *Apologiae omnes*, Basle, Froben, Oct. 1521—Feb. 1522, fol.
3. Erasmi Roterodami Blasphemiae et Impietates per Iacobum Lopidem Stunicam nunc primum propalatae ac proprio volumine alias redargutae. Rome, A. Bladus, 1522. 4°.
4. Apologia aduersus libellum Stunicae cui titulum fecit, Blasphemiae et Impietates Erasmi: 13 June 1522. Published in Erasmus' *De esu carnum*, Basle, Froben, 6 Aug. 1522, 8°, and in his *Apologia contra Sanctium Caranzam*, Basle, Froben, 1522, 8°.
5. Libellus trium illorum voluminum praecursor, quibus Erasmicas impietates ac blasphemias redarguit. Rome, A. Bladus, 1522. 4°.
6. Apologia ad prodromon Stunicae: an Appendix to 4, printed in the same volumes.
7. Conclusiones principaliter suspectae et scandalosae quae reperiuntur in libris Erasmi Roterodami. Rome, 1523.
8. Apologia ad Stunicae conclusiones: 1 March 1524 (Ep. 1428). Printed, with 7, in *Exomologesis*, Basle, Froben, 1524. 8°.
9. Apologia Ecclesiasticae translationis Noui Testamenti a soloecismis quos illi Erasmus Roterodamus impeggerat.
10. Loca quae ex Stunicae annotationibus, illius suppresso nomine, in tertia editione Noui Testamenti Erasmus emendauit, Rome, s. n., 1524. 4°.

## LETTERS BETWEEN JOHN VERGARA AND STUNICA.

## No. 1. FROM VERGARA TO STUNICA.

Heine MS. XXIII.

(Brussels.)  
(10 October 1521.)

[The dates are given in No. 2, which answers this.]

MISERAM ad te in Hispaniam abhinc sesquiannum ferme Annotationes Laei cuiusdam Angli in editionem Noui Testamenti Erasmicam vna cum Erasmi ipsius defensione, non iniucundum tibi fore ratus et doctum hominem eodem tecum argumento certantem et propugnantem altrinsecus aduersarium, seque aduersum te iam tum velut praemuentem conspicere. Verum quoniam tu forte eodem tempore Romam concesseras, cessit videlicet in irritum meus labor. Nunc cum Apologiam Erasmi, qua ad Annotationes tuas respondet, prodiisse viderem, longe magis ad officium meum pertinere putavi eam ad te mittere. Accipies igitur vna cum his literis librum vt melius fieri potuit pressum complicatumque, ne si magno impedimento esset tabellario τὸ πᾶχος, minus forsitan ex fide proferretur. Quo magis rogo te, mihi prima quaque occasione significes, redditusne tibi liber fuerit.

Caeterum quid mecum hac de re Erasmus egerit, quoniam video scire cupis, paucis accipe. Vt primum ex Hispania Brugas appuli, conuenit me homo, iam diu expectatione mei suspensum se esse dicens, rogansque traderem sibi librum quendam Annotationum, quem Stunica quispiam, vnus ex spinosis (Academiae) Complutensis sophistis, edidisset in suam Noui Testamenti editionem: esse enim se per literas monitum ab amico Flamingo in Hispania agente (cui ego id ipsum olim praesens promiserim) librum me allaturum. Vt vero audiuit relictum (id quod res erat) per obliuionem, dolere vel ob id maxime respondit, quod sese tunc tertiae editioni inuulgandae accingeret. 'Nam secunda' inquit 'iam diu exiit: quo magis intelligo maligne ab Stunica, dissimulata secunda editione, in qua permulta ex prima correxerim, primam potius tanquam vberiore carpendi materiam fuisse petitam'. Ibi tum ego homini persancte iuravi, minime adhuc peruenisse in Hispaniam secundam editionem; nec item esse te de numero spinosorum sophistarum, sed is potius qui bonis vtriusque linguae authoribus tum sacris tum prophanis, Hebraicis praeterea litteris, assiduam operam dederis, et a quo non aristas sophisticas, sed iusta spicula deberet pertimescere. Virum adhec et claris natalibus et propria virtute inter tuos conspicuum: addita insuper quaecunque mihi ad ornandam pro tempore augendamque dignitatem tuam facere visa sunt. Vnum cum pro comperto praeteriissem, sacris te initiatum, in eo video hominem aberrasse, qui te prophanum in Apologia appellet. Rogauit deinde num virulentus esset liber, quo maxime nomine offensum se aiebat ab Leo: id enim se non laturum. Respondi non omnino carere libertate, quamuis tu te in eo mediocriter temperaueris, homo tali παραρησίᾳ vt non temere omnibus parcas. Atque haec quidem primo congressu. Dein intel-

lexi ab communi amico suspicari Erasmum aliquid me monstri alere, qui librum quidem adduxerim, sed cuipiam potius ex suis emulis,  
 45 Laei fautoribus, tradere maluerim, aut certe supprimerem, quo sibi minus liceret ἀπολογίζεσθαι.

Paucis post interiectis diebus, ad cenam ab Erasmo inuitatus, cum me ab hac suspitione purgassem, ibi tum ille incipit de integro priorem suspitionem vrgere de dissimulata a te secunda editione.  
 50 Non esse verisimile quin quae tu ante secundam editionem scripsisses, multo fuissent ante in lucem proditura quam prodierint; delegisse te sedulo in quod spatiosius inuehereris. Ita factum ab Laeo: ita solere ab iis fieri qui ansas calumniandi vndecunque conquirunt. Quo hominem scrupulo dum libero, exposui fuisse me testem prope  
 55 oculatum, cum primum editio illa prima fuerit in Hispania visa, in eam te cepisse scribere; ac librum iam Annotationum cum esses sub nomine reuerendissimi domini Cardinalis, communis patroni, inuulgaturus, admonitum te blande a viro religioso et omnium iuxta studiosorum candido fautore fuisse, significares potius Erasmo per litteras  
 60 errata quae deprehendisses quam inuectiuam in eum conscriberes. Cuius tu dum voluntati (suppressa ad aliquot dies editione) morem geris, serius aliquanto edidisse: quod diu ante paraueras. Visus est mihi πεῖθεσθαι: cumque ibi ego prouinciam mihi cepissem curandi librum ad illum ex Hispania perferendi digressi sumus.  
 65 Profectio inde euenit mihi in Germaniam. Vnde post multas dies reuersus, intelligo peruenisse ad Erasmum, siue amici illius Flamingi siue cuiuspiam alterius opera, codicem Annotationum tuarum. Cumque multo iam tempore hominem non vidissem, proximis diebus conspicio eum Louanii calcographis tradentem Apologiam hanc ipsam;  
 70 quam ex ipso statim praelo redemptam ad te mitto. Tum rogatus cur vna Annotationes tuas non adiungeret, quod fecerat in Apologia contra Leum—sic enim melius rem transigi, si sub lectorum oculis iuditioque et accusantis et defendentis argumenta subiiciantur—, respondit satis per te vulgatas Annotationes tuas, non egere secunda editione.  
 75 Addidit, intellexisse ex literis ad se Bombasii cuiusdam Romani, edixisse tibi Leonem Pont. Max., interdixisseque ne Erasmum Erasmiue editiones Noui Testamenti incesseres, quas ipse modo decreto approbasset.

Haec sunt quae in rem tuam esse putavi vt scires. Caeterum  
 80 Erasmus, quantum mihi hominem prospicere datur, vir est acerrimo ingenio iuditioque, expeditissima facilitate et qua nonnumquam nimium fretus videri possit emittendis tumultuariis et parum concoctis editionibus—verum de hoc eruditorum esto iudicium: ad haec studio indefesso ac prope immenso. Fama fruitur quanta non  
 85 temere quemquam multis retro seculis viuentem fruitum crediderim. In multa doctorum virorum copia quos et Germania passim Belgicaque et Britannia fouet, vnus Erasmus suspicatur, colitur, adoratur, certatim in coelum fertur; et cum ipsi nonnunquam inter se mutuis (vt fit) stili vulneribus conficiantur, solus Erasmus, ἔξω βέλους positus  
 90 et veluti in orchestra sedens, gladiatores contemplatur, laudibus vtrunque faustisque acclamationibus oneratus. Nemo iam librum, nemo orationem, nemo pagellam in publicum edit, qui non statim captata occasione Erasmi nomen, et quidem literis maiusculis conscriptum, adiunctis honestissimis elogiis, veluti impetrandae veniae

causa celebret. Nullum bibliopolis certius ad conciliandos emptores 95  
 illicium quam praelatus libris omnibus Erasmi recognitoris, castiga-  
 toris, annotatoris titulus; nullusque tam pretiosus liber, nullus con-  
 tra tam despectus ac vilis, cui non autoritas maiestasque ex Erasmi  
 lemmate accedat. Et ne singula prosequar, regnat, mihi crede, in  
 media doctorum indoctorumque arena. Vnus Laeus inuentus est qui 100  
 auderet Erasmus scriptis lacessere, sed fortius fortasse aut iustius  
 quam foelicius. Non aliter acceptus est quam Zoilus quispiam in  
 Homerum aut Momus in Venerem. Vix librum emiserat, ecce tibi  
 exeunt vndique inuectiuae, oratiunculae, scazontes, dirae, miserum  
 Laeum miseris modis lacerantes, vt vel stilis confodiendus, si se in 105  
 publicum dedisset, videretur.

Verum ego vt semel tandem finiam, exactiorem de literatura cen-  
 suram doctioribus tuique similibus mandans, amo plane venerorque  
 indefatigabile in homine sene studium, incredibilem rei literariae  
 ardorem, vitam conuictumque plane scholasticum. Et tu, si mihi 110  
 credis, redibis in gratiam cum homine literato literatus ipse. Ad eam  
 conciliandam si quis mei vsus fuerit, praesto tibi sum aequae ac in  
 ceteris quaecunque ad dignitatem tuam tuendam amplificandamque  
 pertinere intellexero. Vale.

## NO. 2. FROM STUNICA TO VERGARA.

Heine MS. XI.

Rome.

9 January 1522.

[Answering No. 1, and referring to Ep. 1236. 53-61. The dates are confirmed  
 by the death of Leo x and the election of Adrian vi. A note preserved by the  
 copyist, 'Resp<sup>da</sup> postremo de Hebrero', shows that Vergara replied on 28 Feb.:  
 but his letter has been lost. The mention (ll. 102-7) of Jo. Eberlin of Günzburg's  
*xv Bundtgenossen* is noticeable.]

Mvy reuerendo señor. Vn emboltorio vuestro despachado en Bru-  
 xellas a x de Otubre reçebi aqui en Roma a xvi de Diziembre. Lo  
 que en el dicho emboltorio venia, era vna carta vuestra en Latin y  
 la Apologia del honrrado Erasmo, la qual auia dias que yo desseaua  
 mucho ver, por que Paulo Bombasio, secretario de monseñor de 5  
 Santicuatro, que es el (que) aqui procura por Erasmo y le fauoreçe,  
 me auia mostrado vna carta que le auia escrito el dicho Erasmo;  
 en la qual inter cetera dezia, 'Hispanus ille est Stunica qui in Anno-  
 tationes meas gloriosissime debacchatus est; cui nos breui Apologia  
 satis ciuilliter respondimus'. Ansi que yo estaua en esta expecta- 10  
 tion, de la qual me aueys quitado por vuestra virtud en enbiarme  
 con tanta diligencia la dicha Apologia: lo qual os tengo en singular  
 merçed. Quisiera que ansi mesmo ouieran venido a mis manos  
 aquellas Annotationes de Leo con la respuesta de Erasmo, que  
 dezis, señor, que me enbiastes a España: por que yo nunca las auia 15  
 visto hasta que en Genoua, quando venia aca, que era agora vn año.

Casi por este tiempo me las mostro vn cauallero de alli erudito, que ansi mesmo me mostro la segunda edition de Erasmo in Nouum Testamentum: lo qual todo fue muy nueuo para mi, por que hasta  
 20 estonçes nunca auia visto nada de aquello, ni pensaua que nadie se ouiesse adelantado a echar garrocha a esse toro tan brauo antes que yo; por que quisiera yo mucho aquella gloria.

Despues vi aquí encuadernar para el embaxador de Portugal aquellas Annotationes de Leo con la respuesta de Erasmo, y nunca otras he  
 25 podido ver en Roma, ni las ay. Por esso pidos, señor, por merçed, que con el primer mensaiero que aca venga, me las enuies para tenerlas con estotras que agora me enbiastes, y ver bien que es lo <que> aquel Leus dize, que lo ley en Genoua muy tumultuariamente. Y quanto a lo que toca a la Apologia del señor Erasmo, si yo no me engaño, el me  
 30 respondio 'satis ciuilliter', no como el entendio, sino segun suena en buen Romance Castellano. No pensaua yo que era el tan inerudito como agora he conoçido por esta su Apologia: en la qual aunque me confiesa algunos errores, le veo manifestamente defender otros mayores, palliando en quanto puede su ignorancia y defendiendo se  
 35 con su vaniloquencia. Con todo aunque estaua harto triste, como era razon, por la muerte de nuestro buen Pontifice y señor el papa Leon, no me pude contener de mucha risa leyendo esta Apologia.

Y por que por ella he conoçido que Erasmo me tiene en poco—y tiene muy gran razon, pues que hasta agora no sabia nadie, si era yo en el  
 40 mundo—, he acordado de le replicar de tal manera que le sea forçado tenerme en mucho; por que allende de lo que yo me tengo de myo, tengo aqui muy gran commodidad a causa de las librerias Griegas que aqui ay, que me hazen mucho al proposito para obruir a esse barbaro. Y determino de le responder desta manera, mostrar primero quan indoctamente  
 45 me respondio en essa su Apologia en la qual inter cetera dedita opera supprime lo que yo dixe y esta de molde; y despues desto mostrar los erores en que cayo en la segunda edition, que la tercera no se a visto aqui hasta oy, ni la ay; y despues espulgar aquellos scholios que escriuio sobre las Epistolas de San Jeronimo: y desto todo se hara vn  
 50 tan buen libro que a Erasmo le retiñan las oreias. Pero por que este es poco para lo que el mereçe, siendo como es tan impio y tan blasphemo, tengole vrdido otro libro y aun quica compuesto, aunque no esta publicado; en el qual nuestro al summo Pontifice a quien en esto conuiene poner la mano, quan neçessario es castigar a esse  
 55 Batauo y compellerle ad palinodiam, cum inter cetera impiissime ab eo prolata, decem in locis, vt ego ostendo, aperte impugnet primatum Romane Ecclesiae: vnde ansam manifestissimam suae haereseos Luteriani haeretici arripuere. Esto creo yo que le pareçera mas aspera cançion al honrrado Erasmo que no auer escrito contra sus  
 60 Annotationes; por ende podeis le bien auisar que desde agora se prouea, por que no soy yo solo el que le concita estas tragedias, saluo muchos: entre los quales es vn señor desta corte ecclesiastico y letrado Italiano, el qual leyo todas quantas obras a hecho Erasmo, no a otro fin sino a espulgarle las impiedades, et vt quasi de foueis proiceret  
 65 serpentes. Y anoto, segun he sabido, mas de çien lugares, y puestos en escrito, los presento al Papa Leon, y el Papa los dio a vn çierto letrado desta corte, que yo no he podido saber quien es, y le mando que escriuiesse contra ellos. Esto tened por muy çierto que passa ansi,

y que se procedera adelante hasta compeller a Erasmo que venga aqui y haga penitencia y se desdiga, 70

Aut taeda lucebit in illa,  
Qua stantes ardent qui fixo gutture fumant.

Sed de his hactenus dictum sit. Erasmo, segun parece, a hecho tres ediciones del Nuevo Testamento, aunque le fuera mejor si a el pluguiera no auer hecho ninguna, ni procurar de introducir tanta 75 nouedad con tanto escandalo: como adelante podra ser que vea, y quiza muy presto. Yo no he visto sino aquella que fue a Alcalá, contra quien yo escreui, y otra que es ympresa en Março del año de xix. Y solos dos volumenés desta he visto, vno en Genoua y otro aqui en Roma en casa de Monseñor de Santicuatro, y esta dizen que es la 80 segunda. Nonbra muchas vezes la tercera edition en esta Apologia, y vos me escreuis que quando ay venistes de España, se apareiaua para publicar la tercera edition. Pidos, señor, por merced, que me escriuays qual es la primera y la 2ª y la 3ª, id est en que dia y mes y año se enpremyo cada vna dellas, y que fue la causa (que) le mouio 85 a ynpremir tercera edition, pues fue tan copiosa la segunda. Y ansi mesmo desseo saber si vido mis Annotaciones antes que publicasse la tercera; y por que aqui a Roma, ni pienso que a otra parte, no enbian la 2ª ni la 3ª—por vender, segun parece, la primera—, si se pudiesse tener forma de me enbiar aca la tercera, mucha merced regebiria. 90

Ansi mesmo por que aunque estos libreros de aqui de Roma an esparzido mis Annotaciones contra Erasmo y Fabro por todas las çiudades de Italia, y ansi mesmo las an enbiado a Leon para que de alli se diffundan en Françia y Alemaña—y ay aun algunas por gastar como truxe muchas, y desseo que algunas dellas se lleuassen a Louania, 95 para que alli las viessen los amigos de Erasmo y las iuzgassen; pidos por merced que me escriuays, si an aportado alla, y que tantas, y que forma os pareceria que se podria tener para enbiar alla 50ª. (?) dellas.

Aqui vino dos meses antes que falleçiesse Papa Leon, vn theologo 100 Aleman que se llama Ekio, que es el que tuuo los primeros conflictos contra Luter, y aun esta aqui. Y truxo xv librillos en Tudesco compuestos agora nueuamente por xv Luteristas hereticos, que se an coniuurado contra la Yglesia Romana, aunque no se osan descubrir. En los tres dellos viene pintado Erasmo con su bonete doctoral, y 105 aquellos tres fundan sus impiedades cada vno sobre vn dicho dela Moria de Erasmo. De manera que ellos le tienen por de su bando, y por tal le tienen en Roma, y por tal le tenia el Papa Leon: el qual le diera su pago, si viuiera, por que de alla de Alemaña era auisado que Erasmo de secreto sentiebat cum Lutero y le emendaua y polia sus 110 libros. Y aunque desto Erasmo se enbio a excusar, no se satisfizo el Pontifice; y por esso holgo mucho, quando vido mis Annotaciones contra Erasmo, y las leyo y las loo: por que veays si es verdad lo que Erasmo os dixo que le auia escrito Bombasio. Bien haze de fauoreçerse de humos, aunque el vera al fin quanto le aprouechan. 115

Las nueuas de aca son que Papa Leon falleçio primero de Diziembre a media noche. Sus exequias se hizieron a nueue del dicho mes. Los Cardenales entraron en conclaue a xxvii. Eran todos por numero xxxx. Al dia quatorzeno del conclaue fue electo y publicado por

- 120 summo Pontifice el reuerendisimo señor Cardenal de Tortosa absente. Fueron hechas en Roma grandes alegrías de su election por la grandissima fama que tiene de virtud y santidad, y luego a la hora fueron puestas por toda la ciudad sus armas con insignias papales, id est tiara y llaues. A Domino factum est illud, et hec est dies quam fecit
- 125 Dominus. Bendito sea su nombre pues de tal pastor a proueido a su Yglesia, y en tiempo que tanto era menester. No ay mas que escreuir en esta sino que nuestro Señor guarde vuestra muy reuerenda persona.
- De Roma a 9 de Enero de 1522, que fue el dia de la election del nuevo summo Pontifice.

130

A lo que, señor, mandaredes,  
Diego Lopez de Cúñiga.

Al muy reuerendo señor el doctor Vergara, canonigo de Alcala, en la Corte en Flandes. De porte dos reales, digo dos reales.

### NO. 3. FROM STUNICA TO VERGARA.

Heine MS. XVIII.

Rome.

26 March 1522.

[Answering Vergara's letter of 28 Feb.; see No. 2 introd.]

- COMMODIORE tempore libelli abs te missi vna cum litteris tuis reddi nobis non potuerunt; absolueram enim paucis ante diebus reclamationem in Erasmus, opus quidem et argumento et voluminis magnitudine priore haud absimile, editionemque illius id solum morabatur,
- 5 quod Apologia qua Erasmus Laeo respondit, ad quam legendam quibusdam in locis nos relegat, omnino carebamus: cuius aduentu operi nostro quam maxime consultum est. Neque enim ad id edendum, tametsi hoc maxime cuperem, festinandum esse censuimus, ne pro partu quod forsitan expectabatur, aborsum fecisse videremur,
- 10 neue id nobis pene accideret quod aduersario ad sua publicanda nimis incaute properanti haud immerito saepissime contingit. Risi autem cum Erasmicos istos intellexi, Apologia illa qua ad Annotationes nostras Erasmus respondit, vires nostras non debilitatas esse solum existimare, verum etiam confractas. Nae isti ignorant, vt ego
- 15 video, Hispanam generositatem, neque nos ex ea gente ortos arbitrantur quibus vita facilius potest extorqueri quam gloria. Erasmus ego eruditum esse non ambigo; ac ni talem credidissem, non tam exiguos ego animos gero vt illum mihi in tanta litteratorum turba antagonistam delegissem. Hoc illi honori esse potest vel maximo,
- 20 hoc litteraturae non exiguum indicium, quod dignus est a nobis iudicatus cum quo de re litteraria in certamen veniremus. Verum quod ad Apologiam attinet, tantum abest illa perlecta nos esse ab incepto reuocatos, vt maiore alacritate in aduersarium fuerimus inuecti: cuius rei ansam non leuem ille nobis praestitit hoc suo tam
- 25 frigido responso. Rescripsimus haud infeliciter, vt ego existimo, atque hoc quicquid est scriptionis certissimum faciet Erasmus non



tam leuiter nos esse eruditos quantum Apologia significat. Quanquam non hoc solum in illum molimur, sed et alia maioris momenti ex quibus lectori perspectum esse poterit, non Erasmum istum qui ab annis iam multis per totum orbem perstrepat, rei litterariae arcem 30 obtinere, quod nonnulli, quae hominum est imperitia et hallucinatio, sine dubio putabant.

Sed de his nimis fortasse multa. Annotationes Laei perlegi, opus eruditum meo iudicio ac dicendi elegantia non omnino destitutum. Neque mirum si illius editione Erasmus fuerit commotus, cum tam 35 aperte tot locis crassissimae cuiuspiam inscitiae ab Leo conuincatur. Hoc est enim, vt ego arbitror, quod male habuit Erasmum, non venenata Laei spicula, quod litteris significas. Neque mihi Erasmi ad illum Apologia prorsus satisfacit, cum in ea nihil aliud captare videatur homo vafer, nisi vt proluxa loquacitate aduersarium obruat. 40 Quod peculiare Erasmo isti est, cui non tantum est curae assertio veritatum, quantum ne ab ea cadat opinione qua vulgi stultitia censetur. De tertia vero Erasmi editione in Nouum Testamentum ad nos mittenda nihil est quod labores, cum eo facilius e Basilea huc possit afferri, quo vicinior ea ciuitas est Italiae quam Belgicae. Reliquum 45 Erasmi Apologiae ad Laeum, vt litteris tuis polliceris, ad nos curabis transmittendum: Dialogum praeterea Latomi in Erasmum cum Erasmi ad eundem Apologia.

Itinerarium nostrum ex oppido Complutensi ad Urbem, et epistolam quam proximis diebus ad nouum Pontificem scripsimus, mittere ad te 50 volui, haud dubitans probanda isthic fore quae in hoc totius orbis terrarum spectaculo omnium calculis probantur. Mittemus prope diem et libellum nostrum praecursorem in tria illa volumina quibus Erasmi impietates ac blasphemias confutamus; qui quominus ad te nunc deferatur, typographi sunt in causa, homines de re quamlibet 55 leui cessatores ac mirifici operarum procrastinatores. Hunc subsequetur et alter libellus ipsas Erasmi impietates cum prologo nostro solum continens. Post hos prodibit recriminatio. Huic succedet impietatum redargutio, opus Leoni x Pont. Max. olim perlectum; quodque, nisi de medio is esset sublatus, in manus hominum iam 60 pridem deuenisset. Quintum tenebit locum is liber quo Erasmi somnia ac lapsus turpissimi ex scholiis in diui Hiero(nymi) Epistolas a nobis adnotantur: quo labore in praesentia distinemur, vt expeditiores tandem inueniamur ad expectatissimam istam tertiam Erasmi editionem in Nouum Testamentum excutiendam. Quo in opere 65 quantum in hoc litterarum genere, quod sibi tam impudenter Erasmus arrogat, valeam, nisi me animus decipit, lectori testatum faciemus. Epistolas noui Pontificis ex Hispania nuper ad Urbem allatas ad te etiam mittimus. Tu si quid erit isthuc noui quod vel nostra intersit scire vel delectet, pro tuo officio facere nos certiores nequaquam 70 praetermites. Vale.

Romae vii. Calend. Aprilis 1522.

Tuus Stunica.

Al muy reuerendo señor el doctor Vergara, canonigo de Alcala, en Flandes.

## No. 4. FROM STUNICA TO VERGARA.

Heine MS. XIX.

Rome.

4 May 1522.

[In sequence with No. 3.]

SUPERIORIBVS diebus scripsi ad te Latine; sic enim per literas tuas  
 efflagitaras. Misi praeterea tibi Itinerarium nostrum et epistolam ad  
 Pontificem: quae omnia arbitror, cum has nostras leges, ad manus  
 tuas deuenisse. En tibi opus nouum nuper exemptum praelo ac in  
 5 hac alma Vrbe per nos publicatum, Erasmi Blasphemias et Impietates  
 continens; ex quibus quo animo, qua mente, qua religione Erasmus  
 sit, facile cognosces. Reperies cum Arrio aperte sentientem, cum  
 Apollinari, cum Iouiniano, cum Viclefianis et Hussitis, cum ipso  
 denique Luterio; quem vnus Erasmus suis istis blasphemiiis ad  
 10 impietatem instruxit, armauit, edocuit. Fruantur igitur Erasmo suo  
 septemtrionales; appellent solem, appellent lunam, vocent Germaniae  
 decus et Panerasmium, vt quidam vocant, dum Italia impium ap-  
 pellet, dum Roma, mundi princeps ac domina, blasphemum iudicet,  
 dignumque qui pari cum Luterio heretico plectatur sententia, hoc est  
 15 vt hostis publicus Romanae Ecclesiae decernatur. Quod, nisi resipuerit  
 ac impie prolata recantauerit, sanctissimi Pontificis autoritate, cum  
 primum aduenerit, futurum Erasmici non dubitent.

Hec summa est huius libri qui ad te nunc vadit. Nihil erat reli-  
 quum quod te in presentia commonefacere deberemus. Vale; et  
 20 quid isti apud quos nunc agis, hac de re sentiant, ad me quamprimum  
 scribito.

Romae 4. Nonas Maias. 1522.

Tuus Stunica.

Ioanni Vergarae, theologo et canonico Complutensi.

## No. 5. FROM VERGARA TO STUNICA.

Madrid MS.

Valladolid.

7 May 1523.

[The ms. is in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid. From a rotograph supplied to me, with unfailing kindness, by Prof. Bonilla (who has printed the letter in *Clarorum Hispaniensium epistolae ineditae*, p. 19 = *Revue Hispanique*, viii, 1901, p. 193), I am of opinion that it is by the hand which copied the second section in the Heine collection (see p. 621); but, as these have been temporarily mislaid (see postscript on p. 632), the conjecture cannot be confirmed. If it were correct, it would give a further clue towards tracing the originals of Heine's mss.]

There is neither heading nor signature; but the references (ll. 6-10) to Epp. 1277, 1312 show indubitably that John Vergara is the writer. The year-date is confirmed by the interval mentioned (l. 3) since the close of the former correspondence.]

ME patriae amor statim a nauigatione, relicta Caesaris aula, domum rapuit, te eodem tempore vis pestilentiae Roma, opinor, extrusit. Ita factum est vt toto ferme anno neuter alterum litteris inuiserit. Nunc tu Pontificiae, ego Caesareae curiae restituti, age iam pristinam quoque epistolarum frequentiam restituamus. Erasmus vtrique satis 5 amplum erit argumentum. Dederam ad eum Basileae agentem litteras vna cum libello Mirandae paulo antequam e Belgis nauigarem. Respondit breuibus per epistolam, quae mihi Compluti reddita est: ex qua intellexi senatus consulto Cardinalium prohibitam Romae librorum tuorum venditionem. Id quod cum vix mihi persuadere 10 possem factum, ostendit mihi splendidus eques, frater tuus, epistolam ad se tuam, qua id conquerebaris; verum esse te in magna expectatione Pontificis, cuius in Italiam aduentu melius rebus tuis consultum iri sperares. Itaque peruelim scire quid post Pontificis aduentum egeris, num exierint etiam libri illi tui recriminatorii: quorum 15 *πρόδρομον* emiseric libellum quempiam, quem mihi frater ipse tuus tumultuarie legendum permisit. Liber Blasphemiarum quem ad me misisti, multum existimationi illi nocuit, quam tibi prioribus Annotationibus excitaras, quantum ex multorum apud Belgas congressu 20 didici; nam vt tecum libere, id est amice, agam, cum in eo catholica nonnulla pro blasphemi(i)s notare, rursus alia sub aliena et quidem Moriae persona dicta auctori imputare, an[n]licularum (nugas) et superstitiones quaspiam pro vera pietate tueri plerisque videaris, pars imperitia, multi—quique tibi aequiores videri volebant—ceca quadam maleuolentia transuersum agi te dicebant. Ego cum dignitati tuae 25 nusquam deesse soleam, in ea tamen re prorsus imparem me inuidiae sensi: quae me res impulit vt id tibi per litteras nullo fuco significandum putarem. Sed ego (quantum ex magna priorum turbarum tranquillitate auguror) pacem inter vos aut certe inducias esse existimo, equidem pacem malim. Satis enim iam datum est sto- 30 macho, satis bili: datum etiam mansuetudini, datum Christianae charitati nonnihil oportuit. Quicquid sit, aueo scire. Vale.

Frater tuus cum mandatis Cesaris haud ita pridem profectus est ad Reginam Lusitaniae.

Valleoleti. Nonis Maii. 1523.

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## LIST OF 17 LETTERS COPIED BY EARLIER HAND

(? Spanish of xvii<sup>c</sup> or xviii<sup>c</sup>).

Ep. 1277.	xvi.	J. Vergara to Erasmus.	Apologiam . . .	24 April 1522, Brussels.
Ep. 1312.	x.	Erasmus to J. Vergara.	Mihi . . .	2 Sept. 1522, Basle.
Ep. 1554.	ix.	Erasmus to J. Alemannus.	Ante annum . . .	24 Feb. 1525, Basle.
Ep. 1684.	xiv.	Erasmus to (J. Vergara) . . .	torqueat stilum . . .	29 Mar. 1526, Basle.
	viii. <sup>1</sup>	Erasmus to A. Manrique.	Ex amicorum . . .	26 Aug. 1527, Basle.
	xiii.	A. Fonseca to Erasmus.	Quod literas . . .	29 June 1528, Madrid.
	xv.	A. Fonseca to Erasmus.	Iam diu nihil . . .	31 Oct. 1531, Alcalá.
No. 1.	xxiii.	J. Vergara to Stunica.	Miseram ad te . . .	(10 Oct. 1521, Brussels.)
No. 2.	xi.	Stunica to J. Vergara.	Muy reuerendo . . .	9 Jan. 1522, Rome.
No. 3.	xviii.	Stunica to J. Vergara.	Commodiore . . .	26 March 1522, Rome.
No. 4.	xix.	Stunica to J. Vergara.	Superioribus . . .	4 May 1522, Rome.
	xvii.	J. Vergara to J. L. Vives.	Audio acciri te . . .	1522, Brussels.
	xxii.	? to Mich. Gomez.	Vulgare est . . .	5 Feb. 1528, Burgos.
	xxiv.	Alvar Gomez to Pedro de Soto.	Dum nuper . . .	12 Nov. 1559, Toledo.
	xii.	P. de Soto to A. Gomez.	Gratissimae . . .	23 Nov. (1559), — .
	xxi.	A. Gomez to Melch. Cano.	Si quis . . .	— , — .
	xx.	B. Arias Montanus to Laeuinus Torrentius.	Literas . . .	— , — .

<sup>1</sup> viii and xiii were no doubt copied from the Madrid MS. Est. 18, gr. i. 5, ff. 9, 23. A possible clue to origin is that the address-sheet of viii, which is missing in the Madrid MS., is most probably to be found at Simancas (Est. 1553, f. 427): in the address-sheet of a letter written on paper with the watermark such as Erasmus frequently

used, by a secretary's hand which resembles that of viii, 'Reuerendissimo in Christo patri ac D. D. Alfonso Manrico, Archiepiscopo Hispalensi, domino meo plurimum obseruando. In Hispania.' But it is to be noted that this address does not appear in the copy by the earlier hand in Heine's collection.

## POSTSCRIPT

I am much indebted both to Prof. Bonilla of the University of Madrid for endeavouring to trace the originals of the Heine collection in Spain; and to Dr. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Director of the Staatsbibliothek at Munich, for making inquiries recently for the ms. copies which Dr. Friedrich communicated to us. Unhappily these also cannot now be found: so that it has been necessary to rely on our copies made in 1907. Dr. H. Thomas of the British Museum has been most helpful in elucidating the Spanish letter, no. 2.

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*(A fuller Index will be provided at the end of the final volume.)*

The references are to the numbers of the letters, unless p. is prefixed. The figures in larger type indicate letters of Erasmus, those in smaller type letters written to him, and a few others.

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